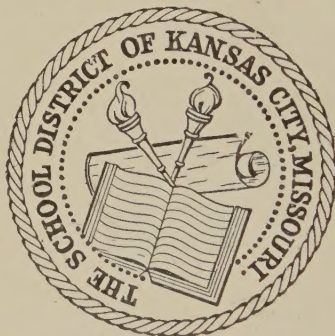


27241

Bound
Periodical

Kansas City Public Library



This Volume is for
REFERENCE USE ONLY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

40

Y7A9BLI 01819
YTIO 2A20A31
OM

THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1867.

EDITED BY

CHARLES HODGE, D. D.

VOL. XXXIX.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY

PETER WALKER, 821 CHESTNUT STREET:

AND SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY

R. CARTER & BROTHERS, New York; REV. A. KENNEDY, London, C. W.;

REV. WILLIAM ELDER, St. John, New Brunswick;

REV. ROBERT MURRAY, HALIFAX, N. S.;

AND TRÜBNER & CO., London.

YHABH 3.1814
YTD 2.20.11
OM

Printed by ALFRED MARTIEN.

27241
2
5218
EIND. JAN 10 1894

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIX.

No. I.

	PAGE
ART. I.—The Culdee Monasteries.....	1
ART. II.—Drs. Hedge and Woolsey on College Studies and Government..	31
ART. III.—The Training and Distribution of Missionaries.....	58
ART. IV.—Gregory the Theologian	73
ART. V.—The Oriental Churches.....	89
ART. VI.—Malthusianism.	103
ART. VII.—The Rejection of Christ by the Jewish Rulers and People....	128
SHORT NOTICES.....	154
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	167

No. II.

ART. I.—Western Presbyterianism.....	169
ART. II.—The Epicurean Philosophy.....	196
ART. III.—Emanuel Swedenborg..	214
ART. IV.—The Position of the Book of Psalms in the Plan of the Old Testament.....	256
ART. V.—The Philosophy of Mathematics.....	287
SHORT NOTICES.....	313

No. III.

	PAGE
ART. I.—The Hebrew word <i>Yashabh</i>	337
ART. II.—The Aim of Christianity, for those who accept it.....	365
ART. III.—Schaff's History of the Christian Church.....	392
ART. IV.—A Philosophical Confession of Faith.....	416
ART. V.—The General Assembly.....	440
SHORT NOTICES.....	522

No. IV.

ART. I.—Sanctification.....	537
ART. II.—The Queen's English <i>vs.</i> The Dean's English.....	558
ART. III.—Recent Discussions concerning Liberal Education.....	585
ART. IV.—Preaching to Sinners.....	616
ART. V.—The British Churches under Cromwell.....	629
ART. VI.—Dr. George Duffield on the Doctrines of New-school Pres- byterians.....	655
SHORT NOTICES.....	675

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1867.

No. I.

ART. I.—*The Early Scottish Church; The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth century.* By the Rev. THOMAS McLAUCHLAN, M. A., F. S. A. S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1865.

Iona. By the Rev. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D. D., F. S. S. A. Edinburgh.

LATE researches throw increased light upon the distinction between Celtic and Latin Christianity. They were separated by a boundary of facts, more enduring than the stone wall completed by Severus between the Solway and the Tyne, and warding off from Scotland both prelacy and papacy for more than a thousand years. There is reason to think that before the close of the second Christian century there were "Scots believing in Christ," and that for the gospel they were not indebted to missionaries from Rome. These Scots dwelt in Ireland as well as in Scotland, and there are historic intimations that they received their first Christian teachers from lands where the Greek language prevailed. It was perhaps three hundred years after Christianity dawned upon Scotland, when Ninian was commissioned by Rome as the *primus Episcopus*, "the first bishop to the Picts," and Palladius as "the first

bishop to the Scots," these Scots being partly in Ireland. Whatever was meant by the title, "the first bishop," it goes far to verify the statement of the chronicler Fordun, a Romish monk of the fourteenth century, who says of Palladius, "Before whose coming the Scots had as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments presbyters only and monks, following the order of the primitive church." It might be shown that these presbyters held rank with the bishops of the primitive church, and received not their ordination from the Roman primate. They did not need over them a bishop of an unscriptural rank, and scarcely deplored the failure of Palladius to establish a see in Scotland. They were doubtless missionaries and pastors apostolic, so far as they followed the order of the apostles.

But what of the "monks?" Of what order? A monk in Fordun's time was a vastly different man from a monk in the fourth century, even if we take him from Mediterranean regions. Monasticism was bad enough in its first and best estate, but it grew worse and worse as Rome became papal and endorsed the eremite system. That the so-called Scottish monks, as late as the twelfth century, differed greatly from the peculiarly Romish orders, is a fact quite perplexing to those who would place early Scotland within the pale of Latin Christianity. It does not account for their differences to assume that Martin of Tours imparted his Gallic ideas to the presbyter St. Patrick, who transmitted them to Columba, and that Columba disseminated them from Iona throughout all Scotland; or that the said Martin, who first gave organic form to monasticism in Western Europe, did in some other way transplant it from Gaul into the land of the Gael. There was no little antagonism between the Gallic monks and the Roman primate, but this proves nothing in regard to the monastic system of the Culdees. There is nothing found in the early monasteries of Gaul analogous to the peculiarities which distinguished the Culdee system. Martin of Tours died shortly before the mission of Palladius; "before whose coming," says Fordun, there were "monks" among the Scots, and these Scots had "long been believers in Christ," having these "monks" as one class of teachers. It may be shown that they were not

monks at all, in the sense employed by Roman Catholic writers, from the venerable Bede down to Fordun, and even to Montalambert. They were ministers of God's word, "administrators of the sacraments," missionaries among the Picts, the Scots, and the Strathclyde Britons, co-workers with the presbyter-bishops; and if in defence from persecution, or in self-denial and self-support, they lodged in cells, this fact did not make them monks. In all probability they and the presbyters were of the same class. In the course of centuries the imagination of a genuine monk put a difference between them. They were the *Cuildich*,* the cell-men, the Culdees. They did not deserve the epithet of "monks," and yet something like a monastery was peculiar to their system of means for promoting the gospel and maintaining the church. Using the term in a qualified sense, Mr. McLauchlan says: "The very monachism of Celtic Britain had features of its own, and these continued to distinguish it, in some measure, till the close of its existence." (Page 163.)

Our design is to present certain facts relative to the early institutions, often called Monasteries, which were peculiar to the Culdees after the influence of Columba was so powerfully impressed upon Scotland. It is not meant that he introduced the eremite principle into that country. It was there, in a simple form, before his day. "In speaking of the ancient Scottish Church, called by some the Culdee Church, we are not to suppose that this was merely the church whose founders crossed from Ireland, and planted it in Scotland, as a branch of the Church of Ireland. It was in fact the early Church of the British isles planted before the days of Ninian or Palladius, and retaining its distinctive features among the Scots for a longer time than among the other Celtic races of the country. Hence the fact that Culdees were not confined to Scotland and Ireland, but were found among the Britons, their organization

* That the word "Culdee" is but a modification of the Gaelic *Cuildich*, can scarcely be questioned. Like the term "Huguenot," it has been the subject of various surmises. The term was doubtless in existence before the Latin translation, "*Cultores Dei*," or "*Keledeus*." Of "*Ceile De*," and "*Gille De*," the Gael knows nothing, but "*Cuiltich*" is still in use among the Highlanders. On Iona there is a spot still called, "*Cobhan nan Cuildeach*," the Culdee's recess. The plural form is *Cuildich*, the men of the recess.

being, to a large extent, the organization of the early church of Britain and Ireland. Columba introduced the system among the northern Picts, but it was no new thing in the country; for in so far as Christianity existed in what is now called Scotland, it was moulded after the same form from the beginning. Ninian and Palladius might have exercised a certain influence on behalf of Rome, but there is every reason to believe that neither of those men had successors in their ecclesiastical offices and commission. Still, before the time of Columba, an influence had crept into the church, which was largely affecting its character and development, and which in the sixth century had unquestionably produced striking changes. This was the influence of asceticism, or the eremitical principle. . . . If we were to indicate what gave much of its peculiar character to the early Scottish church, we would say it was this principle. . . . The asceticism of the early Scottish church did, by no means, attain to the height of mediæval monkery, but it reached to a development sufficient to give a very peculiar character to the religion of the period." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 421, 422.)

To prove that the church of the Culdees was independent of Rome and of Anglo-Saxon prelacy, it is sufficient to look at the early Scottish monasteries, and show wherein they essentially differed from those which were connected with the papacy. And here we need not inquire for the earliest monastic institutes of the Scottish type. It was claimed for Abernethy, that it was a Culdee institute an hundred years before Columba's mission to the Picts. If so, it, and others like it, afterwards took the Columbite form. The same appears to have been true of the establishments founded by Ninian, Servanus, and Kentigern; they certainly were not the model for the Culdee institutes founded after the middle of the sixth century. We shall find that model on little Iona, which Dr. Samuel Johnson described as "that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." Wherein did the institute of Iona, and others of its order, differ from the monasteries which became the strength of Romanism? In furnish-

ing an historical answer to this question, we may reach certain important facts concerning the early Scottish church.

1. Their model was furnished by a missionary, who has never been represented as deriving his authority from Rome, nor classed with the founders of Romish monasteries. Colum Mac Phelim, or Columba, was born about the year 520, in the county of Donegal, Ireland. He was a descendant of the kings of Ulster, and closely allied to the royal family of Dalriada, in Scotland. Rejecting the legends of his biographers, we may take it as true that he received a Christian baptism and education, and was ordained a presbyter. Prelatic writers of a later age found his ordination to the office of only a presbyter, too stubborn a fact for their disposal; they could not make him a bishop, in their sense of the term, but imagining that the office of bishop existed at the time, they invented the legend that Etchen "the bishop, by mistake, conferred priest's orders on Columba, when he intended to confer episcopal orders." Strange that the mistake was not corrected! Stranger still, to our minds, if there was any one to correct it! Another mode of solving the difficulty is the assertion that Columba objected to being raised to a higher office than that of priest, although he was going forth upon the first mission to Scotland, the greatest attempted in his day. He must, then, have been a very different man from the Columba, who is represented as visiting Rome, and receiving commission from the Pope. No prelatie authority has been claimed for him. Even Father Brenan declares him to have been "but a simple priest," who "possessed for many years an ecclesiastical jurisdiction even over the bishops of these countries," (Scotland.) We shall find him simply *primus inter pares*. "Columba received the orders that were conferred at the time," says McLauchlan, "receiving from Etchen the orders which he possessed himself." This was the highest ordination then known, in a land where the presbyter, St. Patrick, had "founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and for them ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops." The young Columba, fired with missionary zeal, is said to have founded several "monasteries" in Ireland; they must have been simple Christian communities, with the school, the church, and hospital for the poor. Willing to go abroad

for Christ, he left Ireland, for the purpose, says Bede, "of preaching the word of God." Taking with him twelve brother missionaries, he crossed the North Channel in a *currach*, or boat of wicker-work, covered with hides, and landed at Iona about the year 565. The little island, long held by the Druids, was given him, and his first thought was quite other than a monastery. It was a mission. He travelled extensively among the northern Picts, preaching the gospel, with the aid of an interpreter. Iona was chosen as the base of operations, not simply because of its seclusion, but for its safety from the attacks of barbarians, and for its nearness to Ireland, with which the missionaries held some ecclesiastical connection. There the *cuil*, or cell, was established, giving to it the name of Icolmkill, the Isle of Columba's cell. The spot was known for centuries as Cairn Cuilich, or the Cairn of the Culdees. In all this the authority of the bishop of Rome does not appear; no sanction came, none was needed from that quarter. Mr. Todd,* a prelatist, furnishes satisfactory evidence that the bishop of Rome did not appoint, elect, consecrate, nor confirm the bishops of Ireland, from the fifth to the twelfth century; nor did he sanction the missions of the Irish church, of which that of Columba was the first to another country. A stronger case may be made for the Scottish church, which was closely allied to the Irish until the ninth century, so that the names are often used interchangeably. The case is still stronger, when we take the word bishop as equivalent to presbyter. That the Pope had aught to do with Columba's mission is a mere assumption, without even the shadow of an historic fact for its basis. Even the prelatists admit that he was not a diocesan bishop. Who has ever ranked the presbyter Columba with such founders of monasteries as Benedict, Martin of Tours, Francis, and Dominic? There was strictly no Columbite order of monks.

2. The design and spirit were different. As a fair sample of western monasticism we may take that of Benedict, who became famous for his rigorous discipline at the beginning of the sixth

* The Church of St. Patrick; an Historical Inquiry into the Independence of the Ancient Church of Ireland. By Rev. W. G. Todd.

century. "Three virtues constituted the sum of the Benedictine discipline, silence with solitude and seclusion, humility, obedience, which, in the language of its laws, extended to impossibilities. All is thus concentrated on self. It was the man, isolated from his kind, who was to rise to a lonely perfection. All the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded. . . . The three occupations of life were the worship of God, reading, and manual labour. . . . So were doomed to live the monks of St. Benedict; so all monks, whose number is incalculable, for the long centuries during which Latin Christianity ruled the western world. The two sexes were not merely to be strangers, but natural, irreconcilable enemies." (Milman, *Lat. Chris.* ii. 30, 31.) The design was selfish, the spirit slavish. But at Iona there was, at first, almost nothing of this self-severity. "The institution at Iona may, be said, in one sense, to have been a monastery, although there was no vow taken by the inmates either of celibacy, poverty, or obedience. There was no rule constituting the brethren into a regular order, and any such attributed to Columba has been shown to be the work of a later age, and to be of no historical value. The principle which lay at the foundation of this institution was not that which gave its origin to monasticism generally, viz., the personal improvement of the monks themselves. . . . Here the main object was the benefit of others." (*McLauchlan*, p. 164.) The design was not to collect together monks, but to qualify and send forth missionaries. It was a great mission institute, not altogether unlike one of our mission stations in a heathen land, and still more like the mission institutes of the Moravian Brethren. Columba and his brethren founded a college, rather than a convent.

3. The institute at Iona is also to be regarded as a church. In it, no doubt, was incorporated the more ancient plan of the *cuil*,* *kille*, *kil*, or *cell*, as found among the earlier Christian Scots. The *cuil* furnishes, we think, the key to the whole Culdee system, giving to it name, character, and organic unity.

* Before Columba left Ireland he knew of Cuil rathan (now Coleraine,) Cuil feadha, &c. Perhaps the same term is retained in Scottish names, as Culross, Culloden, Culfargie. We find it in Loch nan Keal, or Ceall, "the Lake of the Churches." Kil-Patrick became Kirk-Patrick.

Its origin we cannot discover; perhaps it was, at first, a refuge from enemies, or a resort for prayer. It became the sacred place of the presence of God; almost the Holy of Holies, with its veil rent for the entrance of the Culdee worshipper. Its plan was carried with every missionary, and he chose the spot for his "cell," as the Hebrew did for the tabernacle. There was his sanctuary; there he wrestled with God in prayer; there the people might assemble with reverence to hear him preach. It was holy ground; the burning bush was there in the desert. The *cuil* develops into three forms; the oratory, the kirk, and the college. Our point now is that the "*kil*" grew into the *kirk*. That the kirk should be in a secluded place, needs not the supposition of a strictly monastic idea; the mission required a place of seclusion in order to obtain safety. After Iona became the model for other mission stations, the *cuil* did not generally grow into a college. If so, Culdee Scotland must have excelled all other lands in the number of its schools for the training of missionaries, for their record is to this day upon the very soil of the country. Turning to Nelson's guide-book we find almost one hundred "*kils*," pointed out as worthy of the tourist's visit, from Kilmany to St. Kilda. If most of these names be the memorials of some ancient Christian institution, as many undoubtedly are, it was the kirk rather than the college. We see the ancient Culdee kirk in scores of names, as Kirkeudbright (Kirk-Cuthbert) and Kirk-Cormac. If these were all actual monasteries, then Scotland was indeed a land of monks. If these were mission stations and kirks, then the Culdee church stereotyped its record upon the face of the country. We think this distinction between the kirk and the college important in marking the independence of the church of the Culdees. Both were in existence. The *cuil* gave the name to each. The members of each were *Cuildich*, or Culdees. In neither case were they monks of the Romish type, but missionaries in whom it were vain to look for perfection.

We find what seems to be an illustration of this view of the *cuil* and its development, in the case of Malrue, (*Maol rubha*, 'servus patientiæ'.) His royal lineage did not prevent him from imitating his relative Columba, leaving Ireland at the age

of twenty-nine, and fixing himself at Applecross among the northern Picts. There his cell became the nucleus of a flourishing kirk. Intent upon secluded prayer, he crossed over to the little island of Croulin, and there located a new cell. He drew others to the sacred place. A college arose, which became to him and his followers what Iona was to Columba. Thence his influence extended over the neighbouring region. For fifty-one years he laboured, in his wide and enlarging parish, a veritable bishop of pristine rank. He is said to have been slain by pirates at the age of eighty, leaving his name upon many a church and village, and upon the fairest of the Scottish lakes, the Loch Maree; on its little isle he had one of his cells for prayer, and there a chapel rose at a later day. Through all Scotland went the fame of Malrue of Applecross.

4. There were, doubtless, cells about which neither kirks nor colleges grew up; but they were not, at first, the abodes of hermits, nor the nuclei of monasteries. Men did not dwell in them for life. They resorted to them in order to prepare for the preaching of the gospel. "The religion of these men was less obtrusive than we often find it. It sought for concealment rather than display; and exhibited itself primarily, not in forcing itself, with little sense of modesty, upon the notice of men, but in urging its subjects to closer and more continuous intercourse with God. These men believed, as did Luther, that prayer was the best preparation for preaching, and hence much of their time was devoted to that exercise. The buildings, whose ruins still existing are memorials of the period, are clearly oratories, and nothing else; oratories, first used for prayer by these early Christians, and afterwards used more generally for the same purpose, in a later and more superstitious age. They carried to a dangerous extreme the idea, that to obtain opportunity for prayer, it was necessary for a time to seclude themselves entirely from the fellowship of others. In this they helped to lay the foundation of much future injury to the church; yet they never dissociated their retirement from the activities of their missionary life, but sought the one to qualify them the more fully for the other. We cannot conceive a more interesting object, in that rude age, than one of these holy men retiring to some lonely island of the sea, and there, in solitude, with

none of the comforts, and a small share of the necessities of life, spending his time in holding communion with God, and pleading earnestly for his blessing on the great work in which he was engaged; and then, strengthened and stirred up to more earnest zeal, by his intercourse with Heaven, going forth among an ignorant and barbarous people, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, and calling upon them with earnest voice to believe and be baptized. The practice of taking possession of secluded islands continued to characterize the Culdee system, and was carried by the missionaries, sent forth from time to time, whithersoever they went. When Aidan at a later period was sent to preach the gospel to the northern Saxons, he fixed his residence in Lindisfarne, and thence went forth to preach the gospel to the surrounding population: Lindisfarne, or the Holy Isle, becoming to the north of England, what Iona was to the north of Scotland. In this there was a marked difference between the emissaries of Iona and those of Rome." Augustine seized upon wealthy Canterbury, and Paulinus settled in powerful York. "In nothing does the distinction between the church of Rome and the ancient Scottish church appear more clearly than in this." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 177—182.) An evidence of their wisdom will appear, when we consider how the Culdees took advantage of the principle of clanship in locating these institutions.

5. The development of certain "cells" into colleges was as important as that of others into kirks. The one class qualified ministers for the other. These especially have been called monasteries. That the monastic idea crept into them, in the progress of centuries, none will deny, but they did not become Romish until they ceased to be Culdee institutions. Romanism and Culdeeism were incompatible. We may notice some of the peculiarities of the Culdee colleges. We use the term "college" as embracing the seminary of learning, the corporation of brethren, and the ruling body of presbyters. If there were presbyteries in existence, the college was the central point of the organization.

The regulations were very different from monastic rules. They were little else than would now be demanded in a college, where the inmates were required to support themselves. "Al-

though they observed a certain institute," says Jamieson, "yet, in the accounts given of them, we cannot overlook this remarkable distinction between them and those societies which are properly monastic, that they were not associated for the purpose of observing this rule. They might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, but their great design was, by communicating instruction, to train up others for the work of the ministry. Hence, it has been justly observed, that they may be more properly viewed as colleges, in which various branches of useful learning were taught, than as monasteries. These societies, therefore, were in fact the seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and in Ireland." (*Hist. Culdees*, p. 33.)

The labours required were not those of penance, but those of usefulness. Columba was averse to all modes of idleness in his disciples. "He encouraged them to attend to the useful arts, especially the culture of the fields and the garden. In that rude age, it says not a little for the skill and industry of Columba and his monks, that they had apples from their own trees, abundance of grain in their barns, and could indulge in the luxury of a Saxon baker; whilst the encouragement they held out to others to follow their example, by making presents to their neighbours of seed to sow their lands, entitles them to the gratitude of posterity." (W. Lindsay Alexander's *Iona*, p. 76.)

Donations of land, as a source of revenue, were not invited, although they were accepted in some instances at a later day, when the agents of Rome held forth endowments as temptations to the Culdee brotherhoods. "If the growth of the English monasteries was of necessity gradual, the culture around them but of slow development (agricultural labour does not seem to have become a rule of monastic discipline,) it was not from the want of plentiful endowments, or of ardent votaries. Grants of land and of movables were poured with lavish munificence on these foundations; sometimes tracts of land, far larger than they could cultivate, and which were thus condemned to sterility. The Scottish monks are honourably distinguished as repressing, rather than encouraging, this prodigality." (Milman, *Lat. Chris.* ii. p. 207.) The influence of

property and patronage was damaging to the best monasteries of Europe. "The indwellers of the Culdee college appear to have been anxious to make such arrangements as to prevent this secularizing influence. Hence the *Archinneach*, or Erenach, who managed the property of the monastery on behalf of the inmates. . . . The Erenach was a layman, probably a tenant under the head of the institute, and is understood, in some cases, to have held his office by hereditary succession. It may be true that the appointment of such an officer was not sufficient to counteract the secularizing influence of wealth and worldly power; but his existence showed a desire, on the part of these societies, to prevent the evil effects of such an influence if possible." (*McLauchlan*, p. 428.) The history of the evils arising from this source in Scotland would be very much the history of feudalism, and especially of the encroachments of Romanism upon Culdeeism. Rome endowed, that she might rule these institutions, whose independence she must destroy.

The head of the institution was the president or abbot, who came to be called *Vir Dei*,* *pater*, *sanctus pater*, *patronus noster*. For seven centuries this office remained quite unchanged. The abbot was elected by the brethren of the institute. He had jurisdiction over the inmates of his house, and also over the mission stations within his "parochia." He was under no prelate, nor pope. He was uniformly a presbyter. Bede calls him *non episcopus, sed presbyter, et monachus*—"not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk." We know what Bede's idea of an "*episcopus*" was, but it would not shock our minds to hear that a bishop and a presbyter were one. Adamnan applies both terms to Columban, the great missionary to Europe, as if he regarded them as equivalent, and that in 695. "The institution of Iona formed, in truth, a regular presby-

* This term is quoted by Dr. Ebrard, (*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*), in support of the view that the word Culdee is derived from *Ceile Dé*, which he renders "men of God." But the term "*Vir Dei*" is used only as applicable to the abbot or chief man of a monastery. It is not applied to the Culdees generally. Besides, the Gaelic word *Ceile* does not mean man. It is applied to a spouse, or associate, conveying the idea of fellowship. No such term as "*Ceile Dé*" is known in the Gaelic. Excepting this point, Mr. McLauchlan accords high praise to Dr. Ebrard's "remarkably able papers on the Culdee church."

tery, as it has long existed in Scotland, with this slight difference, that the presidency, or what we term the moderatorship was permanently enjoyed by the abbot, whom even Bede terms the 'Presbyter-Abbot.' . . . This peculiarity was well known to the venerable Bede, who terms it 'an unusual constitution, (*ordo inusitatus*),' as indeed it must have appeared to one who had been himself accustomed to the constitution of a diocesan and prelatie episcopacy." (Hetherington, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* p. 12.) Bede knew that he was describing no Romish abbot, and he whispers not a word about a prelatie superior. These abbots, in later centuries, allowed themselves to be called bishops, but it requires a marvellous power of invention to make them of the prelatie order, or give to one of them a diocese. Michelet says, "The Culdees recognized hardly more of the hierarchical state than the modern Scotch Presbyterians."

In connection with each institute there were at least twelve ordained ministers. These twelve formed the college of rulers in the Culdee church. There were no lay residents except students, nor "secular canons." "In the East, where the monastic system originated, the earlier monks were laymen. From this it followed that they had to look beyond themselves for the privileges to be derived from an ordained ministry. Among the Scots, the early monks, being in reality missionaries, were all in orders themselves, as presbyters associated together for the great purpose of converting the ignorant to the faith of Christ. Being thus ordained, they possessed all necessary ecclesiastical functions within themselves. Whence originated the so-called anomaly, in the early Scottish church, of the supreme power being in the hands of the abbot, or head of the Culdee college." (*McLauchlan*, p. 173.)

"That they sent forth ministers, as distinct from the planting of monasteries, is clear from their dealing, at a later period, with the Saxon populations in the north of England; and that they ordained those ministers, whom they sent forth, is quite as clear, those ministers holding their commissions from them, assuming the name and performing the functions of bishops. Thus far then they were Presbyterians, that they were presbyters themselves, and that as presbyters they exercised jurisdiction in the church, and conferred orders involving the episco-

pate, although these orders were afterwards rejected by the Roman Church." (*Ib.* 172.)

The rejection of Scottish ordination is a strong point of difference between the Culdees and the Romanists. Of such rejection the historical proofs are abundant; one from the canon law will suffice. It is clearly shown from one of the decrees of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in a council held at Cealhythe, A. D. 816, which runs thus: "It is interdicted to all persons of the Scottish nation to usurp the ministry in any diocese, nor may such be lawfully allowed to touch aught belonging to the sacred order, nor may aught be accepted from them, either in baptism, or in the celebration of the masses, nor may they give the eucharist to the people, because it is uncertain to us, by whom or whether by any one they are ordained. If, as the canons prescribe, no bishop or presbyter may intrude into another's province, how much more ought those to be excluded from sacred offices, who have among them no metropolitan order, nor honour it in others." We may thank the Cealhythe council for this strong proof of the independence of the Culdee church.

This proof that there was no "metropolitan order" in the Scottish church, in 816, is worthy of distinct remark. Its existence has since been imagined and asserted. After a new ecclesiastical system had been imposed upon Scotland, in the twelfth century, the prelatists sought to find an excuse for it in the old system of the Culdees. They invented the "primacy of the Scottish church," locating it first at Iona, as if it were the seat of an archbishop. Then they transferred it to Dunkeld, and thence to St. Andrews, just where they wanted it to serve as a foundation for the Romish primacy which they there established. If there was such a primacy among the Culdees it was collegiate; it was presbyterial. But who ever heard of a presbyterial primacy? We shall see from the case of Adamnan that the abbot was not even a prelate; much less was he a primate over other Culdee colleges, which stood upon a footing of equality in church government. Does a presbyterial primacy meet the requirements of the case? Does it satisfy the prelatists? "If so, the episcopal system has an amount of elasticity about it, which has not been hitherto generally under-

stood, and a presbyter, or group of presbyters, can exercise some of the most important episcopal and arch-episcopal functions. It may also be very naturally asked, Of what did Iona hold the primacy? The usual way of putting it is, that Iona held the primacy of the Scottish church. But it is very well known that the 'parochia' of the Columbite system consisted of affiliated monasteries, or colleges, and hence the jurisdiction of Iona must have extended to Ireland alone, for the only similar establishment said to have existed in Scotland from an early period [down to the year 600] was Abernethy; and there is not a shred of evidence to show that it was in any way subject to the jurisdiction of Iona. As for Dunkeld, the primacy is said to have been transferred there, when the church was built and the relics of Columba removed thither, [843, by king Kenneth]. But if the jurisdiction possessed by Iona was removed to Dunkeld, did Iona thenceforth become subject to Dunkeld? Of this there is no evidence whatsoever. Any supremacy that existed, so far as Iona was concerned [after 850] seems to have existed in the Irish institutions of Kells and Armagh. Iona was not subject to Dunkeld until the territorial diocese of Dunkeld was founded [1197]. It is often averred that Abernethy succeeded Iona in the primacy of Scotland. There is no evidence in support of this. St. Andrews existed for nearly a hundred years before Dunkeld, nor during that period was there any idea of primacy at all, although the institution seems to have been founded on the model of the Northumbrian monasteries, which were themselves originally of the Scottish type. When Dunkeld was founded, [823] there is nothing in the notice we have of the event to signify that there was any primacy intended." The supposed transfer of Columba's relics thither, "no doubt gave Dunkeld a place, in the eyes of Scotsmen, which it would not otherwise possess, and invested it with a new measure of consequence; but it was of short duration. The idea of primacy existing in these Columbite foundations is entirely an *ex post facto* one, and was intended to support claims of a modern growth. When Scotland obtained its primate, it was needful, if possible, to trace the roots of his authority into the old church, and men did so, although it finally landed their orders and jurisdiction

among a group of presbyters with their presbyter-chief at their head." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 371—373.)

The celibacy of the monks and the clergy was a prominent feature of the Roman Church, from the year 400, about which time the decree was issued enjoining it. But it did not obtain a place among the Culdees. There was no vow of celibacy even in their "monasteries." They married in Columba's time, and continued to marry until they ceased to exist. Their wives were not permitted to reside in the college, but a residence was granted them in the neighbourhood, where their husbands passed much of their time, while free from the duties of the school and the church. In the Culdee system there was no nunnery, an almost inseparable attendant of the Romish monastery. "Prior to the twelfth century there is no evidence to show that there was so much as one establishment of female recluses in Scotland proper. At an early period we read of an establishment of nuns at Coldingham, but we have no record of the existence of one north of the Firth of Forth. No evidence is stronger than this for the marriage of the Culdee clergy. Celibacy has never been long confined to one of the sexes; the celibate monk has ever been accompanied, in the history of the church, by the celibate nun, and in the ancient Scottish church we have no record of the existence of the latter. There were St. Bridgets and St. Kentigerns among the females of that church, but there is no evidence to show that these good women were nuns." (*McLauchlan*, p. 417.) The Culdees "were even frequently succeeded in their official station and duties by their own sons. From this [the absence of monastic celibacy] we can scarcely avoid drawing the conclusion, that those, who held a form of Christianity so primitive, so simple and so pure, must have branched off from the central regions and stem of the Christian church at a very early period indeed." (*Hetherington*, p. 12.)

From the families of these "presbyter-monks," were sons entering the college to be educated. From the mission stations and "kirks" others were sent. From more distant regions, England, and the continent, came young men of noble birth and royal princes, having heard of the famous schools. The education imparted was not of the monastic kind. The Latin classics

were studied. It is related that Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II,) when in Scotland, intended to visit Iona, hoping to find in its celebrated library the lost books of Livy, but was prevented by the death of King James I. Greek and Hebrew were studied, as Dr. Ebrard proves. As the object was, in the earlier centuries, to qualify men for missionary and pastoral work, the Bible was the chief book. Columba was familiar with the word of God, ready to quote it on all occasions, as of supreme authority. "His own home-work and that of his disciples was transcribing the Scriptures . . . It is told by one of his biographers, that this was the last employment of his life, for he died while engaged in transcribing the 33d Psalm. These early missionaries were thoroughly Biblical . . . Bede informs us that they received those things only which are written in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles Preaching the gospel and teaching the young was thus the great work to which the early [Scottish] church devoted itself, and for both these great works ample provision was made." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 175, 438.)

These collegiate institutions, in process of time, were not secluded enough for certain men of a more monastic disposition. Refusing or ceasing to become missionaries, they became monks. Instead of making the cell an oratory wherein to prepare for preaching the gospel, they made it a *diseart*, or an hermitage. Perhaps a few colleges were turned into convents. Thus arose a new order, more closely resembling ascetics. There was a difference between the *disertach* and the anchorite; the one still holding a connection with the college, and the other retiring into deeper solitude. But there is no proof that they were Romish monks. "It has been thought that the Culdees possessed an eremitical order, and there are facts toward the close of their history, which would seem to corroborate this. But there is nothing to point to its existence in the earlier period of the church." (*McLauchlan*, p. 434.) If it had no early existence, it certainly did not predominate in the colleges, and give them a monkish, rather than a missionary character. When the eloquent Cuthbert, after years of perilous travels and earnest preaching, sought for a "*diseart*" he could not find it in the "monastery" of Melrose, and he retired to the island of Farne,

about nine miles south of Lindisfarne in Northumbria. There he remained until the year 685, having his cell fenced in by an earthen wall that shut out from his view every object but the sky. We next find him for two years as an abbot, chiefly at Lindisfarne, but there he could not be a hermit. Activity characterized the "monastery" of the isle, and returning to his cell he died, leaving behind him a name that has been sainted by a church which he never served. Only by this device of canonization were the Culdees transformed into Roman Catholics.

6. The location of the earlier Culdee colleges was not so much in accordance with a monastic, as a missionary policy. To a large extent they were established in districts belonging to different families, clans, or tribes. From the mere fact of a secluded cell, one might argue that the founders were monks, but from the advantage taken of clanship we have evidence that they were missionaries. To illustrate this policy we mention the leading institutes, as nearly as possible in the order, and with the date of their foundation. Iona was established in the district of the clan Connell; Abernethy in Fife, at an ancient Pictish capital; Applecross in Ross; Loch Leven in Fife, and Melrose on the Tweed, between the years 565 and 625. It is claimed that Culdee schools were at Abernethy and Loch Leven at a much earlier date, but after Columba's time they were reorganized. St Andrews was founded in Fife, 736, by Culdee Britons; Dunkeld in Argyle about 820; still later we find Scone in Gowrie, Mortlach in Buchan, Birney in Moray, Monymusk in Mar, Dunblane in Stratherne, Dornoch in Caithness, and Brechin in Angus. It will be borne in mind that these were divided among three distinct peoples, the Picts, the Scots, and the Strathclyde Britons. Lindisfarne, founded 635, on what is now called Holy Island, was the model for others among the Saxons in north England. To this list might be added many other institutes of lesser eminence, but these are sufficient to show that the Culdees adopted the missionary policy of occupying the whole country. "The likelihood is that this principle [policy] was first admitted in order to secure all possible influence in Christianizing the people, the very principle which led Columba to visit and seek the conversion of the Pictish king. Family influence was in the highest degree powerful,

and to secure it on the side of Christianity, was but a policy, which the warmest zeal and the most consummate prudence dictated. The principle would also have been admitted for the sake of security. All these institutions had powerful family influence around them on every side; no man could assail them without calling down the vengeance of the clan, and all men would in consequence forbear; while they were capable of repaying in full the benefit they received, and became finally of so much importance, from their wealth and influence, that no family would willingly quit its hold of them. They thus became hereditary possessions in the hands of the great families of Scotland. . . . and even came to be so situated as that the lands of the monastery were in the hands of a layman, while the ecclesiastics of the community occupied the house and conducted the services." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 191, 192.) "Ecclesiastical property and office came finally to be hereditary, the worst feature about the ancient Culdee church, although the same feature characterizes the livings in some modern churches." (*Ib.* p. 329.)

7. The absence of certain peculiarly Romish doctrines and rites is a strong proof of the independence of the early Scottish church. The doctrine of a priesthood was not recognized; hence no auricular confession, no penance, no absolution. Prelacy did not exist; hence no rite of confirmation. In baptism there was no "consecrated chrism." In the Lord's Supper there was no "real presence," and both the bread and the wine were used by the people. Granting that there were errors in regard to the sacrament, yet there is no evidence of "transubstantiation," nor of the "mass." The merits of Christ were exalted, and hence "works of supererogation" were rejected. Christ was declared to be the only Mediator; therefore there were no prayers to the saints, no worship of angels and relics, no adoration of the "Virgin Mary." Until quite a late period in Culdee history there is no instance of the dedication of churches to her, although the name of native saints was often given to them, as Kilpatrick, Kirkeudbright, and St. Serf, (Servanus.) "Nor do we find in the biography of Columba, (by Adamnan,) any reference to the doctrine of purgatory. Where the faith of Christ was so entire, and the love of

Christ so ardent, there was no room for such a doctrine as this. The all-sufficiency of the atonement made by the Divine Saviour, and of the grace of the Divine Spirit, afford the one unanswerable argument against the doctrine of purification by any other means. The completeness in which these doctrines were held by the Iona missionaries, necessarily excluded their belief in the doctrine of a purgatory. From the same cause we find no regard to other more recent doctrines and practices. Thus there is no reference in the account given of Columba's death, (A. D. 597,) to his having received extreme unction." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 183, 184.) These were important matters. It cannot therefore be justly said that there was nothing but the most trifling and unessential differences between the Culdees and their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, whose Christianity had become Latinized.

8. The Culdees observed certain practices, enjoined by Rome upon her adherents, but they observed them in a manner so different, that it proves their independence. Early in the seventh century the tonsure became a theme of sharp dispute in Great Britain. The Roman tonsure was the coronal; the Scottish was the crescent. This small matter was so magnified by Rome, that it bade fair to shake the world. The Easter question grew into a serious affair. Rome followed the day of the week, commemorating the death of Christ always on Friday, and hence Easter always came upon Sunday. The Scotch followed the day of the month, (the 14th of Nisan,) and therefore Easter was observed upon whatever day of the week it fell. They were called the Quartodecimans. There were other elements in the reckoning, so that there was often the difference of a whole month, in the day of keeping Easter. While one party was fasting the other was often feasting. So vast was the importance attached to these matters that, at the close of the seventh century, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed, "They which have been ordained by the bishops of the Scots or Britons who are not united to the Catholic Church, in their Easter and tonsure, let them be confirmed again by a Catholic bishop by the imposition of hands." This canon was applied to Ceadda when he came to act as the presbyter-bishop of York. Having been ordained by Scottish hands, he was

rejected by Theodore, and Wilfrid, who had received prelatic ordination, was placed in the charge. This was but a skirmish; the battle was to come off upon Scottish soil.

9. The Culdee institutions had become glorious; but they did not glorify Rome. The Culdee church had disseminated through Scotland the truths of the gospel, had filled the country with places of worship, and had elevated the nation to a position of no small renown. Her strength lay in the great central institutes, called monasteries. From these her light shined afar. The Orkneys were reckoned a part of Christendom; even in Iceland there were Culdee missionaries in the tenth century. Into Switzerland had gone Columban and his brethren, rearing institutions of the Scottish type, and having differences with Rome, especially in regard to their ordination. It is surprising to find little Iona throwing her light into Europe, and sending forth such bands of missionaries into the old lands of the Saxon and the Gaul. In this she was greater than Rome. The papal power must have grown jealous of her influence, and anxious to secure her energy, her means, and her glory. The Culdee church must be reduced to submission under the pontiff; by gentle measures, if possible; by severer methods, if necessary.

10. The efforts made by the Culdees to resist the intrusions of Rome, would form a history of no small limits. Bede lamented their perversity and blindness in the matters of Easter and the tonsure. For years they repelled the advances of the prelatic party. The pressure increased, especially upon the Scottish institutes in the north of England. In 665 the crisis came. Colman, the presbyter-abbot of Lindisfarne, argued the case at the synod of Whitby. Strong in his attachment to the Culdee church, he claimed that he derived his system from his Scottish forefathers, and from the apostle John. Wilfrid appealed to the decrees of Rome, and prevailed. Put down, but not convinced, Colman and his Culdee brethren retired from their charges at Lindisfarne and in Northumbria, and returned to Scotland and Ireland, where they hoped that the ancient customs would never be displaced. Neander makes this a turning-point in Anglican history, saying that this decision at Whitby "could not fail to be attended with the most important

effects on the shaping of ecclesiastical relations over all England: for, had the Scottish tendency prevailed, England would have obtained a more free church constitution, and a reaction against the Romish hierarchical system would have ever continued to go forth from this quarter." In twenty-one years Theodore of Canterbury almost entirely banished the usages of the Culdee church from England.

Lindisfarne had been gained; the next attempt was made upon Iona, whose abbot was Adamnan, the biographer of Columba. This man visited Northumberland, listened to the Saxon priest Ceolfrid, and yielded the points relative to Easter and the tonsure. But the arguments that convinced him were not drawn from the authority and decrees of the Pope; they were based upon the traditions concerning Hebrew customs and the example of Peter as an apostle. On his return to Iona he endeavoured to bring his brethren over to his new views, but they rejected them. Crossing to Ireland he met with more success. Bede relates that he "brought almost all of them, that were not under the dominion of Hii (Iona,) to the catholic unity." The Scottish church maintained its own practices until after the death of Adamnan in 704. What sort of a bishop was he, thus to be withstood by his own clergy? They believed in no jurisdiction over them, as opposed to the will of the brethren. "If this be not presbytery, it is wonderfully like it. It may not indicate the details of modern presbytery as existing among these early Christians, but it certainly indicates a constitution implying in it the independence of individual ministers, and the supreme authority of the collected mind of the brethren. . . . These men were not to be overborne by authority, even that of the Apostolic See." (*McLauchlan*, p. 245.)

In making a fresh attempt, Ceolfrid sent a letter to Naitan, king of the Picts. In 710 he wrote it, carefully avoiding all reference to the papal decrees and supremacy. Naitan was convinced. The ministers over whom he held an influence adopted the coronal tonsure and the Roman Easter. But others would not yield. The "family of Iona" persisted in their views. For seven years these stubborn Scots maintained their independence, and right of private judgment. Royal power was employed; they were finally driven, as incorrigibles,

out of the Pictish kingdom. The Saxon monk Egbert used the same arts among the Scots, and large numbers of them yielded. It must be noted that the victory, thus far, was mainly in regard to Easter and the tonsure. The chief interest in this whole controversy lies in the fact, that "the Scottish brethren never once acknowledged that the authority of the Romish See was entitled to their deference and obedience. They acknowledged the authority of Holy Scripture, and of apostolic example, but they never acknowledged any other. Nor was it in deference to Papal authority, that they finally succumbed. What they refused to the letters of Popes, they yielded to the reasoning and persuasions of a Saxon monk. . . The ancient Scottish church was not papal in its constitution. It loved unity, and by its desire for unity was led to conform to a practice which it had long resisted, but the unity it sought was not the unity of Rome. The Scot and the Pict had no reason to love civil Rome; they withstood, for many a year, with no little determination, the claims of ecclesiastical Rome. Even when finally yielding in the matter of Easter and the tonsure, it was to reason, and not to Rome, that they professed to defer." (*McLauchlan*, p. 249.) The Strathclyde Britons did not submit until the year 768, and then by the agency of a monk.

After these concessions, the Culdee church seemed to say to papal Rome and England, "thus far shall ye come and no farther." Iona regained her position; her expelled "family" returned, and we have a tolerably complete history of the establishment for several centuries. The Danish pirates repeatedly desecrated the island, fire consumed the buildings, but the devoted brethren lingered among the scathed ruins. Some were murdered; others turned away, weeping, from the hallowed abode of their ancestors, and sought refuge in Dunkeld and similar institutions. But at the beginning of the thirteenth century there were Culdees at Iona. The other leading institutes have touching chapters of history, although many a chronicle may have been destroyed by the prelatie invaders. The politics of the country changed; the Scots predominated over the Picts, and, with the Strathclyde Britons, they became one nation. Church unity contributed largely to national unity, and the consolidation of the clans. That the piety and ortho-

doxy of the Culdees declined through the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, none will deny. But their sturdy resistance to the great evils associated with the prelacy of those centuries excites our admiration. It is remarkable that Romanism did not finally prevail through the influence of foreign prelates, but through the power of the Scoto-Saxon kings. Submission to the papal chair came by means of subjection to the throne of Malcolm Canmore and his sons.

11. A reform was needed. There is force in the peculiarity of the reform insisted upon by the Roman party, which was waiting on the borders to make a seizure of the Culdee institutions. It shows that the old Scottish establishments had not entirely lost their character nor their independence. "The anxiety of writers of the Roman school to represent the ancient [Scottish] church as so corrupt, shows that its organization could not be in accordance with their views. But it is questionable whether the corruption was such as these men represent it." (*McLauchlan*, p. 335.)

In 1058 Malcolm Canmore ascended the Scottish throne. If it be a fact that he was educated in England, it may be true that his Anglo-Saxon training led him to adopt the papal customs and doctrines. It is quite certain that he was resolved to introduce prelacy into his realm. It was probably about the year 1077, that he founded the bishopric of Mortlach, the first of the kind in Scotland. It was however a mere foundation on paper. Thus he began a policy, which aimed at the establishment of a complete hierarchy in the kingdom, at the expense of the ruin of the Culdee church. This was a specimen of the approaching reform. But he was not to be the reformer. The English princess Margaret, daughter of William the Conqueror, was to set in motion the papal machinery. She might have entered a convent, had she not been an exile in Scotland, and had not Malcolm insisted upon making her his queen. His kindness to her widowed and banished mother and children, and his devotion to herself, prompted her to repay the obligation by advancing the church that she ardently loved. To this object she gave her powerful mind and fervent heart. In her opinion the Scottish church was perversely in error, and she directed her zeal to its reformation.

The evils to be remedied were such as these; the marriages among the clergy; the absence of doctrines and customs important to the papal system; the observance of the "mass" in a way opposed to the whole practice of the Catholic Church; the wrong mode of reckoning the time for the Lenten fast; the failure to take the Lord's Supper on Easter Sunday; the want of strictness, (according to her prelatie biographer, Turgot,) in observing the Sabbath; the custom of not dedicating churches to the Trinity; the fact that "the ancient church was too much the church of the people, and too little that of the monarch, in an age when feudal ideas of sovereignty were beginning to prevail;"* the want of ecclesiastical councils, under the management of royal and papal legates; and especially the lack of dioceses, archbishoprics, and a fully empowered primacy.

Margaret was wise, politic, and condescending. It required no little skill and patience to effect the intended changes. The land was covered with places of worship, the remains of which still exist, extending to the most remote of the Hebrides. The cell, the kirk, and the college were still in the hands of the Culdees, and controlled by the presbytery. Her personal character won her a great influence. She was notable for her piety, as every visitor to her chapel in Stirling Castle will now be told. She fasted with rigour; she retired to caves for prayer, as if she were a genuine Culdee; she lavished alms upon the poor; she encouraged pilgrimages to Iona and St. Andrews, and furnished the means for the journey; she rebuilt the chapel of Columba; she assumed that it was her prayers to the great Saint of Iona, that obtained for her the gift of children, and thus overcoming national prejudices she sought to give to the revolution the appearance of a reform.

While thus winning the people, she was working for prelacy, which the Anglo-Saxons must introduce into Scotland. The striking fact is, that Lanfranc, the English primate, was her counsellor, notwithstanding the sad state of her family and of her Norman race in England. She could forgive all in England that she might gain all in Scotland. The Culdee presbyters were brought into conference. At one of the councils she

* McLauchlan, p. 330.

stood alone, and contended for three days with the Scottish clergy, arguing from Scripture and tradition. The king acted as her interpreter to the Gaelic ministers. She insisted that the unity of the Catholic faith should be preserved, but was silent upon the authority of the Pope. No true Culdee would have listened, with a tendency to conviction, if she had intimated the right of Rome to rule over the church of his fathers, and of "the holy Columba." By degrees she carried the lesser points, and opened the way for the greater. Her policy was to clear the way for changes which her sons might effect. We may judge of the general purity of the Culdee church, in the eleventh century, by the kind of reform that was attempted.

12. It is a remarkable fact, that where Culdeeism was weakest, Romanism was introduced with the least difficulty. The so-called monasteries were in the way of papal progress. Where there was no prominent or active institute in a clan, or district, the people more readily accepted the new prelatie bishop. There being no central college, there was no well organized presbytery, and where there was no presbytery diocesan episcopacy easily gained a footing. This rule was modified by several conditions, such as the low state of piety and the feebleness of the missionary spirit; the readiness with which a Culdee abbot or presbyter would be tempted by the offer of promotion and reward; the enthusiasm of the clan for the king, and the ease of converting the family which held the lands of the college. The prospect of an aristocracy in the state would induce many chieftains to promote the introduction of higher orders into the church. In other lands, the larger the number of monasteries, the easier were papal customs and dominions introduced; but in Scotland the reverse was generally the rule. Immediately after Margaret's death, (1093,) her sons attempted to set up the entire system of prelacy. "Feudal lords and Romish bishops became now the chief denizens of the Scottish court." Dioceses were founded. A prelatie bishop was appointed over Caithness and Sutherland. He met with little resistance, for there was no leading Culdee institute in operation, the ancient one having declined. In Ross we find Macbeth, probably a perverted Celtic minister, as

the first diocesan, an instance of the fact that some few of the abbots and presbyters were won over to the new order of things. The whole college of presbyters was, in a very few instances, induced to make the change, as at Brechin, where was an old Culdee establishment. At this place, "David, notwithstanding his desire for the new state of things, constituted the Culdees, who were usually twelve in number, the Dean and Chapter of the diocese; an arrangement which would not have been made, if the older clergy had been so corrupt as a certain class of writers has represented them," or unless the Romanists were even more corrupt. "In this case the new state of things was grafted upon the old. Indeed this was David's usual policy." (*McLauchlan*, p. 370.) Large grants of property began to be made by the kings to the ancient monasteries, as in the case of Loch Leven.

And yet this grafting process did not succeed so well as might be imagined. There must be an entire uprooting of the old, and a planting of the new. Presbytery must fall, before prelacy could rise. The college must be supplanted by the cathedral. "With the exception of one or two of the earlier and less prominent bishops of somewhat doubtful identity, we do not find one native Scot accepting, or received into, the newly constituted offices. Bishops and monks are almost all importations from abroad; some from England, others from France. The whole Romish system was to be introduced into Scotland, and the men, who had to organize it, had to be introduced along with it." (*McLauchlan*, p. 418.) It is very clear, then, that Culdeeism did not slowly grow into Romanism; the one was by the other supplanted. Where the ancient institute was strongest, there the new system was most vigorously resisted, until a royal order expelled the inmates, as in the case of David I. expelling the Culdees from Dunkeld, (1197.)

13. Rome could not incorporate the Culdee system into her own government. She could adopt the continental Monachism, Pelagianism, and the later Jesuitism, but she could never take under her broad pretentious wing the system of the Waldenses, the Culdees, the Hussites, and the Jansenists. The antagonism in doctrine and practice was too great for compromise. The Scottish monasteries must be destroyed; colleges of presby-

ters must be dissolved. To accomplish this, two modes were adopted.

One was the erection of dioceses; the other was the importation of various orders of foreign monks, to build new monasteries, or occupy the old. The two movements went forward together, under the royal direction. The suddenness of the revolution proves that it was brought about by force, rather than by persuasion. What could the poor presbyter-monks do against the king and his army of prelates and papal monks? "Every diocese in Scotland was founded between 1100 and 1153, except that of Argyle, which was separated from that of Dunkeld in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the whole of the powerful hierarchy of Scotland having been set up by the sons of Margaret," and that in fifty-three years! "This was a remarkable change, and as sudden as it was remarkable. Nor did it stand alone; other changes, equally significant, were taking place alongside of it. The ancient Culdee monasteries were fast disappearing, and great establishments, in accordance with the Romish model, were taking their place. Monks were introduced into every part of Scotland, covering and feeding on the land. The providing of dioceses was but a small portion of what Alexander and David did for the church." Abbeys were founded at Scone, Inchcolm, St. Andrews, and at Edinburgh was built Holyrood. Others rapidly followed. We find monasteries, of almost every order known in Europe, speedily introduced, until the land was full of them. As specimens we may name twenty-eight convents of the Augustines, (the first order that entered north of the Firth of Forth,) six Red Friars, six Premonstratensens, three Benedictines, six Tyronenses, four Cluniacenses, thirteen Cistercians, fifteen Dominicans, seventeen Franciscans, and nine Carmelites, with nunneries in growing proportions. Before such an array the Culdees were not able to stand. These had more destructive power than the king, with his twelve dioceses and two archbishoprics.

To extinguish the Culdee church "all those means, by which a religious body may be annihilated, were systematically resorted to. By corrupting those who could be tempted by the bribe of ecclesiastical rank and wealth; by expelling from their

monasteries those who obstinately adhered to the belief and practice of their fathers; by vexatious and iniquitous lawsuits; by dazzling the eyes of the people with a more splendid ritual than that followed by the simple presbyters of the Columba order; by calumniating their character and affecting a superior standard of purity of morals—in short by all the means by which an adroit, determined, and unscrupulous party may enfeeble the influence and paralyze the resolutions of a sect it has resolved to destroy, did the adherents of the Romish Church labour to sweep from the land all vestiges of the Culdees. It was not, however, till the thirteenth century that they entirely succeeded, and even then they only suppressed the colleges of the Culdees and dispersed their members. The latter still continued to labour as individuals, and in many remote parts of the country kept alive the flame of a pure Christianity, long after the whole land seemed to have sunk under papal darkness.” (Alexander’s *Iona*, p. 134.)

And this has been called the progress of Latin Christianity! “Instead of the humble, unpretending Culdee establishment, arose a powerful hierarchy, the members of which came to hold the highest offices in church and state. This change is that often referred to as the ‘progress of civilization,’ as if civilization consisted in instituting high offices in the church, accompanying them with rich endowments, and filling them with foreigners, while the native population, who had long bravely defended their country, and filled the offices in church and state well, were put aside, and their liberties withheld and appropriated to the crown. Yet this has been called the progress of civilization; and outwardly it bore that aspect, for there was an apparent grandeur in the church as David left it, and a magnificence around the throne, which had never existed in the case of either before; but in a few centuries this grandeur became such an intolerable burden, that the nation refused to bear it any longer. With this averment that the changes in the church and state, in the beginning of the twelfth century, were changes in the direction of civilization, is almost always associated the statement, that the ancient Celtic church really was corrupted and depraved, and that in consequence there was a loud cry for reformation.

“If there were corruptions in the Culdee church, Queen Margaret and her sons sought to remedy them by importing from abroad corruptions of a grosser kind, which had grown up in a warmer climate, and under the influence of more powerful stimuli. The corruptions of Rome were a most insufficient remedy for the corruptions of Scotland. That the Culdee church had been gradually adapting itself to the necessities of a national Christianity, is sufficiently obvious. Ministers were found beyond the walls of the old mission institutes; churches were growing up in addition to the old oratories; and many of the working clergy were men of mark and of fame. Their lay abbots and their clanship were a source of weakness, while the marriage of the clergy, in an age when an ignorant and superstitious asceticism was growing into wonderful repute, served above all things to pave the way for a system more rigid, and apparently more spiritual. With all its sources of weakness, the Culdee church, however, was in the view of the nation superior to that which followed; and if evidence of this is sought for, it will be found in the fact that the revolution, which supplanted it, was the work of the king, not of the nation; that while the foreign portion of the population aided him, he received little support from the native Scots, or their ministers, and that these continued, in after times, to cherish the highest esteem for the memory of those men of piety and power, who had distinguished their ancient national church.

“Nor has this spirit died away. David might have supplanted the ancient church; he could not eradicate, from the minds of the people, the principles it had implanted. It requires but little acquaintance with Scottish history to observe that these never were eradicated; that during the reign of the Roman church in the kingdom they continued to exist, exhibiting themselves occasionally in such outbreaks as the letter of king Robert Bruce and his nobles to Pope John, or the uprising of the Lollards of Kyle, and finally culminating in the events of the Scottish Reformation. Those principles had regard, above all things, to the independence of the ancient Scottish kingdom and church. They exist still fresh and vigorous as ever in the Scottish mind; nor is it easy to say for how much of what now distinguishes Scotland ecclesiastically, she is indebted to the

ancient Culdee church. One thing is plain, that notwithstanding the claims of the Church of Rome, and its hierarchical organization to antiquity in Scotland, she can only claim four hundred of the eighteen hundred years that have elapsed since the planting of Christianity in the kingdom, viz., the period between 1150, when David established her, and 1550, when his establishment was overturned by the resuscitation of the old Scottish principles at the Reformation." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 420, 421, 440.)

ART. II.—1. *University Reform. An Address to the Alumni of Harvard at their Triennial Festival, July 19th, 1866.*
Printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1866.

2. *Review of Dr. Hedge's Address to the Alumni of Harvard:*
being Article V. of the *New Englander* for October, 1866.

THE former of these articles is by Dr. Hedge, as we understand, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, Professor in Harvard Divinity School, the American editor of the famous "Essays and Reviews." It was delivered at the last annual commencement of Harvard College. Its immediate occasion was the new organization of the Board of Overseers of that institution. This body concurrently with the corporation governs the college. What are the precise and distinctive prerogatives of each of these bodies we are not advised, nor is it important here to indicate. It appears, however, that great evils have arisen from the divided and often clashing jurisdiction of two Boards of Control, which all experience shows is far better concentrated in one, so insuring needful unity of action along with indubitable responsibility. The change in the membership of the Board of Overseers which gave rise to the special features of Dr. Hedge's address, amounts to a complete revolution. Hitherto they have been appointed by the State government. Hereafter, the legislature has directed that they shall be appointed by the Alumni who have been graduated for five years, giving their

votes according to certain prescribed forms, on commencement day, for candidates to fill such vacancies as shall from time to time occur. In a few years this will work a revolution in the membership of the Board. It was quite natural that Dr. Hedge, addressing the Alumni on the occasion of their investiture with this new power over the college, and consequent responsibility for its management, should improve the opportunity to call their attention to such reforms in its organization, government, and curriculum of study, as he deemed of most urgent necessity. This he has not failed to do. It is this part of his address—rather brilliant and sensational than profound or thorough—which makes it significant, and accounts for the attention it has awakened. The radical and sweeping innovations here boldly proposed by a professor in the oldest college of the country, on its annual festivity, to its future guardians, are too revolutionary in their bearing not only on that institution, but upon all our colleges, and the whole system of liberal education, to pass unchallenged.

The generally sound and judicious strictures on this address in the *New Englander*, which we have also noted at the head of this article, are from the pen of Dr. Woolsey, President of Yale College. They are a just exposure of some of the superficial yet plausible reasonings of Dr. Hedge, and a seasonable protest from high authority against these and like projects for disorganizing our great institutions for liberal education, destroying their discipline, and debasing their culture and training. Dr. Hedge's address is neither more nor less than a renewal, in an unexpected quarter, of the attempts periodically made to depreciate the utility and necessity of the study of the ancient classics, and the mathematics in our colleges; to urge the abolition of all compulsory courses of study, and enforced propriety of conduct, and, that the student be invested with the largest liberty in these respects; in short, to make him "master of the situation," so that he has only to consult his own pleasure as to what and how much he shall study, and generally as to his whole conduct and behaviour; the only restrictions being, that he must undergo a certain examination in order to obtain a degree, and that he is liable to removal from

the institution, if his influence prove incurably pernicious or his presence intolerable.

While it is wholly aside of our purpose to discuss the new organization of the Board of Overseers which has called forth the startling and revolutionary proposals of Dr. Hedge, we cannot refrain from turning the attention of our readers for a moment to the fact, that this address itself affords the first practical exemplification of its tendency and working. We find an appeal boldly made to the graduates to revolutionize the entire administration of the college as to government, discipline, studies; and to introduce a system, which, all versed in such matters know, would reduce our colleges to anarchy, and fill them, not with students, but with an ungovernable rabble of wild and idle youths. But it may be asked, what body of men may be more safely trusted with the disposal of such crude and empirical schemes than the mature graduates of our colleges? We answer, none whatever, if their deliberate and collective judgment can be fairly obtained, after due discussion. But how difficult to obtain this, on ordinary occasions, in any vote for overseers which may be given on commencement day? Are not the chances, that very few of the graduates will really cast their votes; that, in most cases, those who reside at a distance will know little of the relative fitness of different candidates for the post; that a few persons living in circumstances favourable to concert of action will really control the election; and that a little energetic and adroit management would enable those who have pet empirical reforms to promote, or personal and party interests to serve, to elect their candidates and carry their points, against the mature judgment of the great majority of graduates? While, therefore, we deem the interests of our colleges safe in the custody of their graduates, we object to this new system as being quite unlikely to secure that custody. We think it is obtained more completely and effectually through that single self-perpetuating Board of Trust and Control, to which the guardianship of our American colleges is generally confided, and which is usually composed of a majority of trusted and honoured graduates, with a wholesome infusion of other elements to give breadth to its plans, and shed corrective light on traditional errors and faults.

The changes advocated by Dr. Hedge are three, on each of which we propose to offer some comments. 1. The discontinuance of the present course of study of the Latin and Greek classics and of Mathematics in the collegiate curriculum. 2. Leaving to each student the choice of branches of study to be pursued by him unbiassed even by the stimulus of college honours. 3. The abolition of all laws, rules, rewards and penalties for regulating the actions, and securing the correct deportment and behaviour of the students.

1. In regard to the study of the ancient classics and the mathematics, Dr. Hedge says: (We give him the benefit of an extended statement in his own words:)

“The question has been newly agitated in these days, whether knowledge of Greek and Latin is a necessary part of polite education, and whether it should constitute one of the requirements of the academic course. It has seemed to me that those who take the affirmative in this discussion give undue weight to the literary argument, and not enough to the glossological. The literary argument fails to establish the supreme importance of a knowledge of these languages as a part of polite education.

“It is in vain to deny that those literatures have lost something of the relative value they once possessed, and which made it a literary necessity to study Greek and Latin for their sakes. The literary necessity is in a measure superseded by translations, which, though they may fail to communicate the aroma and the verbal felicities of the original, reproduce its form and substance. It is furthermore superseded by the rise of new literatures, and by introduction to those of other and elder lands.

“But, above all, the literary importance of Greek and Latin for the British and American scholar is greatly qualified by the richness and superiority of the English literature which has come into being since the Græcomania of the time of the Tudors, when court ladies of a morning, by way of amusement, read Plato’s Dialogues in the original. If literary edification is the object intended in the study of those languages, that end is more easily and more effectually accomplished by a thorough acquaintance with English literature, than by the very imperfect knowledge which college exercises give of the classics”

“The literary argument for enforced study of Greek and Latin in our day has not much weight. What I call the glosso-logical argument has more. Every well-educated person should have a thorough understanding of his own language, and no one can thoroughly understand the English without some knowledge of languages which touch it so nearly as the Latin and the Greek. Some knowledge of those languages should constitute, I think, a condition of matriculation. But the further prosecution of them should not be obligatory on the student once matriculated, though every encouragement be given, and every facility afforded to those whose genius leans in that direction. The college should make ample provision for the study of ancient languages, and also for the study of the mathematics, but should not enforce those studies on minds that have no vocation for such pursuits. There is now and then a born philologist, one who studies language for its own sake,—studies it perhaps in the spirit of ‘the scholar who regretted that he had not concentrated his life on the dative case.’ There are also exceptional natures that delight in mathematics, minds whose young affections run to angles and logarithms, and with whom the computation of values is itself the chief value in life. The college should accommodate either bias, to the top of its bent, but should not enforce either with compulsory twist. It should not insist on making every alumnus a linguist or a mathematician. If mastery of dead languages is not an indispensable part of polite education, mathematical learning is still less so. Excessive acquirements in that department have not even the excuse of intellectual discipline. More important than mathematics to the general scholar is the knowledge of history, in which American scholars are so commonly deficient. More important is the knowledge of modern languages and of English literature. More important the knowledge of nature and art.”

Against all this we protest as narrow and superficial, and all the more earnestly inasmuch as it is a voice *from*, (though we trust the issue will prove not *of*,) our oldest University, in which these studies have hitherto been supposed to be in high honour—a voice echoing that demand for empirical reform in high education which is wont to come from very different quarters, and, as

it seems to us, would sacrifice liberal culture to the behests of a blind and suicidal utilitarianism. For there is in the sphere of intellect as well as conscience, and of intellectual not less than moral training, a false and self-destructive utilitarianism wherein he that seeks his life shall lose it, and he that loses it, for an adequate object, shall find it. But leaving generalities, we proceed to specific heads.

1. We do not deem it necessary to the full strength of the argument for the continuance of the classics in the regular collegiate course, to dispute what Dr. Hedge claims in relation to their comparative literary value. Certainly the literary treasures of modern Christendom vastly surpass all that can be gathered from heathen antiquity. And yet we strongly dissent from his statement that the substance of ancient literature can be filtrated to us through translations. He concedes that the "aroma" is lost in this metamorphosis. This must needs be so, and has an importance which he quite overlooks. For to an extent that is not true of modern languages, the thought and language in the Latin and Greek classics are so interlaced that they cannot be separated from each other without tearing the skin from the flesh. To reproduce Homer, Virgil, Demosthenes, or Cicero, without their language, is not merely, as in translations of most of our modern authors, like reproducing the same man in a changed costume. It is like reproducing his skeleton only. The bald historical facts recorded in ancient literature may be, of course, stated in English. But the beauty and force, the keen discrimination, delicate wit, exquisite felicity which have given the literatures of Greece and Rome their matchless charms, wherever high education and elegant letters have been appreciated, of necessity evaporate in every attempt to translate them into modern tongues. They are inseparably inwrought into the very etymological, grammatical, and rhetorical idioms of these languages. The attempt to reproduce them, and to exhibit the classic products of Greece and Rome, in our vernacular, is like the attempt to bring before us the Roman soldier with Minie-rifle and other modern accoutrements, or to represent ancient domestic and social life through the customs and phrases in

relation to such matters which Christianity, modern civilization, steam, and electricity have naturalized.

2. Dr. Hedge allows much more weight to the "glossological argument." He thinks this may justify requiring a certain amount of Latin and Greek as a condition of admission to college, but not the enforced study of them afterwards, certainly not for any long time in the regular collegiate course. Notwithstanding this concession, we think he greatly underestimates the force of this argument. He views it chiefly as an aid to the due understanding of our own tongue, of which the Latin and Greek, especially the former, are such large constituent elements. This is so essential an accomplishment, that liberally educated men cannot afford to despise it. And surely the present classical course in our colleges does not outrun the amount necessary to a due mastery of our own tongue. This, however, is but a slender part of the "glossological argument." Dr. Hedge thinks the time given to the classics might be better given to the modern languages. Among the many sufficient answers to this, one is well stated by Dr. Woolsey, "A good discipline under the ancient languages, especially under the Latin, places the acquisition of the modern, and above all, of the Romanic languages within a young person's easy reach. Suppose five years to be mainly devoted to the study of language; we have little doubt that if three of them are given to Latin and Greek, the three principal modern tongues of Romanic Europe can be learned as well in two years as they could have been in the five, if no acquaintance with Latin had preceded. And the reason of this lies in the superior discipline afforded by these languages of ancient times, more than in the fact that the vocabulary and grammar of the modern daughters of the Latin are to a considerable extent drawn from it. It is on the difference of thinking and expression between the old world and ours, that the greater discipline, the greater trial and exercise of the faculties in learning a language depends. The modern world in Christian lands thinks and writes very much in one way; even the Germans have modern minds, although their language is harder to acquire than those of most other European nations. The difficulties to be overcome in Latin thus smooth

the way afterwards, and the succeeding task of learning a language of modern times is rendered far easier."

3. But the far deeper reason for the thorough and enforced study of the Latin and Greek languages is quite ignored by Dr. Hedge, except in a casual witticism. We refer, of course, to the discipline and training of the intellect. Intelligent educators recognize this as the chief, while the imparting of information is a subordinate, though by no means unimportant, end of liberal education. In professional study or other subsequent culture, the other end of communicating knowledge in some department or specialty predominates, although it is not exclusive. In the study of law, medicine, or theology, a paramount object is to obtain knowledge in these several departments. But a secondary and by no means *unessential* aim is to train the mind to a special aptitude and facility for investigation and practice in these several professions. Indeed, collegiate education is therefore liberal, (*liber*), in contra-distinction to that of Polytechnic, Commercial, Military, or Common Schools, because it is *per se* freed from bondage to the requirements of any particular occupation, or the necessities of obtaining a livelihood. Released from such servitude, it is left free (*liber*) to pursue its own training, development, culture, and enlargement exclusively. And none the less so, although the purpose be ultimately to use this increased intellectual power for the more successful pursuit of vocations that shall yield a living. Still this education is liberal, *eminenter*, because for the time being it is emancipated from all bonds except to the mind's elevation and enlargement. Here, too, we have the key to the reason why, by common consent of the cultivated world, the professions of law, medicine, and divinity, are *par excellence* styled *liberal*. Beyond all other employments, except those of high teaching and the pursuit of literature or science as a profession, they involve, in addition to labours directly aiming at a subsistence, the culture of the intellect and increase of knowledge as intrinsically good; the improvement of the mind, in short, as an end in itself, and not as a mere machine for getting a living. Hence, where they are properly pursued, they promise a dignity and honour, which largely offsets the pecuniary advantages

of merely money-getting pursuits, or of what the Germans call the "Bread and Butter Sciences," which bear directly on material production, and the means of sustenance or wealth.

Such then being the nature and aim of liberal education, the value of different studies is to be estimated preëminently by their power to discipline and invigorate the intellect. Preëminently, we say, but not exclusively. For besides invigorating the mind, it should undoubtedly be the aim of a liberal education so to inform students in regard to the great outlines and elements of the sciences, physical and metaphysical, and of the liberal arts, that they may know how to prosecute at greater length whichever of them they may afterward choose; that they may know what every educated man ought to be ashamed to remain ignorant of; that they may be opened to that breadth of view which is a chief end and distinctive mark of all liberal culture; and finally, that food may be furnished to the mind in order to its vigour and growth, since it cannot exercise itself without objects on which to act, and can only grow by what it feeds on. Giving all due weight to these considerations, it remains true, first, that the great end of a liberal education is the due training and discipline of the mind; and secondly, that the study of the ancient languages, up to the point of a fair knowledge of them, is an instrument of this discipline for which no substitute has yet been found. The same, in our judgment, is also true of mathematics, in the average extent to which the study of them is enforced in the great colleges of our country, though we do not undertake to say that it is not urged beyond necessity in any of them.

4. Beyond the sphere of the intuitive faculties, and the retentive, or memory, what remain are the discursive powers of mind, the powers of thought, which culminate in reasoning. Now it is not the purely intuitive faculties of sense-perception by which we cognize the outer world, and of consciousness by which we cognize the ongoings within us, that are the special objects of cultivation in liberal education. These are rather memory, whereby we retain what we acquire by intuition, or otherwise; and thought, through the discursive faculties, by which the mind passes from (*discurrit*) the material so furnished to other results worked out of them. In this process abstrac-

tion, generalization, judgment, reasoning, constructive imagination are variously involved. These are the powers of thought, of intellectual discursion or discourse. Reasoning interpenetrates and supports them all. Or to reach the generic quality of them all, of which reasoning itself is a species, comparison—for, as Hamilton shows, they are all forms of comparison.

Now in regard to this reasoning by comparison, it is of two kinds—demonstrative, and moral or probable, according as it deals with necessary or contingent truth. The former is the ultimate standard, the perfect form, and normal type of all reasoning. Other reasoning becomes cogent and conclusive just in proportion as it approximates to this, or as we eliminate those elements whereby it comes short of this. Hence great educators, with rare exceptions, have incorporated a somewhat extended course of mathematics, as a fundamental part of liberal education, an indispensable mental gymnastic. How far, for these purposes, it is necessary to go into transcendental mathematics; how far it is needful to go beyond algebra and geometry, pure and applied, into the deeper intricacies of the calculus, in order to tone up the mind by adequate exercise in demonstrative reasoning, is thus far an open question. We care not to pronounce upon it. In deciding this, as well as the entire place of mathematics in liberal education, some other points must not be overlooked. They make great demands upon the powers of abstraction, attention, memory, especially logical memory. Probably nothing more tasks and invigorates the power of attention than difficult mathematical problems and demonstrations—and this too upon subjects the most abstract. And continuous persistent attention is but another name for mental application, or effective study, which is at once the measure and the synonyme of intellectual power. In this power, perhaps more than in any thing else, lies the secret of intellectual might, we were about to say, of genius itself, which is but a power of intense mental activity, in some given direction. Sir Isaac Newton is reputed to have said that if there was aught in which his mind surpassed that of ordinary men, it was this power of unremitting attention.

Another important power cultivated in the study of mathe-

matics is what we may call the tentative power, required in framing those hypotheses and inventing those experiments, which are so requisite in all investigations for the discovery of truth whether scientific or historical. This habit is constantly cultivated in forming conjectures, considering possibilities, devising processes for the solution of problems and the demonstration of theorems. Thus they become not only a calculus employed in the investigations of physical science, but a propaedeutic for the tentative processes by which its discoveries are made. And, as dealing with formal and necessary matter, they are more especially a propaedeutic for the study of other sciences of formal and necessary truth, such as logic and elementary metaphysics.

And yet pure mathematics yield only formal truth, which *as formal* is also necessary. But they do not of themselves give any content of actual being. They only prove truths of actual being hypothetically, *i. e.*, upon hypothesis of any facts thereof, otherwise evinced, furnishing the conditions to which they apply; hence, with logic, sometimes called hypothetical sciences. That is, they do not of themselves prove the first original fact of actual being. They may prove that $12 \times 12 = 144$, or that one side and the angles of a triangle being given, the other sides can certainly be deduced therefrom. But this does not prove any fact of actual being. If, however, it be otherwise proved that there are 12 garments, each worth 12 dollars, mathematics show their total value to be 144 dollars. Given from observation the horizontal distance from the base of a steeple to a certain point, and the angle formed by this line and another from the same point to the top of the steeple, and you can calculate its height. Without the data thus obtained from other sources, mathematics evince no truths of actual being. But it is mainly with facts of actual being that we have to do. On these we are called chiefly to exercise our reasoning faculties, and this in the methods of moral or probable reasoning. Hence it is of transcendent importance that the mind of the student receive the most complete drill in this kind, a drill which can only be given in any sufficient degree by the established curriculum of study in the Greek and Roman classics. This will appear more fully if we consider,

5. The special tasking of the reasoning powers which is involved in making out the meaning and the grammatical construction of the text of Latin and Greek authors. It is one continual process of finding premises and deriving conclusions from them. The various points as to gender, number, person, case, tense, the categorical, conditional, imperative force signified by the varied endings of words; the syntactical laws which must be harmonized with these endings; the necessity of conforming the meaning to the syntax and the syntax to the meaning, and both to known facts, and of ascertaining historical facts in order to find a key to each; the constant framing and testing of different hypotheses, as to the meaning and construction of sentences: the balancing of considerations often drawn from various aspects of the case; the filling out of elliptical passages; this followed up, as less difficult authors are mastered to those of greater complexity and obscurity, constantly and manifoldly tasks the attention, the discrimination, the invention, the application of logic, as no other exercises equally feasible at this stage of education can do. This discipline is invaluable. Nor can its loss be compensated.

It is no sufficient answer to this, to say that the same results may be achieved by studying the modern languages. Aside from obvious grammatical peculiarities which give the Latin and Greek a high vantage-ground in this respect, President Woolsey, in a passage already quoted, urges another fact with great force and conclusiveness, when he says, "it is on the difference of thinking and expression between the old world and ours, that the greater discipline, the greater trial and exercise of the faculties depends. The modern world in Christian lands thinks and acts very much in one way; even the Germans have modern minds, although their language is harder to acquire than those of most other European nations. The difficulties to be overcome in Latin thus smooth the way afterwards." Of this no one can doubt who has tried them.

It is indeed an evil *valde deflendus*, that this admirable discipline is now so greatly demoralized and thwarted, by the present nearly universal use of cheap translations in our colleges. Translations indeed might be used with great benefit, if the student would refuse to resort to them till he had exhausted

his own powers in solving difficulties and eliciting the meaning and construction. This, however, is too much to expect of the mass of immature and inconsiderate youth. Indolence has temptations which are immediate and urgent. The utility of the discipline resulting from faithful and thorough study is remote and not readily appreciated by the immature, when blinded by a seductive love of ease.

For this evil there is but one remedy. It is to be found in the skill and persistent fidelity of the teacher. He can find out methods of counteracting and thwarting the mischiefs of the reckless use of translations. He can work his pupils in such lines of questioning, that the illegitimate use of these helps, so far from saving labour to the student, shall only embarrass him in his recitations. No chairs in our colleges ought to be filled with more able and accomplished teachers. The cause under consideration necessitates, if not more scholarship and learning, more tact and fidelity in teaching, on the part of our classical professors, than formerly. The time has gone by when it will do to presume, as has so often been done, that almost any respectable college graduate will answer well enough to teach Latin or Greek. To teach them effectively, so as to neutralize this destructive agency, requires the highest measure of that knowledge, ability, fidelity, and tact which are the great requisites to all successful teaching. We ourselves passed through a college second to none in the land, in name and numbers, in which a single tutor taught all the Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and, with slight exceptions, every thing else up to senior year. Of course there was very little real teaching or attempting to teach. He was little beyond a sort of sentinel or orderly, to see that his pupils attended and recited. Yet they made decided progress, *because they were obliged to work out their lessons by grammar and lexicon*, being in blissful ignorance of all translations but Smart's Horace, and their emulation quite sufficed to raise a recognized standard of excellence, irrespective of the tutor who never took the trouble to parse them. The day is past when that or any college could live on such a basis. The "ponies" would run them down.

6. Another great advantage of classical study lies in the

constant exercise in the necessary forms of thought, and in the elementary truths of logic and metaphysics which it affords. Language is the vehicle of thought; the articulate embodiment of human consciousness, and of the truths, ideas, the forms, processes, and results of thinking, which are grasped by or have place in that consciousness. Grammar is but the logic of language. It is constantly dealing with subject, predicate, copula, the quantity and quality of propositions, the categorical and hypothetical force of sentences; the relations of actions or events to time and space, of substance and accident, of cause and effect. The causative, attributive, disjunctive, conditional force of particles and inflexions, especially the multitudinous and subtle distinctions indicated by the different parts of the Greek verb, and the connective particles between sentences which form the hooks and eyes of thought—all this and much more the like, show what an admirable discipline for logic and metaphysics is found in high and thorough classical study. To the allegation that the study of modern or other languages will do this as well as Latin and Greek—we answer, first as before, that the difference between ancient and present modes of thought renders the ancient languages far more serviceable for this purpose, by enforcing attention to all the ideas and forms of thought implied in grammatical construction, in order to detect their meaning. Second, That the structure of these languages and their terminal paradigms is peculiarly fitted to fasten the student's mind on such points, and to work it into the apprehension of them.

7. In Christendom it is still the custom in all the departments of science, letters, and the liberal arts, to borrow the technical nomenclature from the Latin and Greek. This is not only true of the liberal professions, law, medicine, and theology, but it is true of the sciences, physical and metaphysical, and of the fine arts. An examination of the very names of these several departments generally, and of their subordinate divisions, however minutely carried out, will show the vast reach of this remark. This being so, a knowledge of the languages which furnish this terminology, must greatly aid the understanding of it; and this not only in one's own profession, department, or specialty, but in the whole range of

science and liberal study beyond his own particular vocation. This is one reason why the study of these languages has been deemed so essential a part of liberal education. By a sort of tacit and instinctive consent the new terms required by the advance of philosophy and science, pure and applied, are, with slight exceptions, in the cultivated nations, taken from the Greek and Latin. Thus they become the common property of the republic of letters through the nations, and down the ages; a great link in the *commune vinculum*, which infusing a common element into the language of the literary and scientific world, binds all its members together in closest brotherhood. To all this may be added the fact that the New Testament, the charter of our common Christianity, and the great spring of modern civilization, is given to us in Greek, while the early Christian literature, and the primitive discussions of Christian doctrine were written in Greek and Latin; and nearly all the great treatises on theology from Augustine until the post-reformation period, have come down to us in Latin. The great principles of civil law too, which the Romans first systematized, find their roots and elementary formulas in the original and later Latin treatises in which they were developed. In these aspects, therefore, the "glossological argument" for the study of the ancient classics, named by Dr. Hedge, is greatly amplified and strengthened. Indeed the very term "glossological" is quite an illustration of what has just been said.

8. There is another view of this subject, in part "glossological," that ought not to be overlooked. Among those studies of language that exert the highest educating power is to be ranked that which traces the original and derivative meanings of words. Some professors of rhetoric begin with *Trench on Words*, deeming such studies of the greatest value as a foundation of rhetorical training. But it is clear that the study of words in their original meaning and its subsequent modifications, is among the most powerful educators of the mind. These changes and variations in the meaning of words are but the articulations of similar processes of thought, and of the relations therein involved, even as the growth of language, alike in copiousness of words, and variety in

their meaning, is but an exponent of the growth of thought. The various meanings developed out of the radical primitive import of a word, are founded on analogy, or the relations of genus and species, or historical circumstances which, as related to the word, are most instructive, or other things the like. To study words through all these changes and ramifications of their meaning, is to thread some of the most subtle distinctions and refinings of human thought; the most important logical relations and analogies—in a word, the normal workings and unfoldings of the human intellect. Hence it is a grand educating power.

But it may and will be said, that all this can be accomplished by the study of words in our own language. To this we answer, first, that the most important part of the vocabulary of the English and other principal modern tongues is taken from the Latin and Greek, and therefore cannot be historically traced as to its origin and development except through those languages. Take any half-dozen of these words, say, conscription, project, traduce, baptism, sacrament, paradise, melancholy, and how clearly does this appear. Secondly, it is only in the necessities involved in finding the meaning of ancient writers, that the degree of attention to these various significations of words can be ordinarily secured in the case of young students, which will give them the full disciplinary benefit of this sort of philological study. What a prodigious knowledge and educational training are given in a thorough mastery of the different meanings, and their mutual relations, of the words *ratio* in Latin, and *λογος* in Greek; and this too as they come down into modern languages, single or compounded with other words!

Finally, this leads us to say a word of the relations of these studies to history, with which Dr. Hedge thinks most students might more profitably employ their time. Histories, by modern authors, of Greece and Rome, are instructive, and do much to reproduce their life before us. Yet there is no reproduction so real and life-like as in the representations, thoughts, reasonings, narratives, poems, and speeches of their own authors, in their own language. In fact Greece and Rome cannot be duly mirrored to us except through the languages

thereof. These are the most signal achievements of those nations, and the most characteristic outbreathings of their life. Moreover, in the study of these languages, large portions of their history, if not directly brought before the student in the authors he reads, must be found out by him and graven on his mind in order to any due understanding and exegesis, and so any proper translation of what he reads.

But above all, it is only by some knowledge of the ancient classics that the contrast between Christian and ante-Christian history can be understood. They show us the utmost that human nature could achieve in morals and religion without a Divine revelation and without Christianity, in a state of intellectual cultivation and polish, which have made their works, to a large extent, literary models to succeeding nations. So we are prepared to judge aright of Christian history; and to determine what in the condition and achievements of the Christian nations is due to Christianity. Here we cannot do better than quote Dr. Woolsey.

“Another thing worthy to be taken into account is, that the study of the ancient languages forms a connection in the mind of the students, between the ancient and the modern periods. The mathematical sciences have no connection with the world at all. The physical and natural, with the exception of geology, contain almost nothing of a historical character. We need for the highest purposes of life, for instance, that we may be in a condition to judge of the evidences of religion and to understand its nature the better, to come into contact with antiquity, to be able to estimate its spirit, its wants, its actual civilization, to know something of the world before Christ, and the world without Christ. Not only is the key to this furnished by ancient literature, but the study of the works of those ages creates a conception in our minds of the state and progress of mankind which is of use for our culture in the highest sense. Not only is the judgment exercised by the continual habit of estimating probabilities in the combinations of words and of sentences, but the world itself opens to our eyes and becomes more apprehensible; we can trace its plan better, and see a Providence working out its redemption.”

Let us now attend to Dr. Hedge's argument for leaving .

the studies and behaviour of the student wholly to his own option.

"I venture to suggest that the time has come when this whole system of coercion might, with safety and profit, be done away. Abolish, I would say, your whole system of marks, and college rank, and compulsory tasks. I anticipate an objection drawn from the real or supposed danger of abandoning to their own devices and optional employment boys of the average age of college students. In answer, I say, advance that average by fixing a limit of admissible age. Advance the qualifications for admission; make them equal to the studies of the Freshman year, and reduce the college career from four years to three; or else make the Freshman year a year of probation, and its closing examination the condition of full matriculation. Only give the young men, when once a sufficient foundation has been laid, and the rudiments acquired, the freedom of a true University,—freedom to select their own studies and their own teachers, from such material and such *personnel* as the place affords.

"The rudiments of knowledge may be instilled by compulsory tasks; but to form the scholar, to really educate the man, there should intervene between the years of compulsory study and the active duties of life a season of comparative leisure. By leisure I mean, not cessation of activity, but self-determined activity,—command of one's time for voluntary study.

"There are two things which unless a university can give, it fails of its legitimate end. One is opportunity, the other inspiration. But opportunity is marred, not made, and inspiration quenched, not kindled, by coercion. Few, I suspect, in recent years, have had the love of knowledge awakened by their college life at Harvard,—more often quenched by the rivalries and penalties with which learning here is associated. Give the student, first of all, opportunity; place before him the best apparatus of instruction; tempt him with the best of teachers and books; lead him to the fountains of intellectual life. His use of those fountains must depend on himself. There is a homely proverb touching the impossibility of compelling a horse to drink, which applies to human animals and intellectual draughts as well. The student has been defined by

a German pedagogue as an animal that cannot be forced, but must be persuaded. If, beside opportunity, the college can furnish also the inspiration which shall make opportunity precious and fruitful, its work is accomplished. The college that fulfils these two conditions—opportunity and inspiration—will be a success, will draw to itself the frequency of youth, the patronage of wealth, the consensus of all the good. Such a university, and no other, will be a power in the land.

“Nothing so fatal to inspiration as excessive legislation. It creates two parties, the governors and the governed, with efforts and interests mutually opposed; the governors seeking to establish an artificial order, the governed bent on maintaining their natural liberty. I need not ask you, Alumni, if these two parties exist at Cambridge. They have always existed within the memory of ‘the oldest graduate.’

“Professors should not be responsible for the manners of students, beyond the legitimate operation of their personal influence. There should be no penalty but that of expulsion, and that only in the way of self-defence against positively noxious and dangerous members. Let the civil law take care of civil offences.”

We cannot restrain our astonishment, to say no more, at language like this from the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard College. It is little better than an *ad captandum* appeal to the undisciplined feelings and ignorant inexperience of youth, against the control and guidance which are essential to their proper training and education. We favour, to the utmost, all possible advancement in the preparation for entering college. What can be done before entering, makes so much room to do more after entering. We should be glad to have Freshmen begin where they now end, and to gain a whole year in preparation for after-work. But such changes, as all know, are the work of time. Still, suppose this done. Take our American students as they are at the beginning of Sophomore, or even Junior, nay, Senior year; what qualifications have they to select and lay out the course of study most needful for them? What knowledge have they, or in nine cases out of ten, their parents, that fits them for such an office? And if they had this requisite, how could we rely upon volatile youth at

that age, voluntarily to take upon themselves the toil and self-denial required to carry it out? Is it not quite certain that in most cases, this election of studies would rather be of what is most pleasant, than of what is most needful? just as so much of their voluntary reading is apt, until they are duly trained, to turn more to light and amusing books than to the *Novum Organum* or the *Paradise Lost*, or the great essayists, poets, historians, and philosophers? They will take to those departments for which they have the greatest aptitude, in which their minds energize with greatest facility—not those in which they are most feeble and deficient, and which most need bracing, in order to that due balance and symmetry of mental development which is one great end of liberal, as preparatory to professional education. True, indeed, Dr. Hedge advises, that in regard to “born philologers,” and “exceptional natures that delight in mathematics,” “the college should accommodate either bias, to the top of its bent, but should not enforce either with compulsory twist.”

We apprehend that this proceeds upon a radical misconception of the whole aim and end of a liberal education. One chief object of it is to substitute a broad for a narrow and one-sided culture: to prepare men to pursue their respective specialties at a later period, when they are mature enough to choose them intelligently, not only with greater power on account of their augmented intellectual vigour, but with some security against that extreme contraction of the mind upon single points, which would give a “life to the study of the dative case,” or “find its chief value in the calculation of values.” Even professional linguists and mathematicians see all the better through their respective departments, for having some outlook beyond them. He knows best his own home and its value who has taken some surveys beyond it. Doubtless he who works only at the point of a pin will gain amazing expertness therein, but it is in that which has “neither length nor breadth.” Men who have no part of their nature developed beyond some single special bent or bias, become, in a sort, intellectual monsters, and unless education does something to correct the abnormality, they grow to be the pedants and bores of literary society, the terror of scholars and gentlemen.

As to this picking and choosing of studies, there is but a very narrow range that can properly be left to the discretion of the student during his college course, simply because he wants the knowledge and judgment requisite for a proper selection. Perhaps a small range of option may be wisely allowed toward the end of the college course, in which the student may elect studies bearing more, in preference to those bearing less, on his future course. In the main, however, his course must be determined for him, if his college career, in ordinary cases, is to be of much value to him. And not only so, his professional course must also be marked out by those wiser and more experienced than himself. This is involved in the very idea of professional schools. They not only afford competent teachers, but fix the course of study, so that the student's efforts may be rendered most effective in preparing him for his work. Here too, though far less than in college, a certain measure, if not of "coercion," yet of enforced courses of study and propriety of conduct comes in. All this, of course, admits of such side reading or study, outside of the regular curriculum, whether in the college or professional school, or in the interval between them, or after leaving the latter, as his opportunities and inclinations may lead him to pursue.

Aside from this insuperable objection to placing the course of study at the option of the student, President Woolsey suggests another at present scarcely less so. It would require a number of professors far beyond the present scholarship of the country, and an amount of endowments vastly beyond the present reach of even our older colleges. Of *competent* professors even within the present average curriculum, there is no surplus. Such an indefinite extension of the possible courses for the student, as would suit the fancies of all sorts of them, or make any approximation to the standard of a proper university, would require hosts of professors in different departments not now attainable, even if the funds were at hand to sustain them.

In reality, however, the best preparation for special courses of study is a liberal education in the true meaning of the term. It has been supposed that our schools of applied science could dispense with a liberal education in their pupils. And

so they can. But some of the ablest professors in those schools have borne their testimony that, as a class, those of their pupils who had enjoyed a regular classical and collegiate education were vastly more susceptible than others to their teachings. This will surely be the testimony of the teachers of law, medicine, and theology. And none the less so, although, in rare instances, men, by the sheer force of eminent natural gifts, attain the highest eminence in these several professions without such advantages. All this we believe to be corroborated by the experience of those institutions that have allowed, to such as desire it, a partial and self-selected course of study, whether with or without the privilege of a regular degree. As a whole, we think it will be conceded that the results with this class of students do not tell much in favour of attempts at high education through courses of study determined by the choice of the student.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the last reform proposed by Dr. Hedge, the abolition of all college laws regulating the conduct, we will call attention to one great principle, apparently overlooked by him, which underlies this whole subject, both of prescribed and enforced courses of study and rules of conduct, one without which, in our judgment, decides the controversy regarding them, in its main issue, if not in its details. It is a familiar fact, that the first studies in most departments, are in various degrees, uninviting, mechanical, arduous, imposing all the pains of toil with little if any of the pleasures of insight. The rudiments of the sciences therefore, the first front presented by them to the student are apt to be, like those of the alphabet and rudimentary grammar in language, unwelcome and forbidding. It is only after the elementary principles have been mastered by dry and severe study, that the pleasures of insight supervene, and the pangs of intellectual travail at length bring to the birth the "rapturous eureka." The pleasure, the "inspiration" of study in any department, therefore, whatever the ability of the professor, or the inspiring power of his teachings, depend largely on a preliminary toilsome and painful effort, which the young student is sorely tempted to avoid, and generally will avoid if possible, unless some powerful extrinsic motive is supplied to him. He

is therefore in no condition to be safely left to his own choice as to what he shall study, or the manner and degree of diligence with which he shall study. How repulsive, for example, do the first exercise in the syllogism, and in metaphysics, often appear to those, who, after having been induced by sufficient motives, and under vigorous teaching, to toil upon them up to the point of facile insight, sport themselves in threading the tricks of "illicit process," arguing in a circle, *fallacia accidentis*, or in impaling adversaries on the horns of a dilemma? or at length luxuriate in questions of realism, idealism, and materialism, of cause and substance, of monism and pantheism, which have tasked Plato and Aristotle, Kant and Hamilton.

Abolish, says Dr. Hedge, "your whole system of marks, and college rank, and compulsory tasks." What is wanted is, first, opportunity, then inspiration. "But opportunity is marred, not made, and inspiration quenched, not kindled by coercion." This is well enough in the abstract, but in its present application it is shallow and one-sided, to say no more. We deem it enough, after what has already been said, to oppose to it the reasoning and authority of one of the mightiest minds and successful educators of this or any age. Says Sir William Hamilton in closing his introductory lecture on Metaphysics:

"The primary duty of a teacher of philosophy is to take care that the student does actually perform for himself the necessary process. In the first place, he must discover, by examination, whether his instructions have been effective,—whether they have enabled the pupil to go through the intellectual operation; and, if not, it behooves him to supply what is wanting,—to clear up what has been misunderstood. In this view, examinations are of high importance to a professor; for without such a medium between the teacher and the taught, he can never adequately accommodate the character of his instruction to the capacity of his pupils.

"But, in the second place, besides placing his pupil in a condition to perform the necessary process, the instructor ought to do what in him lies to determine the pupil's will to the performance. But how is this to be effected? Only by rendering

the effort more pleasurable than its omission. But every effort is at first difficult,—consequently irksome. The ultimate benefit it promises is dim and remote, while the pupil is often of an age at which present pleasure is more persuasive than future good. The pain of the exertion must, therefore, be overcome by associating with it a still higher pleasure. This can only be effected by enlisting some passion in the cause of improvement. We must awaken emulation, and allow its gratification only through a course of vigorous exertion. Some rigorists, I am aware, would prescribe, on moral and religious grounds, the employment of the passions in education; but such a view is at once false and dangerous. The affections are the work of God; they are not radically evil; they are given us for useful purposes, and are, therefore, not superfluous. It is their abuse that is alone reprehensible. In truth, however, there is no alternative. In youth passion is preponderant. There is then a redundant amount of energy which must be expended; and this, if it find not an outlet through one affection, is sure to find it through another. The aim of education is thus to employ for good those impulses which would otherwise be turned to evil. The passions are never neutral; they are either the best allies, or the worst opponents, of improvement. ‘Man’s nature,’ says Bacon, ‘runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.’ Without the stimulus of emulation, what can education accomplish? The love of abstract knowledge, and the habit of application, are still unformed, and if emulation intervene not, the course by which these are acquired is, from a strenuous and cheerful energy, reduced to an inanimate and dreary effort; and this, too, at an age when pleasure is all-powerful, and impulse predominant over reason. The result is manifest.” Again, in note A of the Appendix to the American edition of his *Metaphysics*, he uses the following emphatic language—“Nothing, therefore, could betray a greater ignorance of human nature, or a greater negligence in employing the most efficient means within its grasp, than for any seminary of education to leave unapplied these great promotive principles of activity, and to take for granted that its pupils would act precisely as they ought, though left with every

inducement strong against, and without any sufficient motive in favour of exertion."

This disposes of a large part of the argument against compulsory regulations, not only as respects studies, but conduct. We are quite ready to let the civil law take effect against its violators, and do what it may in preventing disorderly outbreaks among students. This, however, might do its utmost, and leave the whole life and manners of our colleges in a state so anarchical as to counter-work, if not utterly frustrate, the best efforts of the best professors and best students. Indecorum and disorder in public exercises, academical and religious, are destructive and ruinous to the full extent of their prevalence. They must be prevented by adequate regulations. Some order and decency of deportment must be insisted on at all times and places—especially the avoidance of whatever interferes with study during the hours of study, and with due attention to recitations and lectures while they are going on. Surely our academic groves must not be allowed to degenerate into menageries. To forego all rules and restraints in such matters is really to put the college, its teachers and meritorious students, at the mercy, or rather under the despotism, of the indolent, heedless, mischievous, and vicious members. This would be a deadly blow to education, and a great injustice to all parties. We would go all lengths with the reformers in reducing the number of rules and regulations to the fewest possible, consistent with the paramount end of order, which is the condition of all other good in a college. But this we would not forego at the bidding of any theorizers or reformers.

But the cry is for liberty as the condition of powerful, delighted, successful intellectual activity. There can be no inspiration without liberty. So be it—only let it not be supposed that liberty and law within due limits are incompatible. They are rather mutual complements and supports, in the family, the state, the church, the school, the college, in all sound intellectual and moral training and growth. Even liberty supposes a "law of liberty." Lawlessness is the negation of all genuine freedom—nowhere more than in a college, where the unrestrained licentiousness of the bad is a fatal tyranny over the good: nowhere more than in intellectual

growth, in which the tastes of the young, if unregulated, will run to wild self-indulgence, instead of that wholesome discipline which develops a strong, symmetrical, efficient intellect, that, from first mastering itself, is prepared to master whatever it is called to deal with.

In regard to college, as all other governments, we greatly crave for it the divine art of governing enough without governing too much, and of so governing the student that he shall seem to himself to act of his own choice or spontaneity, rather than under the pressure of an extrinsic authority; that the power without and that within shall be consentaneous, without conscious clashing, like the union of the centrifugal and centripetal forces in harmonious action. So order, and decorum, and diligence are secured, let there be the smallest burden possible of minute rules and irritating exactions.

But, we are told, professors should not be responsible for the morals of students beyond the legitimate sphere of their personal influence. This, like most of the specious utterances from this quarter, is a half-truth, all the more dangerous for want of its complementary counterpart. Professors are bound of course to exert whatever personal influence they can in favour of morality and religion among the students. But still further, the guardians of a college in their collective and authoritative capacity are bound to prohibit, and as far as possible repress, practices which are not only injurious to the offender, but contaminating to his associates, and demoralizing to the college: such as gambling, profaneness, drinking of intoxicating liquors, licentiousness, &c. Within certain limits, during this susceptible period of life, while the student, yet a youth, is withdrawn from parental inspection and domestic influence, the college faculty is *in loco parentis*, and certainly owe it to those who confide sons to their care to do what they can to check vice, exorcise contaminating influences, and put forth a positive and active Christian influence. We will not undertake to say, having no present means of knowledge, what may be the case of Harvard, with its large numbers of opulent youth, its nearness to a great city, and its "broad" religion. But we do say, in regard to the better class of Christian colleges within our acquaintance, that, with all their defects, they furnish the

most safe and hopeful places of resort for youth. The proofs of this, presented in a former article, we cannot now stop to repeat.*

Dr. Hedge even would sanction expulsion of dangerous students. This, of course, will apply to infamous crimes and vices which are both pestilent and incorrigible. Suppose, however, that the student has not reached this pass, but nevertheless shows an idleness, heedlessness, a drift towards vice and disorder which tend this way, threaten such a consummation, and withal are alike injurious to himself and his fellow-students; are no reprimands, penalties, or rewards, to be plied to prevent his sinking to ruin and incurring the brand of **EXPULSION**? This is the extreme penalty of college laws. It can inflict no civil or corporeal pains or punishments. All milder punishments, while, if ineffectual, they prepare the way to it, yet are designed to save from the need of it, and often with the happiest effect. They are of the nature of warnings, lowering of rank, suspension, informing parents—in short, reformatory and corrective, not destructive. Shall these be abolished? Believe it who will.

In closing this discussion we scarcely need remark, that we shall zealously espouse all real reforms and improvements in the organization and administration of our great institutions of liberal education. We think there is room for progress in all of which we have any knowledge, and that such as stubbornly set themselves against healthy advancement must inevitably be retrograde. Nothing of life can long be stationary, without suffering stagnation. But reformation is not destruction—the issue to which this new project of college reconstruction seems to invite us.

Before dropping our pen, we take occasion to say that the greatest requisite to advancement in our colleges is the increase of facilities and incentives to a more thorough preparation for entering them; and this for the present not so much in the extent of ground gone over, as the style and thoroughness of fitting; the honest *bona fide* mastery, by means of grammar and dictionary, of the books now required to be read for admis-

* See Article on *Religion and Colleges*, January, 1859.

sion to college. There is no lack of schemes for new colleges. He who should elevate those we now have, by founding and endowing a first class preparatory school, not far from each or any one of them, having the excellencies without the faults of the schools of England, would embrace an opportunity which is rarely offered, for doing an inestimable service to the church and country, to this generation and to posterity.

ART. III.—*The Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* New York. 1866.

WE observe several references in this Report to the want of missionaries. The same want is felt by most missionary institutions. We have seen with regret, in the public press, that the oldest of our missionary Boards reports a diminished number of missionaries, and but one new labourer sent out last year to the foreign field. Clearly more men should be sent out, and in seeking these men the first duty of all is that of prayer to the Lord of the harvest, that he would send them forth. No missionaries of any worth will be obtained except in answer to the prayers of the church, yet this axiom does not preclude the use of suitable means of obtaining them, nor the consideration of those second causes which affect their number, qualifications, and usefulness.

The idea of giving the gospel to the heathen is from Heaven, inspired in the hearts of men by Divine grace. In its development, like most things that endure, this idea takes the form of growth; it is not like a house built, or a machine made, but a seed planted, which springs up and grows. As a growth, its progress will be varied and subject to modifying causes; so a plant is affected by soil, climate, and culture. The growth of the idea of missions differs in each denomination of Christians, but all Protestant churches agree in their view of the object of the missionary enterprise. Their differing means of promoting this object depend on their doctrinal belief, and their opinions

concerning church government and order, perhaps also on their national customs, yet this diversity is not such as to discredit the divine origin of their work, nor to take aught from the idea of growth, each after its kind. Passing all but the Presbyterian type of this idea, we recognize this as developed in beautiful accord with the general church system bearing this venerable name; and in this system no feature is more distinctive than that which relates to the training of the gospel ministry, nor any thing more important than what concerns the efficiency of this ministry in actual service. In both we make most of the Divine element, be it that of the Holy Spirit in his distinctive work, or that of inspired truth as set forth in Holy Scripture, or that of providential ordering which directs all things. But coupled with reverence for God in the whole provision of the ministry, we also recognize the duty of the church, within certain limits, to see that her ministers are well prepared for their work, and well employed in it. The church acts on this view in her educational and presbyterial systems, and in her supervision of her ministers. In all that relates to this subject at home, matters are, in a good degree, settled in the judgment of the church. As to her work abroad, which is of but recent date, and which is performed under such widely varying conditions, it is not surprising that somewhat differing opinions should obtain. Without attempting to describe these varying judgments, or to discuss many of them, we give a few pages to the subject of the training and the distribution of missionaries.

Rightly or wrongly, most of the Protestant churches rely on volunteers for missionaries, and this fact must be kept in view as preliminary to the consideration of their proper training, if not also of their best distribution. Even in the few instances in which training schools for missionaries have been instituted, the young men thus educated are only such as have offered themselves for the work. Certain advantages are no doubt secured on this volunteer system, with some drawbacks also, and with the loss of important qualifications that would be obtained on the plan of having missionaries directly called by the church to engage in this service. The day will come when this plan can be adopted; in the mean time, we take the case as it stands, and leave in abeyance the whole question of a call to

missionary life. On any theory of this call, excepting one, some degree of training for future labour would be considered useful. If missionaries ought to be those only who need no other qualification than the consciousness of an inward call of the Holy Spirit to serve Christ among the heathen, the training of the schools and the experience of years may be dispensed with. We find no warrant for this theory in the Scriptures, and little countenance to it in practice; it is only too easy for some men to mistake their own impulses, and to misjudge the circumstances of their lives, so as to fancy that they should go out as missionaries. As an example, one out of several, we knew a man who was over forty years of age, having a wife and six children, with no education beyond the simplest rudiments, without clear religious views, but possessing energy in more than ordinary degree, who left his home in the interior and came with his family to one of our seaport cities, under the sincere conviction that it was his duty to go, without delay, as a missionary to China. His application to be sent out having been declined by more than one missionary society, he then engaged in some kind of work to earn a support for himself and family, and died after a few years,—his completed course showing that he was not called to be a foreign missionary by the unerring Spirit. While such mistakes may be made, we so highly reverence the sovereign and gracious work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men, that we should expect to see happy results from the missionary labours of many thus taught, even though they might not be learned in the studies of the college or the theological school; yet these good men might expect, unless in extraordinary instances, to have their usefulness increased by proper training.

At the opposite extreme, we find those who make every thing of training, and little of what we understand by the call of the Spirit. Missionaries are to be made as lawyers or doctors are made, they are to be educated for the work. The often-lauded school at Rome for the education of missionaries, gives us a striking example of this idea. Young men are brought from Asia, Africa, America, and the Islands of the Seas, to this school to be trained, and then they are sent back to their own country as Romish priests. Possessing the

vernacular language as their mother tongue, and taught in the wisdom of the Romans, they are sometimes held up for our imitation. We often hear the question, why do not our Missionary Boards bring some of the converts in India or China to this country, to be educated, and then to be sent back as missionaries? The question is a fair one, and the school at Rome is in some respects its answer. Were it our object to train up a class of ritualists, missionaries whose main duties would be the performance of ceremonies, men whose knowledge of the Scriptures and whose experience of Divine grace counted for little, agents whose service was to be regulated by their allegiance to the vicar of Rome rather than to our blessed Lord, then might we institute a school of this kind; but for such training as our missionaries need, there is a more excellent way,—as we shall see further on.

Another phase of missionary education is represented by the excellent Protestant schools at Basle and Islington, in which young men are in preparation for the foreign field through the whole course of study, usually extending over several years,—at Basle occupying six years. In these schools, a good degree of practical education is given; they have sent forth many valuable missionaries, some of whom have been men of superior scholarship. They may be expedient in countries where young men of limited pecuniary means cannot readily gain access to the colleges and universities; but in our country no difficulty of this kind stands in the way, and we should greatly deprecate the training of missionaries as a class separate from most ministers of the church. They would come to be regarded as of a less honoured type, and would lose the sympathy of many Christian people, while ministers at home would cease to feel the incentives to the duty of sustaining the work of missions, which grow out of their common education with their brethren in the foreign field. The result would be a diminished number of missionaries, and very likely the sending out of inferior men.

The true idea is that missionaries should be educated like other ministers, so far as college and seminary studies are concerned. Their support during their course of study should be provided in the same way, either by themselves and their

friends, or by the aid of our Educational Boards. In all respects they ought to be men of the same character, attainments, and social position with their clerical brethren at home, equally qualified for their work, enjoying the esteem of their classmates who are pastors of the churches, and having the confidence and sympathy of the churches themselves. Their missionary work, in all its varied duties, will then be fulfilled with ability corresponding to the average efficiency of ministers at home; and a kind consideration will be given by the church to the claims of superannuated or infirm missionaries, their widows, and children, such as could be expected only for those who stood on the same footing with similar cases in this country.

Our educational system sends forth men of varied gifts, some of them likely to be far more useful than others; we covet for missionary service men eminent in grace and also in gifts; in no instance should men of qualifications below the average be sent, while there is need of talents of the highest order. The idea that any good man will answer for the heathen can hardly be too severely reprobated. To lay the foundation of the church in Africa or Siam requires master workmen. To become scholars of eminence in the languages of China or India is no task for men of feeble parts, and no man should be sent forth, or should continue in the missionary field, who cannot in a few years become well acquainted with the vernacular language. To deal wisely with questions that spring up calls for mature general scholarship, insight into the motives of action, perception of the consequences, near and remote, of measures presented for one's approval; while to sway the minds of men needs in every nation very much the same high order of mental and moral power. It is Divine grace, however, which chiefly qualifies men for usefulness, and we covet most in missionaries earnest love and faith, manifested in humble, patient, unceasing labours for Christ and his kingdom. And for acquiring these qualifications of usefulness, our church arrangements as now existing furnish admirable provision.

A Chair of instruction in missions in our theological schools, has been advocated. More than thirty years ago something of this kind was under the consideration of the General Assem-

bly. The Free Church of Scotland has lately adopted this measure. Something, perhaps much, may be conceded as of value in an arrangement of studies in the Theological Seminary, which would furnish lectures, information, and counsel concerning missions,—having reference to the wonderful openings for the spread of the gospel in our day, and also to the diversified nature of modern evangelistic efforts. It were easy however, to expect too much from a professorship of this kind. No one man could give lessons, for instance, in all the languages spoken in our missions; nor could he always impart the counsel which young men need as to particular fields of labour, departments of work, adaptation of health to climate, and similar practical matters, some of which vary every year in their relation to different countries; we refer to such cases as often call for the best consideration of our secretaries of foreign missions. If the missionary professor were expected, moreover, to spend a part of his time among the churches, seeking to foster an interest in his great theme, he would find it difficult in our widely extended country to engage in this service without neglecting the duties of the class-room and the preparation required for these duties. We should think the German idea of Professor Extraordinary preferable in some respects, as opening the way for the services of returned missionaries in lectures on their respective fields of labour. It might be invidious to select men fitted to render the best service, but if men like Lowrie, Culbertson, and Fullerton—not to speak of any but missionaries who have finished their course, could be employed to give several lectures, each on his own field of labour, its people, their language, religion, the work of missions among them,—spending a few weeks at each one of our Theological Seminaries, the result might be happy. There may be objections even to a modified arrangement of this kind, and at any rate its practical details would require careful consideration and adjustment; perhaps it would be found to be impracticable. The working of the Scotch plan will be watched with interest. In a small old settled country like Scotland, among a homogeneous people, in churches all completely moulded by the Westminster type of theology, a missionary professor of eminent talents and surpassing eloquence, such a man as the

venerable missionary at whose instance this Chair has been founded, could exert a happy influence on behalf of the cause of missions in all parts of the land, as well as among all the sons of the prophets. It is well that the experiment is to be made under such favourable conditions. If it is found to work well there, the churches of other countries may inquire into its adaptation to their circumstances. In the mean time the missionary training of our candidates for the ministry is in good hands, and rests on correct ideas. The support of the work of missions is one of the duties of all Christians. The teaching of the pulpit, expounding the word of God, is the best human agency for leading Christian people to perform this duty. To aid this teaching, our Theological Seminaries are founded. Some of their students go abroad, others remain at home, both serving the Lord; and both need instruction while attending the seminary in regard to the missionary aspect of their vocation. Each professor gives instruction concerning it in his own department. All the leading divisions of our course of theological study have direct bearings on the work of Christian missions, in its home support and its development abroad. It is a work inseparably connected with right views of Scripture Exegesis, Theological Doctrine, Church History, Government in the Church, Homiletics, &c.; and the practical spirit of missions is closely related to the life of piety in the soul, which is fostered by the devotional services and the pastoral influence of professors, so greatly prized in our theological institutions. We may rest therefore in the conclusion, that the ordinary training of our ministers is the best training of our missionaries. Even the special provision of evangelistic instruction, if it were deemed expedient to make it, would inure almost equally to the benefit of all our ministers; indeed its bearing on the ministry at home might be one of its main recommendations. It cannot be questioned that one of the greatest wants of the ministry in our time is piety of the order needed by our foreign missionaries,—of the type so nobly exemplified by all ministers of the gospel in the first ages of the Christian church. If a missionary professorship would aid in supplying this want, it might well be founded without delay.

Thus far we have considered the training of missionaries of

our own country; the training of native missionaries in all unevangelized countries is not less essential to the prevalence of the Christian faith. The idea that missionaries must be sent forth from Christian countries in sufficient number to preach the gospel to every creature, we apprehend, is supported neither by Apostolic precedent nor by enlightened reason; without the restoration of the gift of tongues we see not how it would be practicable. In the native churches of every people will be found men that can be set apart to the work of the ministry; and these men will possess superior advantages over foreign evangelists, in their knowledge of the language, ideas, associations, usages, and way of life of their countrymen, in their living in their own climate and at small pecuniary expense, in short, in their being at home among their own people. Native ministers are now pastors of churches or evangelists in China, Burmah, India, West and South Africa, Western Asia, the islands of the seas,—men eminent in piety and in useful labours for the spread of the gospel. In all unevangelized nations the great want is that of such men, in number equal to the work of teaching every creature, and in qualifications so far advanced as to make them capable of rightly dividing the word of God. Our missionary policy and plans should be directed to the training of these men, or else our hopes will inevitably end in disappointment,—their training, not their support. Their support is indeed a matter of pressing moment. It may have in most cases to be provided at first from abroad, but it should be so ministered as to be readily turned over to the native Christian community at the earliest practicable moment; and in the meantime the native ministers should not be encouraged to adopt the expensive ways of European and American social life. This unfits them for intercourse with their own people, and increases the burden of the churches in the support of the ministry. Our remarks must be restricted, however, to the training of these native ministers.

The Roman church, as we have seen, brings candidates for the priesthood from their native country to Rome for higher instruction. Besides the objections already suggested to this measure, these young men are likely to be injured by acquiring the habits of foreigners; and this difficulty would be increased

among Protestant native candidates on our views of domestic life in the ministry, according to which married men—not too early married—are as a rule to be preferred. It would be a calamity if our Hindu or Chinese brethren, brought to our Theological Seminaries to be trained for the ministry, should return to their own country denationalized, having learned to look with contempt on the dress, the table, and other practical matters included in the idea of every-day life among their own people. They would be likely to receive injury from excessive attentions paid to them at first, or not less from want of judicious and kindly sympathy. It is, however, simply impracticable to adopt a measure of this kind on a large scale, both for its heavy expense and its severance of family ties; and were it practicable, we should still question whether the education of these young men should be conducted at all in the English or any other foreign language. No more useful native missionaries are to be found than Karen and Chinese brethren, who are acquainted only with their mother tongue. They should be able, at least many of them, to use freely the original languages of the Holy Scriptures; but while a knowledge of English, French, or German, may in some cases be desirable, it is difficult to be acquired, and when gained it is attended with many temptations to abandon the ministry for secular employment, as more remunerating. The peculiar circumstances of each country and people, however, should be well considered in their bearing on this topic; there may be instances in which this knowledge of a foreign language would be very useful.

The instruction of native ministers calls for no remark in this place, excepting that it should be scriptural, practical, and so far complete as to fit them for usefulness among their own people. The outline of our theological course of study will no doubt be kept in view by the instructors of our native missionaries, to be filled up as far as circumstances permit, which in many cases would be only in a very moderate degree. It is important that suitable text-books should be prepared early for the use of these native candidates. So far as the place and the instructors are concerned, each of two methods has certain advantages. The native candidate for the ministry may receive

instruction from his spiritual father at the station where he lives, and thus his theological training will bear some proportion to the qualifications of his teacher, the time at his command, and other circumstances; there is danger lest it be irregular and fragmentary, but it may possess a good degree of adaptation to practical usefulness. This method might be made in some cases thoroughly effective, and in no case should it be left out of use whatever other plan may be adopted. It is, as we suppose, virtually the method pursued by the Great Teacher in the training of the Apostles. In small missions, and perhaps in the early stages of every mission, it is the only method that can be adopted. On the other general plan, all the candidates in a certain district are brought together and form a theological class, under the instruction of a missionary appointed for the purpose. A theological training somewhat systematic and complete, useful acquaintance with one's fellow-labourers, valuable incentives to a life of piety and of devoted labours for Christ, broader views of their work and their relations to the church, serve to recommend this method of teaching our native ministers. Modifications of these plans need not here be considered. The well ordered system of Presbytery as a form of church government is comprehensive and flexible enough to provide for a satisfactory treatment of this vital subject; and every church court on missionary ground should give particular consideration to its claims. Whatever views are held, let some plan be intelligently adopted and firmly carried into effect, in complete distinction from the desultory, fragmentary, pointless efforts which yield so little fruit.

Closely connected with the training of missionaries is their distribution; as in an army the proper disposal of troops in the field follows their drilling in the camp, and is equally essential to victory. The distribution of our foreign missionary force has respect to the countries to be evangelized, and the stations to be occupied. The countries are marked out clearly for the American church. While the field is the world, it is not to all parts of this vast field that the Christians of all countries should equally send forth evangelists, but to such only as the hand of Providence may direct in the case of each denomination. No one will question the duty of our American churches

to send the gospel to the Indian tribes, to the Chinese emigrants in our Pacific states, to the Jews who are our fellow-citizens, as well as to all classes of unevangelized people in our country. Going into the regions beyond our boundaries, when our missionaries were sent out, thirty or forty years ago, Western Asia, India, Burmah, and Siam were accessible; and the evident success of our missions in these countries, as well as the spiritual wants of their inhabitants yet unsupplied, and the open doors still unentered, constitute a strong argument for the continued employment of American missionaries in these lands. Indeed, if our brethren were withdrawn from Burmah and Siam, and from Japan, lately entered, no labourers from Christian countries would be left. Even from India, which has special claims on the British churches, and where there are over five hundred European and American ordained missionaries, and about one-third as many native ordained ministers, we would withdraw no American labourer. The past history of our evangelistic work among the Hindus, and its present prospects, justify our missionary Boards in maintaining the existing staff of evangelists; and well may we ask, what are these among a heathen and Mohammedan population of nearly two hundred millions? If the number of our missionaries in this country may not be largely increased, let vacant places at least be supplied with new labourers, and let our plans be shaped in the best way for the training and employment of native missionaries. Into their hands, and into the charge of our English, Scotch, and Irish brethren, the work of evangelization in India may still be mainly entrusted.

In three of the other main fields of foreign missions, the churches of our country have been summoned to enter by the wonderful events of comparatively recent years, indeed, of days hardly yet ending—South America, Africa, and China. The first, Mexico included, as a part of our own continent, as opening gradually to our missionary agencies, as related to us by political and commercial ties of growing intimacy, and as burdened by the same religious bondage which many seek to impose on our countrymen, has certainly claims on our missionary zeal of peculiar and increasing force. Between Western Africa and China, our country in its geographical position stands as

the only Christian nation, and obviously sustains relations of peculiar interest to each. The remarkable orderings of Providence, which have connected Africa and her children with our country, and thus led to such wonderful and even terrible events in our history, have yet a rainbow aspect when viewed with reference to our giving the gospel to the African people. No other race has stronger claims on our missionary zeal. Turning to the East, the great hive of our race in Asia has suddenly come near to us, and has already swarmed into two or three of our states. Before these lines meet the eye of the reader the first steamer of a line of noble ships will be well on its way from our western seaport to the ports of China, carrying among her passengers some of our excellent missionaries. Who that has understanding of the times, and that looks thoughtfully towards the four hundred millions of Chinamen, can doubt that our churches are called to engage largely in the work of evangelizing this ancient, sensible, practical people. The one hundred and two European and American missionaries which the latest reports enumerate in China, aided by perhaps a score of native ministers, make but a small force, and one that is altogether inadequate to the work to be done. Let it be considered that the call for more men in this missionary field comes with a loud voice to our American churches. No others are more favourably situated for responding to it; indeed no others have equal access to this field of missions; no others have performed greater services preparatory to active labours, and no others have already enjoyed more signal proofs of the Divine blessing upon the work of their hands. manifold should our missionaries be increased in the land of Sinim.

Passing to the stations to be occupied, we meet with three leading theories. One would make every foreign missionary an itinerant preacher, having some convenient place as his point of departure, or else literally living in tents all the year; and this idea is held with greater or less reference to native assistants. Most would employ these native helpers, and depend very much on their assistance, but we have known some who seemed to feel contented when they had preached a sermon in a heathen village, and were then ready to shake off the dust of their feet as a testimony against them, understanding in this

erroneous way one of the verses in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew. The usefulness of well-planned and well-sustained itinerant labours in some heathen countries cannot for a moment be called in question, but that they should be prosecuted in the case of most missionaries in connection with other and stationed work, will appear as we proceed. A second and more common plan is that of occupying as many stations as possible with foreign labourers, placing one or preferably two at each. These men engage in preaching services held by the wayside, and also in churches or chapels at stated times; they take the charge of schools, in many cases; they go out on missionary tours sometimes; they seek the assistance of native teachers and preachers; they are occupied with work for the press; obviously much good may be done in this way. Two or three drawbacks, however, are likely to attend it—the work grows on their hands beyond their ability to do it justice; their health gives way, and it is difficult to obtain relief or assistance, the missionaries at other stations being equally overworked; and it may be questioned whether on this plan the great element of native evangelizing agency will be developed in the fullest degree, inasmuch as the foreign labourer often cannot leave his station to watch over and encourage his native brethren at such outposts as they should occupy. A third plan contemplates the performance of the same kinds of work as the second, but differs from the latter in placing a goodly number of missionaries at a few well selected central cities or towns. In these the several departments of missionary work can be conducted with vigour, on some easily arranged system of division of labour. In the event of illness or bereavement among the missionaries, relief could be given or provision made for continuing the work, by the temporary re-arrangement of duties. Whatever labours were undertaken would be such as the missionaries approved in joint conference, under the sanction of the Home Committee, not however to the restriction of any one's liberty or energy of action in his own department, but yet guarding against the unwise attempting to do everything, which in some cases of isolated action ends only in disappointment; on the other hand, all the labours of the brethren, wisely proportioned, carried forward with mutual sympathy and coöpera-

tion, would exemplify the power of united action, on which so much of efficiency and success depends. But the main advantage of this plan is that it gives enlarged scope for the employment of native labourers in active missionary service. These may be placed at neighbouring towns and villages and often visited; without such frequent intercourse being maintained between them and their missionary friends, they are likely to fall off in their zeal, to give way to temptation, and to disappoint many cherished hopes of their usefulness. For the employment of an extensive and thorough system of native missionary agency, we apprehend that the action of the missionary Presbytery must contemplate supervision from central stations; this supervision indeed is its proper work, and in all cases it should be so ordered as to prove a source of strength and encouragement to the native brethren. The ministers among them, being themselves members of the Presbytery, would incur no risk of being unfairly dealt with, and could contribute much to the influence of their foreign co-presbyters.

Our missionary plans should all bear reference to the best employment of native agency; this indeed should be one of the main ends of their policy. To save lost souls is the great object of Christian missions, so far as man is concerned, and they are to be saved chiefly by the preaching of ministers of the gospel who are natives in each country. The temptation of most foreign missionaries, or at any rate their tendency, is that of doing too much of the work of evangelization themselves, and connected with this, their being slow to transfer responsible work to the hands of native assistants. In some missions of considerable maturity there are but few native ministers, and still fewer native pastors, while there is a large body of native assistants of other grades. It is likely that most of these assistants are not well qualified to become evangelists or pastors, but our plans should be so arranged as to impart the qualifications needed, in so far as these can be taught by men, and when Divine grace has been granted to these "helpers," to launch them forth on the great sea of native life. Let them be taught like our children to walk alone, not always leaning on the arm of their missionary friends, yet always under their kind and watchful eye. Let them be stationed in neighbouring

towns and cities, two or three in company. Let the growth and expansion of the mission take this form, that of spreading in all directions by the out-stationing of native labourers, rather than by occupying feebly numerous stations by foreign missionaries. Accordingly we should advise the grouping or stationing of missionaries, in fields which admit of this kind of centralized labour, at a few commanding centres of influence. In China, one well-manned central station in a province would, in ordinary cases, be sufficient for the work of each Missionary Board. In the case of missions already established on the second general plan, no immediate or radical change of policy would be expedient; nothing must be risked that we have gained by long years of noble and patient labour; yet the desired change could still be safely though gradually made,—by selecting certain stations as the main stations, to be strongly manned by both foreign and native labourers, and then by having the other stations, as their foreign labourers are removed by sickness or other causes, occupied by the best native labourers available, to be under the supervision of the missionaries at the nearest main station. These are somewhat matters of detail, we refer to them here only as connected with general views of the subject; and if this change were made, it should be rested on general reasons, not on personal, local, or economical considerations, and certainly not because the want of missionaries rendered a measure of this kind a matter of necessity. This want is deeply to be deplored, and it might become so serious as to be a good reason for reconstructing our missionary plans; but the subject as we here view it, is one having general and broad bearings. In some countries, and among tribes of small population, this line of action might be inexpedient, perhaps impracticable; but in the midst of people whose number is reckoned by scores and hundreds of millions, it would result in our having large, well-supported stations of foreign missionaries, surrounded by an ever increasing number of stations occupied by native labourers, into whose hands the work of evangelizing their own people would be transferred, more and more.

Our plans may be good,—they ought to be the best,—broad, well-balanced, far-reaching, in some degree worthy of the glorious end of the church as a missionary body,—yet we must

not put our trust in our good methods, nor in our excellent brethren, nor in the church itself, but only in the presence and grace of Him, who has said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We think, on the general views here presented, the work of Christian missions would have a steady growth, sending its roots deep into the ground, spreading widely its branches, and yielding fruit unto eternal life.

ART. IV.—*Gregory the Theologian.*

THE province of Cappadocia, which was by no means noted for general intelligence, gave rise, in the fourth century, to three of the most eminent divines of the Greek church, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory the Theologian, or Gregory Nazianzen, who, in connection with Athanasius the Great, decided the victory of the orthodox doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and the Holy Trinity against Arianism and Semi-Arianism. Among these Basil was most distinguished and influential as a bishop and pastor, Gregory of Nyssa as a thinker, and Gregory Nazianzen as an orator. They were united by the tie of sanctified friendship, and coöperated hand and heart for the success of the Nicene faith. Basil died before its final triumph, but the two Gregories attended, and the one for a time presided over, the second œcumenical council, held at Constantinople 381, which reaffirmed, enlarged, and fixed the Nicene Creed, which is traced by some writers, though incorrectly, to the authorship of Gregory of Nyssa.

The life of Gregory Nazianzen, with its alternations of high station, monastic seclusion, love of severe studies, enthusiasm for poetry, nature, and friendship, possesses a romantic charm. He was "by inclination and fortune tossed between the silence of a contemplative life and the tumult of church administration, unsatisfied with either, neither a thinker nor a poet, but, according to his youthful desire, an orator, who, though often bombastic and dry, laboured as powerfully for the victory of orthodoxy as for true practical Christianity." So

Hase admirably characterizes him in his *Compend of Church History*. Gibbon speaks of him with considerable interest in the twenty-second chapter of his great work, and makes the characteristic remark: "The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart, and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen." The praise of "the tenderness of his heart" suggests to the sceptical historian another fling at ancient Christianity, by adding the note: "I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople."

Gregory Nazianzen was born about 330, a year before the emperor Julian, either at Nazianzus, a market-town in the southwestern part of Cappadocia, where his father was bishop, or in the neighbouring village of Arianzus. Respecting the time and place of his birth, views are divided. According to Suidas, Gregory was over ninety years old, and therefore, since he died in 389 or 390, must have been born about the year 300. This statement was accepted by Pagi and other Roman divines, to remove the scandal of his canonized father's having begotten children after he became bishop; but it is irreconcilable with the fact that Gregory, according to his own testimony, (*Carmen de vita sua*, v. 112 and 238, and *Orat. v. c. 23.*) studied in Athens at the same time with Julian the Apostate, therefore in 355, and left Athens at the age of thirty years. Comp. Tillemont, tom. ix. p. 693—697; Schröeckh, *Church Hist.* xiii. p. 276, and the admirable monograph of Ullman on Gregory Nazianzen, 548, sqq.

In the formation of his religious character his mother Nonna, one of the noblest Christian women of antiquity, worthy to be placed at the side of Monica, the mother of Augustine, exerted a deep and wholesome influence. By her prayers and her holy life she brought about the conversion of her husband from the sect of the Hypsistarians, who, without positive faith, worshipped simply a supreme being; and she consecrated her son, as Hannah consecrated Samuel, even before his birth, to the service of God. "She was," as Gregory describes her, "a

wife according to the mind of Solomon ; in all things subject to her husband according to the laws of marriage, not ashamed to be his teacher and his leader in true religion. She solved the difficult problem of uniting a higher culture, especially in knowledge of divine things and strict exercise of devotion, with the practical care of her household. If she was active in her house, she seemed to know nothing of the exercises of religion ; if she occupied herself with God and his worship, she seemed to be a stranger to every earthly occupation ; she was whole in everything. Experiences had instilled into her unbounded confidence in the effects of believing prayer ; therefore she was most diligent in supplications, and by prayer overcame even the deepest feelings of grief over her own and others' sufferings. She had by this means attained such control over her spirit, that in every sorrow she encountered, she never uttered a plaintive tone, before she had thanked God." He especially celebrates also her extraordinary liberality and self-denying love for the poor and the sick. But it seems to be not in perfect harmony with this, that he relates of her : " Towards heathen women she was so intolerant, that she never offered her mouth or hand to them in salutation.* She ate no salt with those who came from the unhallowed altars of idols. Pagan temples she did not look at, much less would she have stepped upon their ground ; and she was as far from visiting the theatre." Of course her piety moved entirely in the spirit of that time, bore the stamp of ascetic legalism rather than of evangelical freedom, and adhered rigidly to certain outward forms. Significant also is her great reverence for sacred things. " She did not venture to turn her back upon the holy table, or to spit upon the floor of the church." Her death was worthy of a holy life. At a great age, in the church which her husband had built almost entirely with his own means, she died, holding fast with one hand to the altar, and raising the other imploringly to heaven, with the words : " Be gracious to me, O Christ, my King !" Amidst universal sorrow, especially among the widows and orphans whose comfort and help she had been,

* Against the express injunction of love for enemies, Matt. v. 44, sqq. The command of John in his second Epistle, v. 10, 11, which might be quoted in justification of Nonna, refers not to pagans, but to antichristian heretics.

she was laid to rest by the side of her husband near the graves of the martyrs. Her affectionate son says in one of the poems in which he extols her piety and her blessed end: "Bewail, O mortals, the mortal race; but when one dies, like Nonna, *praying*, then weep I not."*

Gregory was early instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the rudiments of science. He soon conceived a special predilection for the study of oratory, and through the influence of his mother, strengthened by a dream,† he determined on the celibate life, that he might devote himself without distraction to the kingdom of God. Like the other church fathers of this period, he also gave this condition the preference, and extolled it in orations and poems, though without denying the usefulness and Divine appointment of marriage. His father, and his friend Gregory of Nyssa, were among the few bishops of the Nicene age who lived in wedlock. Soon afterwards marriage was prohibited to bishops altogether, while the lower clergy in the Greek church were allowed and are expected to marry to this day.

From his native town he went for his further education to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he probably already made a preliminary acquaintance with Basil; then to Cæsarea in Palestine, where there were at that time celebrated schools of eloquence; thence to Alexandria, where his revered Athanasius wore the supreme dignity of the church; and finally to Athens, which still maintained its ancient renown as the seat of Grecian science and art. Upon the voyage thither he survived a fearful storm, which threw him into the greatest mental anguish, especially because, though educated a Christian, he, according to a not unusual custom of that time, had not yet received holy baptism, which was to him the condition of salvation. His deliverance he ascribed partly to the intercession of his parents,

* Carm. 116, p. 107.

† There appeared to him two veiled virgins, of unearthly beauty, who called themselves *Purity* and *Chastity*, companions of Jesus Christ, and friends of those who renounced all earthly connections for the sake of leading a perfectly divine life. After exhorting the youth to join himself to them in spirit, they rose again to heaven.—Carmen iv. ver. 205—285.

who had intimation of his peril by presentiments and dreams, and he took it as a second consecration to the spiritual office.

In Athens he formed or strengthened the bond of that beautiful Christian friendship with Basil, which, with a brief interruption, lasted till death. They were, as Gregory says, only one soul animating two bodies. He became acquainted also with the prince Julian, who was at that time studying there, but felt wholly repelled by him, and said of him, with prophetic foresight, "What evil is the Roman empire here educating for itself!" He was afterwards a bitter antagonist of Julian, and wrote two invective discourses against him after his death, which are inspired, however, more by the fire of passion, than by pure enthusiasm for Christianity, and which were intended to expose him to universal ignominy as a horrible monument of enmity to Christianity, and of the retributive judgment of God.*

Friends wished Gregory to settle in Athens as a teacher of eloquence, but he left there in his thirtieth year, and returned through Constantinople, where he took with him his brother Cæsarius,† a distinguished physician, to his native city and his parents' house. At this time his baptism took place. With his whole soul he now threw himself into a strict ascetic life. He renounced innocent enjoyments, even to music, because they flatter the senses. "His food was bread and salt, his drink water, his bed the bare ground, his garment of coarse rough cloth. Labour filled the day; praying, singing, and holy contemplation, a great part of the night. His earlier life, which was anything but loose, only not so very strict, seemed to him reprehensible; his former laughing now cost him many tears.

* These *Invectivæ*, or λόγοι στυλιτευτικοί, are, according to the old order, the 3d and 4th. according to the new, the 4th and 5th, of Gregory's Orations, tom. i. p. 78—176 of the Benedictine edition.

† To this Cæsarius, who was afterwards physician in ordinary to the Emperor in Constantinople, many, following Photius, ascribe the still extant collection of theological and philosophical questions, *Dialogi iv., sive Questiones theol. et philos.* 145; but without sufficient ground. Comp. Fabricii *Bibl. Gr.* viii., p. 435. He was a true Christian, but was not baptized till shortly before his death in 368. His mother Nonna followed the funeral procession in the white raiment of festive joy. He was afterwards, like his brother Gregory, his sister Gorgonia, and his mother, received into the number of the saints of the Catholic church.

Silence and quiet meditation were law and pleasure to him.”* Nothing but love to his parents restrained him from entire seclusion, and induced him, contrary to talent and inclination, to assist his father in the management of his household and his property.

But he soon followed his powerful bent toward the contemplative life of solitude, and spent a short time with Basil in a quiet district of Pontus, in prayer, spiritual contemplations, and manual labours. “Who will transport me,” he afterwards wrote to his friend concerning this visit,† “back to those former days, in which I revelled with thee in privations? For voluntary poverty is after all far more honourable than enforced enjoyment. Who will give me back those songs and vigils? who, those risings to God in prayer, that unearthly, incorporeal life, that fellowship and that spiritual harmony of brothers raised by thee to a God-like life? who, the ardent searching of the Holy Scriptures, and the light which, under the guidance of the Spirit, we found therein?” Then he mentions the lesser enjoyments of the beauties of surrounding nature.

The intimate friendship of Basil and Gregory, lasting from fresh, enthusiastic youth till death, resting on an identity of spiritual and moral aims, and sanctified by Christian piety, is a lovely and engaging chapter in the history of the fathers, and justifies a brief episode in a field not yet entered by any church historian.

With all the ascetic narrowness of the time, which fettered even these enlightened fathers, they still had minds susceptible to science and art and the beauties of nature. In the works of Basil and of the two Gregories occur pictures of nature such as we seek in vain in the heathen classics. The descriptions of natural scenery among the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome can be easily compressed within a few pages. Socrates, as we learn from Plato, was of the opinion that we can learn nothing from trees and fields, and hence he never took a walk; he was so bent upon self-knowledge as the true aim of all learning, that he regarded the whole study of nature as

* Ullmann's *Monograph on Gregory Naz.* p. 50. *Comp. Gregory's Carm.* v. 70, 75; *Carm.* liv., v. 153-175.

† *Epist.* ix. p. 774 of the old order, or *Ep.* vi. of the new (ed. *Bened.* ii. p. 6.)

useless, because it did not tend to make man either more intelligent or more virtuous. The deeper sense of the beauty of nature is awakened by the religion of revelation alone, which teaches us to see everywhere in creation the traces of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God.

The book of Ruth, the book of Job, many Psalms, particularly the 104th, are without parallel in Grecian or Roman literature. The renowned naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, collected some of the most beautiful descriptions of nature from the fathers for his purposes.* They are an interesting proof of the transfiguring power of the spirit of Christianity even upon our views of nature.

A breath of sweet sadness runs through them, which is entirely foreign to classical antiquity. This is especially manifest in Gregory of Nyssa, the brother of Basil. "When I see," says he, for example, "every rocky ridge, every valley, every plain, covered with new-grown grass; and then the variegated beauty of the trees, and at my feet the lilies doubly enriched by nature with sweet odours and gorgeous colours; when I view in the distance the sea, to which the changing cloud leads out,—my soul is seized with sadness which is not without delight. And when in autumn fruits disappear, leaves fall, boughs stiffen, stripped of their beauteous dress,—we sink with the perpetual and regular vicissitude into the harmony of wonder-working nature. He who looks through this with the thoughtful eye of the soul, feels the littleness of man in the greatness of the universe."† Yet we find sunny pictures also, like the beautiful description of spring in an oration of Gregory Nazianzen on the martyr Mamas.‡

* In the second volume of his *Cosmos*, Stuttg. and Tübingen, 1847, p. 27, sqq., Humboldt justly observes, p. 26; "The tendency of Christian sentiment was, to prove from universal order and from the beauty of nature the greatness and goodness of the Creator. Such a tendency, to glorify the Deity from his works, occasioned a prepension to descriptions of nature." The earliest and largest picture of this kind he finds in the apologetic writer, Minucius Felix. Then he draws several examples from Basil, (for whom he confesses he had "long entertained a special predilection"), Epist. xiv. and Ep. ccxxiii. (tom. iii., ed. Garnier), from Gregory of Nyssa, and from Chrysostom.

† From several fragments of Gregory of Nyssa, combined and translated (into German) by Humboldt, l. c. p. 29, sqq.

‡ See Ullmann's *Gregor von Nazianz*, p. 210, sqq.

A second characteristic of these representations of nature, and for the church historian the most important, is the reference of earthly beauty to an eternal and heavenly principle, and that glorification of God in the works of creation, which transplanted itself from the Psalms and the book of Job into the Christian church. In his Homilies on the history of the creation Basil describes the mildness of the serene nights in Asia Minor, where the stars, "the eternal flowers of heaven, raised the spirit of man from the visible to the invisible." In the oration just mentioned, after describing the spring in the most lovely and life-like colours, Gregory Nazianzen proceeds: "Everything praises God and glorifies him with unutterable tones; for everything shall thanks be offered also to God by me, and thus shall the song of those creatures, whose song of praise I here utter, be also ours. . . . Indeed it is now [alluding to the Easter festival] the springtime of the world, the springtime of the spirit, springtime for souls, springtime for bodies, a visible spring, an invisible spring, in which we also shall then have part, if we here be rightly transformed, and enter as new men upon a new life." Thus the earth becomes a vestibule of heaven, the beauty of the body is consecrated an image of the beauty of the spirit.

The Greek fathers placed the beauty of nature above the works of art, having a certain prejudice against art on account of the heathen abuses of it. "If thou seest a splendid building, and the view of its colonnades would transport thee, look quickly at the vault of the heavens and the open fields, on which the flocks are feeding on the shore of the sea. Who does not despise every creation of art, when in the silence of the heart he early wonders at the rising sun, as it pours its golden (crocus-yellow) light over the horizon; when, resting at a spring in the deep grass or under the dark shade of thick trees, he feeds his eye upon the dim vanishing distance." So Chrysostom exclaims from his monastic solitude near Antioch, and Humboldt* adds the ingenious remark: "It was as if eloquence had found its element, its freedom, again at the fountain of nature in the then wooded mountain regions of Syria and Asia Minor."

* L. c. p. 30.

In the rough times of the first introduction of Christianity among the Celtic and Germanic tribes who had worshipped the dismal powers of nature in rude symbols, an opposition to intercourse with nature appeared, like that which we find in Tertullian to pagan art; and church assemblies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at Tours (1163) and at Paris (1209), forbade the monks the sinful reading of books on nature, till the renowned scholastic, Albert the Great, (1280), and the gifted Roger Bacon (1294) penetrated the mysteries of nature, and raised the study of it again to consideration and honour.

We now return to the life of Gregory.

On a visit to his parents' house, Gregory, against his will and even without his previous knowledge, was ordained presbyter by his father before the assembled congregation on a feast-day of the year 361. Such forced elections and ordinations, though very offensive to our taste, were at that time frequent, especially upon the urgent wish of the people, whose voice in many instances proved to be indeed the voice of God. Basil also, and Augustine, were ordained presbyters, Athanasius and Ambrose bishops, against their will. Gregory fled soon after, it is true, to his friend in Pontus, but out of regard to his aged parents and the pressing call of the church, he returned to Nazianzus towards Easter in 362, and delivered his first pulpit discourse, in which he justified himself in his conduct, and said: "It has its advantage to hold back a little from the call of God, as Moses, and after him Jeremiah, did on account of their age; but it has also its advantage to come forward readily, when God calls, like Aaron and Isaiah; provided both be done with a devout spirit, the one on account of inherent weakness, the other in reliance upon the strength of him who calls." His enemies accused him of haughty contempt of the priestly office; but he gave as the most important reason of his flight, that he did not consider himself worthy to preside over a flock, and to undertake the care of immortal souls, especially in such stormy times.

Basil, who, as metropolitan, to strengthen the Catholic interest against Arianism, set about the establishment of new bishoprics in the small towns of Cappadocia, intrusted to his young friend one such charge in Sasima, a poor market-town

at the junction of three highways, destitute of water, verdure, and society, frequented only by rude wagoners, and at the time an apple of discord between him and his opponent, the bishop Anthimus of Tyana. This was a very strange proof of friendship, indeed, which cannot be justified by the probable desire of exercising the humility and self-denial of Gregory.* No wonder that his ambition was deeply wounded; although to him a bishopric in itself was of no account; and that it produced a temporary alienation between him and Basil.† At the combined request of his friend and his aged father, he suffered himself indeed to be consecrated to the new office; but it is very doubtful whether he ever went to Sasima.‡ At all events we soon afterwards find him in his solitude, and then again, in 372, assistant of his father in Nazianzus. In a remarkable discourse, delivered in the presence of his father in 372, he represented to the congregation his peculiar fluctuation between an innate love of the contemplative life of seclusion and the call of the Spirit to public labour.

* Gibbon (ch. xxvii.) very unjustly attributes this action of Basil to hierarchical pride, and to an intention to insult Gregory. Basil treated his own brother not much better, for Nyssa was likewise an insignificant place.

† He gave to the pangs of injured friendship a most touching expression in the following lines from the poem on his own Life, (*De vita sua*, vss. 476 sqq., tom. ii. p. 699 of the Bened. ed., or tom. iii. 1062 in Migne's ed.):

Τοιαῦτ' Ἀθήναι, καὶ ποιοὶ κοινοὶ λόγον,
 Ὁμόστέγος τε καὶ οὐνέστιος βίος,
 Νοῦς εἰς ἓν ἄμφοῖν, οὐ δύω, θαῦν' Ἑλλάδος,
 Καὶ δεξιαί, κόσμον μὲν ὡς πόρρ' ὦ βαλεῖν,
 Αὐτοὺς δ' ἑ κοινὸν τῷ Θεῷ ζῆσαι βίον,
 Λόγους τε δοῦναι τῷ μόνῳ σοφῷ λόγῳ.
 Διεσκέδασται πάντα, ἔρίπτται χαμαὶ,
 Αὔραι φέρουσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἐλπίδας.

Even Gibbon quotes this passage with admiration, though with characteristic omission of vs. 479—481, which refer to their harmony in religion, and he alludes to a parallel from Shakspeare, who had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, but who gave to similar feelings a similar expression, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Helena expresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:—

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
 The sister's vows, etc.

‡ Gibbon says: "He solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride."

“Come to my help,” said he to his hearers,* “for I am almost torn asunder by my inward longing and by the Spirit. The longing urges me to flight, to solitude in the mountains, to quietude of soul and body, to withdrawal of the spirit from all sensuous things, and to retirement into myself, that I may commune undisturbed with God, and be wholly penetrated by the rays of his Spirit. . . . But the other, the Spirit, would lead me into the midst of life, to serve the common weal, and by furthering others to further myself, to spread light, and to present to God a people for his possession, a holy people, a royal priesthood (Titus ii. 14; 1 Peter ii. 9), and his image again purified in many. For as a whole garden is more than a plant, and the whole heaven with all its beauties is more glorious than a star, and the whole body more excellent than one member, so also before God the whole well-instructed church is better than one well-ordered person, and a man must in general look not only on his own things, but also on the things of others. So Christ did, who, though he might have remained in his own dignity and divine glory, not only humbled himself to the form of a servant, but also, despising all shame, endured the death of the cross, that by his suffering he might blot out sin, and by his death destroy death.”

Thus he stood a faithful helper by the side of his venerable and universally beloved father, who reached the age of almost an hundred years, and had exercised the priestly office for forty-five; and on the death of his father, in 374, he delivered a masterly funeral oration,† which Basil attended. “There is,” said he in this discourse, turning to his still living mother, “only one life, to behold the (divine) life; there is only one death, sin; for this is the corruption of the soul. But all else, for the sake of which many exert themselves, is a dream which decoys us from the true; it is a treacherous phantom of the soul. When we think so, O my mother, then we shall not boast of life, nor dread death. For whatsoever evil we yet endure, if we press out of it to true life, if we, delivered from every change, from every vortex, from all satiety, from all

* Orat. xii. 4, tom. i. 249 sq. (in Migne's ed. tom. i. p. 847.)

† Orat. xviii. Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὴν πατέρα, παρόντος Βασιλείου, (ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 330, 362, in Migne's ed. i. 981, sqq.)

vassalage to evil, shall be with eternal, no longer changeable things, as small lights circling around the great."

A short time after he had been invested with the vacant bishopric, he retired again, in 375, to his beloved solitude, and this time he went to Seleucia in Isauria, to the vicinity of a church dedicated to St. Thecla.

There the painful intelligence reached him of the death of his beloved Basil, A. D. 379. On this occasion he wrote to Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa: "Thus also was it reserved for me still in this unhappy life to hear of the death of Basil and the departure of this holy soul, which is gone *out* from us, only to go *in* to the Lord, after having already prepared itself for this through its whole life." He was at that time bodily and mentally very much depressed. In a letter to the rhetorician Eudoxius he wrote: "You ask, how it fares with me. Very badly. I no longer have Basil, I no longer have Cæsarius, my spiritual brother, and my bodily brother. I can say with David, my father and my mother have forsaken me. My body is sickly, age is coming over my head, cares become more and more complicated, duties overwhelm me, friends are unfaithful, the church is without capable pastors, good declines, evil stalks naked. The ship is going in the night, a light nowhere, Christ asleep. What is to be done? Oh, there is to me but one escape from this evil case: death. But the hereafter would be terrible to me, if I had to judge of it by the present state."

But Providence had appointed him yet a great work and an exalted position in the capital of the Roman empire. In the year 379 he was called to the pastoral charge by the orthodox church in Constantinople, which, under the oppressive reign of Arianism was reduced to a feeble handful; and he was exhorted by several worthy bishops to accept the call. He made his appearance unexpectedly. With his insignificant form bowed by disease, his miserable dress, and his simple, secluded mode of life, he at first entirely disappointed the splendour-loving people of the capital, and was much mocked and persecuted.* But in spite of all he succeeded, by his

* Once the Arian populace even stormed his church by night, desecrated the altar, mixed the holy wine with blood, and Gregory but barely escaped the

powerful eloquence and faithful labour in building up the little church in faith and in Christian life, and helped the Nicene doctrine again to victory. In memory of this success his little domestic chapel was afterwards changed into a magnificent church, and named *Anastasia*, the Church of the Resurrection.

People of all classes crowded to his discourses, which were mainly devoted to the vindication of the Godhead of Christ and of the Trinity, and at the same time earnestly inculcated a holy walk befitting the true faith. Even the famous Jerome, at that time fifty years old, came from Syria to Constantinople to hear these discourses, and took private instruction of Gregory in the interpretation of Scripture. He gratefully calls him his preceptor and catechist.

The victory of the Nicene faith, which Gregory had thus inwardly promoted in the imperial city, was outwardly completed by the celebrated edict of the new emperor, Theodosius, in February, 380. When the emperor, on the 24th of December, of that year, entered Constantinople, he deposed the Arian bishop, Demophilus, with all his clergy, and transferred the cathedral church* to Gregory with the words, "This temple God, by our hand, intrusts to thee as a reward for thy pains." The people tumultuously demanded him for bishop, but he decidedly refused. And, in fact, he was not yet released from his bishopric of Nazianzum or Sasima (though upon the latter he had never formally entered); he could be released only by a Synod.

When Theodosius, for the formal settlement of the theological controversies, called the renowned œcumenical council in May, 381, Gregory was elected by this council itself bishop of Con-

common women and monks, who were armed with clubs and stones. The next day he was summoned before the court for the tumult, but so happily defended himself, that the occurrence heightened the triumph of his just cause. Probably from this circumstance he afterwards received the honorary title of *confessor*. See Ullmann, p. 176.

* Not the Church of St. Sophia, as Tillemont assumes, but the Church of the Apostles, as Ullmann, p. 223, supposes; for Gregory never names the former, but mentions the latter repeatedly, and that as the church in which he himself preached. Constantine built both, but made the Church of the Apostles the more magnificent, and chose it for his own burial place (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv., 58-60). St. Sophia afterwards became, under Justinian, the most glorious monument of the later Greek architecture, and the cathedral of Constantinople.

stantinople, and, amidst great festivities, was inducted into the office. In virtue of this dignity he held, for a time, the presidency of the council.

When the Egyptian and Macedonian bishops arrived, they disputed the validity of his election, because, according to the fifteenth canon of the council of Nice, he could not be transferred from his bishopric of Sasima to another; though their real reason was, that the election had been made without them, and that Gregory would probably be distasteful to them, as a bold preacher of righteousness. This deeply wounded him. He was soon disgusted, too, with the operations of party passions in the council, and resigned with the following remarkable declaration:

“Whatever this assembly may hereafter determine concerning me, I would fain raise your mind beforehand to something far higher: I pray you now, be one, and join yourselves in love! Must we always be only derided as infallible, and be animated only by one thing, the spirit of strife? Give each other the hand fraternally. But I will be a second Jonah. I will give myself for the salvation of our ship (the church), though I am innocent of the storm. Let the lot fall upon me, and cast me into the sea. A hospitable fish of the deep will receive me. This shall be the beginning of your harmony. I reluctantly ascended the episcopal chair, and gladly I now come down. Even my weak body advises me this. One debt only have I to pay—death; this I owe to God. But oh! my Trinity, for thy sake only am I sad. Shalt thou have an able man, bold and zealous to vindicate thee? Farewell, and remember my labours and my pains.”

In the celebrated valedictory which he delivered before the assembled bishops, he gives account of his administration; depicts the former humiliation and the present triumph of the Nicene faith in Constantinople, and his own part in this great change, for which he begs repose as his only reward; exhorts his hearers to harmony and love; and then takes leave of Constantinople and in particular of his beloved church, with this address:

“And now, farewell, my Anastasia, who bearest a so holy name; thou has exalted again our faith, which once was des-

pised; thou, our common field of victory, thou new Shiloh, where we first established again the ark of the covenant, after it had been carried about for forty years on our wandering in the wilderness."

Though this voluntary resignation of so high a post proceeded in part from sensitiveness and irritation, it is still an honorable testimony to the character of Gregory, in contrast with the many clergy of his time, who shrank from no intrigues and by-ways to get possession of such dignities. He left Constantinople in June, 381, and spent the remaining years of his life mostly in solitude on his paternal estate of Arianzus in the vicinity of Nazianzum, in religious exercises and literary pursuits. Yet he continued to operate through numerous epistles upon the affairs of the church, and took active interest in the welfare and sufferings of the men around him. The nearer death approached, the more he endeavoured to prepare himself for it by contemplation and rigid ascetic practice, that he "might be, and might more and more become, in truth, a pure mirror of God and of divine things; might already in hope enjoy the treasures of the future world; might walk with the angels; might already forsake the earth, while yet walking upon it; and might be transported into higher regions by the Spirit." In his poems he describes himself, living solitary in the clefts of the rocks among the beasts, going about without shoes, content with one rough garment, and sleeping upon the ground, covered with a sack. He died in 390 or 391; the particular circumstances of his death being now unknown. His bones were afterwards brought to Constantinople; and they are now shown at Rome and Venice.

Among the works of Gregory stand preëminent his *five Theological Orations* in defence of the Nicene doctrine against the Eunomians and Macedonians, which he delivered in Constantinople, and which won for him the honorary title of the *Theologian*, (in the narrower sense, *i. e.*, vindicator of the deity of the Logos.)* His other orations (forty-five in all) are devoted to the memory of distinguished martyrs, friends, and

* Hence called also λόγοι θεολογικοί, *Orationes Theologicæ*. They are *Orat. xxvii—xxx.* in the Bened. ed., tom. i. p. 487—577, (in Migne, tom. ii. 9, sqq.), and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Græc. dogmatica* of Thilo, vol. ii. pp. 366—537.

kindred, to the ecclesiastical festivals, and to public events or his own fortunes. Two of them are bitter attacks on Julian after his death.* They are not founded on a particular text, and have no strictly logical order and connection.

He is the greatest orator of the Greek church, with the exception perhaps of Chrysostom; but his oratory often degenerates into arts of persuasion, and is full of laboured ornamentation and rhetorical extravagances, which are in the spirit of his age, but in violation of healthful, natural taste.

As a poet he holds a subordinate place. He wrote poetry only in his later life, and wrote it not from native impulse, as the bird sings among the branches, but in the strain of moral reflection, upon his own life, or upon doctrinal and moral themes.

Many of his orations are poetical, many of his poems are prosaic. Not one of his odes or hymns passed into use in the church. Yet some of his smaller pieces, apothegms, epigrams, and epitaphs, are very beautiful, and betray noble affections, deep feeling, and a high order of talent and cultivation. His poems fill, together with the epistles, the whole second tome of the magnificent Benedictine edition, so delightful to handle, which was published at Paris, 1842, (edente et curante D. A. B. Caillou,) and vols. iii. and iv. of Migne's reprint. They are divided by the Benedictine edition into I. *Poemata theologica*, (dogmatica, moralia); II. *Historica*, (autobiographical, quæ operant ipsum Gregorum, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, De seipso; and περὶ τῶν ἑτέρων, quæ spectant alios); III. *Epitaphia*; IV. *Epigrammata*; and V. *Christus patiens*, a long tragedy, with Christ, the Holy Virgin, Joseph Theologus, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, Nuntius, and Pilate, as actors. This is the first attempt at a Christian drama.

We have, finally, two hundred and forty (or 244) Epistles from Gregory which are important to the history of the time, and in some cases very graceful and interesting.

* *Invectivæ*, Orat. iv. and v. in the Bened. ed. tom. i. 73—176, (in Migne's ed., tom. i. p. 531—722.) His horror of Julian misled him even to eulogize the Arian emperor Constantius, to whom his brother was physician.

ART. V.—*Voices from the East. Documents on the present state and working of the Oriental Church.* Translated from the original Russ, Slavonic, and French, with notes. By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M. A. London. 1859.

THE middle of the seventeenth century presents one of those great junctures in history, by which the progress of the church is divided into periods of different characteristics. By the year 1648, A. D., Protestant nations had successfully asserted their independence, defined their ecclesiastical position, and adopted their authoritative symbols. Rome, in reactionary conflict had declared herself through the canons and catechism of the Council of Trent, followed up by the profession of Pius IV., and further developed in the controversy now instituted with the Jansenists. Oriental catholics, though not constrained by any revolution in their history, produced also, about the same time, that confession whereby the doctrinal standing of their church was stated in opposition to encroachments from the west.

Attempts at union of the churches had failed on all hands. The gulf between the Greek and the Latin churches, after many efforts to bridge it over, remained as constituted in the eleventh century. In 1638, the honest labours of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, to promote a good understanding between the Greek and the Protestant, cost him his life. Six years earlier, Jesuit success in Abyssinia was brought to an end by a rising of the people, in which the order was expelled from the country, and the sultan, who had favoured it, was constrained to execute the popular will. The issue of the Thirty Years War had demonstrated that to hold Romanist and Protestant under one ecclesiastical jurisdiction was no longer practicable. More distinctly than ever had it been determined that the current of Church History was to flow in separate channels.

By the Peace of Westphalia, the strife in Germany between Protestants and Romanists was settled on the principle of an equal balance of power, the separate existence of Holland as a Protestant country was recognized, and the reformation in the

Scandinavian kingdoms assumed as authoritative, Sweden being one of the high contracting parties. Lutheran and Reformed were alike comprehended in that treaty. In the settlement of religious questions, the conditions were based upon the religious peace of Augsburg; and the possessions of all parties were decided by the state of affairs as it had stood on the first of January, 1624. "Where a free exercise of religion was publicly tolerated in that year, it was to be continued; and where that was not the case, liberty of domestic worship was to be permitted." The legal relations of the two Protestant parties were also to continue as they had existed in that year.

The treaty of Westphalia also determined fundamental political maxims for all Europe, to which even parties then apparently unconcerned in it, or reluctant against it, were in course of time constrained to conform. Against the old ambition of universal empire systematic opposition was organized, and permanent barriers arrayed. No longer was either pope or emperor to be supreme. Important principles, upon which the balance of all power in Europe was to be preserved, were then determined and accepted.

In countries where Romanism subsequently prevailed, the religious conditions of the peace were neglected or set at naught, and Jesuitical machination succeeded in imposing, by political measures, many unjust restrictions upon the Protestant church. In Bohemia it was exterminated; and in the Austrian hereditary estates remained under increasing oppression until the reign of Joseph II. In Silesia and Hungary, where the Protestants formed a large part of the population, they were plundered of their property, and under the severities to which they were subjected, seriously diminished in number. In France the Edict of Nantes was still law, but ill complied with on the part of the government, then in the hands of Cardinal Mazarine, as regent during the minority of Louis XIV.

The Jansenist controversy was beginning to enlist attention in France and the southern Netherlands; but the principal doctrines, brought thereby into discussion, were already sufficiently defined. Elsewhere Jesuits were the ruling spirits, and had succeeded in reaching the last extremity of the anti-reform reaction. The peace of Westphalia was a severe blow to their

hopes, and a strong check upon their measures; but was disregarded by them wherever they were able to set it aside.

In Holland and Geneva, the Reformed churches had reached the full day of prosperity. In England the Puritans had defeated the king, and were setting up a commonwealth in the interest of a progressive reformation.

The Assembly of Divines at Westminster had completed their work, and the last lingering delegates remained only to execute, in a few cases, what had been already enacted. Their Confession, Catechisms, Form of Government, and Directory for Public Worship, had been accepted in Scotland, in the Presbyterian church of Ireland, and in all but the Form of Government in New England, and thereby the definitive statement of Reformed doctrine settled for the orthodox English-speaking people, outside of the Anglican establishment. A similar service had been, at an earlier day, executed for the Reformed churches on the continent, and as a whole, by the Synod of Dort. Lutheran doctrine remained as determined by its two great founders, and as harmonized in the Form of Concord. And in the Greek church the Orthodox Confession had been approved by the Synods of Kieff and of Jassy in 1643.

Alike in the Greek, Roman, and Protestant connections, the middle of the seventeenth century formed a momentous crisis in the history of doctrine. The period of religious wars and of doctrinal organization, which had extended from the dawn of the Reformation, then came to an end. The union of church and state remained in force; but their relations were now different in different countries, by the introduction of new elements. And although oppression was often subsequently exercised by the stronger party, yet the right of each nation to follow the confession of its choice had been distinctly vindicated.

The position claimed by the Greek church is that of strict conformity to the ancient, maintained by unvarying hereditary practice, without change or alteration, or addition of any essential particular in either doctrine or practice, since the last true œcumenical council, when the bishops of both East and West met freely and on equal terms. The Greek presents itself as the unchanged orthodox catholic church of antiquity, the only

true church. And the two heretical churches of the East are no less conservative of the precise ground of their ancient theology.

Rome cannot deny that changes have taken place within her communion; but claims, notwithstanding, to be the only true church, as having an infallible guide to all truth, over and above the Scriptures, and a process of apostolical and spiritual development within herself, so that all the changes she may introduce are as binding as revelation.

Protestantism denies that Roman doctrine, together with all the innovations defended by it, refuses to accept the decisions of all œcumenical councils, and returns to the simplicity of Scripture. It respects the practice of apostolic and immediately post-apostolic times, the theological definitions of the first four general councils and the writings of the classical fathers; but tests all by conformity with Scripture alone.

All three, within their own respective bounds, contain minor divisions and dissenting sects. But the Protestant alone recognizes the fact, and accepts it as the legitimate condition of the church. The other two deny the right of dissent, war against it, and seek to extinguish it, and yet are constrained under various pleas and disguises, to legalize or submit to it.

In adhering to an absolute conservatism, the Eastern churches have produced little for the historian to record; the actively aggressive spirit of Rome presents more and more that is interesting; but it is under the intense activity and freedom of the Protestant churches that the richest historical treasures have been accumulated. The oriental have their relations most intimate with the ancient; the Romish with mediæval, and the Protestant with modern times. Since the council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century, the oriental church has been divided into three great branches; namely the Greek, or Orthodox Catholic church, and the churches of Nestorian and Monophysite connection. The jurisdiction of these sections is not everywhere geographically distinct; but, in the main, the orthodox occupies the eastern countries of Europe, and the extreme west of Asia; the Monophysites, the next adjoining portions of Asia together with Egypt and Ethiopia, and the Nestorians are scattered in the

further east. In Syria and Mesopotamia they interramify with each other, having in many cases their churches side by side. And patriarchs of both orthodox and monophysite persuasion, in some places, exercise their jurisdiction over the same district, but in relation to separate pastoral charges. They are all and long have been in a state of great depression, diminished from what they once were and under bondage of alien powers.

The Nestorians are the ecclesiastical descendants of the one time great Syrian church, which holding its connection with Antioch, extended far into the centre and south of Asia. When Nestorius, one of the Syrian clergy, of the theological school of Antioch, was deposed from his place as Patriarch of Constantinople, on account of his views touching the relations of the divine and human in Christ, and for withholding a blasphemous honour from the virgin Mary, and subsequently banished to the desert under excommunication, a large portion of the Syrian church sympathized with him. But being thereby also laid under ban, they took refuge in the protection of Persia; and all the Syrian churches from the Tigris eastward were separated from the Catholic church.

Of the five and twenty metropolitan sees of which that communion anciently consisted, only fragments now remain. The most important of these is a population of about one hundred and fifty thousand, who live on the great plain of Oroomiah, in the northwest of Persia, and among the adjoining mountains of Koordistan. Some communities of them are also found in the southwest of India, on the Malabar coast and in Travancore, where they bear the name of Syrian or St. Thomas Christians.

When the Portuguese first arrived in India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, they found a Christian prince in the neighbourhood where they landed, and several communities of that profession; but who knew nothing of the Pope, nor of a great many observances and dogmas held as Christian in Rome. Missionaries were soon at work to constrain them into compliance with the religion of the invaders. An obstinate resistance was made by those Indian Christians. But vain was defence by argument, and in vain did they plead the antiquity

of their establishment, that the regular order and discipline of their church had existed for a period of thirteen hundred years, from the second century of the Christian era, and that they enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the Patriarch of Antioch. "We," said they, "are of the true faith, whatever you from the west may be. For we came from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians." The fires of the Inquisition and Portuguese arms were the final answer to every plea. The Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, was seized and carried a prisoner to Lisbon, and a synod of his clergy forcibly convened at Diamper near Cochin, in which the Romish archbishop Menezes presided. "At that compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared." They were charged with having married wives, with recognizing but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, with neither invoking the saints, nor worshipping images, nor believing in purgatory, and with having no other orders, or names of dignity in the church, than bishop, priest, and deacon. All which they were called upon to abjure, or be deposed from office. Their church books were also condemned to the flames, "in order," said the inquisitors, "that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain."

Thus constrained, the churches on the sea coast acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, and accepted the changes of their liturgy made by Menezes; but retained the Syriac language in their worship. Subsequently they received the name of Syro-Roman Christians.

Further inland, where the force of Portuguese arms could not be so well applied, the churches under the protection of native princes successfully resisted Romish intrusion, and retained their ancient faith, although in a state of great depression, until the establishment of the English rule in India.

In 1806, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan visited them, and by the representations which he made of them, enlisted on their behalf the enterprise of English Christians. The cause was taken up by the Church Missionary Society, and a mission established at Travancore, under very favourable auspices. Without intending to interfere with existing forms and order, the mission aimed at the reformation of the Syrian churches,

by improving the education of the clergy, by teaching youth to read, and by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and promoting the publication of evangelical principles. For many years the work proceeded with encouraging success.

Between 1832 and 1836 that method was abandoned, and, by decision of the metropolitan bishop of the English church in India, the Syrian Christians were to be treated in the same way as the heathen, all connection with them as a church was to be declined, and all of them who desired to have ecclesiastical relations to the mission were to become members of the Church of England. Subsequent missionary success has accordingly gone to diminish the numbers and importance of the Syrian Christians of India.

Of those two bodies now mentioned, as descended from the once great and widely diffused church of the further east, one has submitted to a connection with Rome, and the other still adheres to their ancient forms and order. The population of the former was, a few years ago, estimated at nearly one hundred and fifty thousand, and the latter at about fifty thousand.

The other remnant of that ancient church still residing on the plains of ancient Media and Mesopotamia and among the mountains of Assyria, is also divided. Their patriarch in the best days of their history resided at Seleucia. When the Abbasside Caliphs established their throne at Bagdad, the Christian authority also centred there. Subsequently the patriarch removed his seat to Elkoosh, about thirty miles north of Mosul, and at the foot of the Koordish mountains. About the year 1590, a quarrel between two candidates for the office of patriarch led to division of the church. One, bearing the official title Mar Elias, retained his residence in Elkoosh, and the other, with the title Mar Shimon, planted his throne among the mountains, near the Koordish stronghold of Julamerk.

Romish missionaries came among them. And in 1681 A. D. a patriarch was appointed from Rome, with the title of "Mar Joseph, Patriarch of the Chaldean Christians," to preside over those who submitted to the Pope. Until about 1790, his seat was at Diarbekir. In that year another defection occurred. The patriarch of Elkoosh, Mar Elias, passed over to Roman-

ism, in which connection his successors have remained, while their city has become a popish seminary.

Mar Shimon was thus left their only patriarch who remained faithful to the ancient church. This people live partly among the mountains of Koordistan, and partly upon a large and beautiful plain, which lies immediately to the east, and between the mountains and the lake of Oroomiah, which name it also bears. The mountain district belongs to the extreme east of Turkey, and the plain to the extreme west of Persia, being a part of ancient Media, as the mountains were of ancient Assyria.

Little was known of that people by Protestant nations until about thirty-five years ago, when they were visited by Messrs. Smith and Dwight, in the course of a missionary exploring tour. Their report decided the American Board to establish a mission there immediately. It was undertaken by the Rev. Justin Perkins, who was followed in 1835 by Dr. Grant, and in the course of the next year operations were commenced on the plain of Oroomiah. Much favour was shown to the enterprise by the native clergy, who in general regarded it in the light of a desirable assistance in their labour, and some of them gladly accepted instruction from the missionaries. Especially do they mention with gratitude the aid and encouragement which they received from an eminently pious bishop, Mar Elias, of Geog Tapa, who continued to coöperate with them for nearly thirty years, even to the end of his days.

As in the similar and earlier enterprise in India, so here it was not the design of the missionaries to make any change in the Nestorian order, form of worship, or ancient creed, but simply to labour for a revival of true practical piety by the diffusion of scriptural knowledge and evangelical influences—to purify and awaken the old Christian church of that denomination. At first the patriarch, Mar Shimon, was friendly; but in the complication of disasters which befell the mountaineers of his charge, from incursions of the Koords, and of the Turkish forces, his temper changed, and in his later years he threw obstacles in the way of the reformation.

When Dr. Grant, in 1839, for the first time, carried missionary enterprise into the glens of the Zab, in the heart of the

Koordistan mountains, the Nestorians of that region were still independent, under the rule of their own local chiefs, and the patriarch, in whom was vested the highest authority of both church and state. Frequently harassed by the predatory incursions of their Koordish neighbours, they successfully defended themselves in their mountain fastnesses. In 1843, the Koords and Turks united, marched their forces into that portion of the Nestorian country, and laid it waste with great bloodshed, and circumstances of aggravated cruelty. In the end, both Koords and Nestorians were annexed to the subjects of Turkey. The patriarch, driven from his house, took refuge in Mosul; and thence, after the lapse of a few months, escaping to Oroomiah, put himself under the protection of Persia. While there, he proved a serious obstacle to the work of the missionaries. But with the restoration of peace in 1848, he returned to his residence among the mountains, and so little had his opposition effected, that in the course of 1851, missionary work was resumed in that quarter. Upon his death, the patriarchal office came into the hands of a youth, who, from his earliest years of observation, had been cognizant of the labours of the Americans, and of their deep interest in the welfare of his people. Although but imperfectly prepared for his high office, as it could not be otherwise from his immature age, he forthwith evinced his approval of the effort and a high sense of its value. But subsequently, owing, it was thought, to the influence of some of his kindred, he became less frank, and covertly discouraged the native helpers of the missionaries within the district where his power was greatest, although still maintaining the profession and appearance of friendship upon the whole.

In some places among the mountains, but more upon the plain of Oroomiah, the missionary work has made encouraging progress; and repeated revivals have added to the membership of the reformed congregations, to the number of native helpers, and the evangelical influence, in all of which some of the Nestorian clergy have cordially taken an active part.

Of the Monophysites there are still three grand divisions, the heads of which are Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. With the first are connected Nubia and Abyssinia, which acknowledge

the primacy of the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, who now makes his residence at Cairo. In addition to his own city, there were in 1687, eleven bishoprics in Egypt subject to the jurisdiction of that prelate. In 1844, they had increased to thirteen, including Nubia as one.

The diocese of Syria, as belonging to the same connection, is governed by the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, who resides in Diarbekir, at Amida, or at the monastery of St. Ananias, near Mardin, and whose rule also extends over his co-religionists in Mesopotamia, and the adjoining desert. His power is shared by the Maphrian of Mosul, who, formerly vicar of the patriarch over the churches beyond the Tigris, is still sometimes called primate of the East; but is now only nominally superior to a metropolitan.

The third division of the Monophysites consists of the Armenian churches. Chief of their ecclesiastical connection is a patriarch catholicus whose capital is Echmiadzin, in the northern part of Armenia, and now within the Russian dominions. Two other patriarchs of more limited jurisdiction reside respectively at Ciz in Cilicia, and at Aghtamar, in Lake Van. Other prelates also, dignified by the title of patriarch, in different places protect the interests of their people scattered throughout the catholic dioceses of Constantinople and Jerusalem; besides vicariates and archbishoprics in Persia and Russia.*

As among the Nestorians, so among the Monophysites, there are converts to the Latin church, and organizations under Romish authority, the fruit of modern Romish missions. Under the name of Maronite, there still survives in Syria a remnant of the ancient Monothelite party. Since the time of the Crusades they have been divided, the larger number having, in 1182, A. D., submitted to the dominion of Rome. They have, however, reserved some practices peculiar to themselves. They read their liturgy not in Latin, but in the ancient Syriac tongue, and retain their own ecclesiastical order. Their patriarch, who lives in the monastery of St. Mary at Karnobin, not far from Tripoli, takes, in common with the Greek catholic and Monophysite patriarchs, the title of Antioch. But the people over

* For further information touching this sect see *Princeton Review* for October, 1866.

whom his authority extends are to be found principally in Mount Lebanon, and cities of that neighbourhood. He is elected by his own communion, but receives the pallium and confirmation in office from the Pope.

A Maronite college, established at Rome, has been distinguished by the Assemani and others, to whom we are largely indebted for valuable information touching the eastern churches.

Another, but smaller number, have persistently rejected the connection with Rome and still adhere to their ancient ecclesiastical independence, and peculiar doctrine of the two natures with one will in Christ.

Of all parts of the eastern church jurisdiction, the most divided by the presence of conflicting parties are the Sees of Antioch and Jerusalem. No less than four prelates bear the title Patriarch of Antioch, namely, the Greek catholic, who resides at Damascus; the Roman Catholic, at Aleppo; the Monophysite in Diarbekir, and the Maronite near Tripoli.

In the orthodox or Greek catholic church, the ancient titles and distribution of primacy are retained. The patriarchate of Constantinople still enjoys the honour of precedency, and the number of people belonging to it, though sadly diminished, is not inconsiderable. But those of Antioch, of Jerusalem, and of Alexandria, are hardly skeletons of their former substance. The bishop of Rome is held to be entitled to the rank of Patriarch of the West, as in ancient times; but his assumption of universal primacy is condemned as utterly unwarranted. And, moreover, he and western Christendom, in general, are regarded as guilty of heresy and schism, in corrupting the creed, and separating from the communion of the only orthodox catholic church. According to that view, the other four patriarchs are, with equal right, primates of the regions assigned them respectively by ancient councils. The higher honour admitted to Rome and Constantinople is referred to the rank of those cities as capitals of the Roman empire. Apostolic foundation is not accepted as a reason for any special distinction; because Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria are on the same footing in that respect; and in the true and higher sense, all the churches were founded by apostles. The equal independence of all the patriarchs is constantly maintained, and

the rank of œcumenical is not allowed to any except in that sense in which it is proper to all. Constantinople is higher in honour, not different in rank. And even the metropolitans of Cyprus, of Austria, and of Montenegro, and the archbishop of Mount Sinai, still retain their ancient independence, and take their places, in virtue of it, by the side of the patriarchs, in a synod of the whole. In the seventeenth century, the number of the patriarchates was, as determined by ancient councils, five, Russia having been admitted to the place left vacant by the schism of Rome.

Church government of the whole Greek catholic church is synodal, and the monarchical system of Rome is censured as unscriptural, the power of the keys having been committed not to Peter alone, but to all the apostles. And while the union of church and state is defended, they are each held to be sovereign within their own jurisdiction; the state being under duty to protect the church, while the church sustains the order and authority of the state. In Mohammedan countries these relations have long been in a state of great derangement. At the present time they are most consistently observed in Russia and independent Greece. Both are governed by synods, and in the latter there is no ecclesiastical superior to the bishops.

Each patriarch is elected by the church over which he is to preside; that is by the synod of the diocese; and approved by the chief magistrate of the state. In Mohammedan countries the latter condition is subject to great abuse, not unfrequently leading to simony, and on the part of the civil ruler to oppression, and sometimes to murder.

The principle of unity in the Greek church consists in recognition of the same doctrines and canons of ancient councils, the common synodal authority, and the same forms of worship and ceremonies. Since the defection of Rome no synod has been regarded as general, but only as authoritative for the jurisdiction of the prelates assembled in them. At the same time it is held that the Greek church alone is the truly catholic and orthodox.

In the middle of the seventeenth century Mohammedanism prevailed in all those countries, which had belonged to the

ancient jurisdiction of the oriental churches; and Christians, only a sprinkling where once they constituted the mass of the population, were barely tolerated under great oppression. In the north, a more recent conquest yielded the Greek church a freedom and a power which she enjoyed nowhere else. To that quarter—the great empire of Russia—the principal interest of her subsequent history belongs. Of the patriarchs, the Constantinopolitan is at the head of one hundred and thirty-five metropolitans, archbishops and bishops. The patriarch of Jerusalem presides over twelve. Those of Alexandria and of Antioch are held to be chiefs respectively of four and of sixteen, who all rank as metropolitans; but in reality there is at present no catholic bishop in Egypt except the patriarch.

The metropolitan of Montenegro, and the archbishop of Mount Sinai, are merely titular, having no subordinate bishops. The metropolitan of Cyprus presides over three suffragans, and of Austria over ten.

The population over which these authorities extend may be estimated at somewhat more than sixty-six millions, of which at least fifty millions belong to Russia; and of the remainder by far the larger part to the see of Constantinople.

The several languages retained in the liturgies and other offices of the oriental churches are such, in all cases, as are not now spoken by the people. Among the Greeks, and their immediate connection, it is the ancient Greek; among the Georgians, the old Georgian; in Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Slavonia proper, Dalmatia, and Bulgaria, although various dialects are spoken, it is the old Slavonic which alone is used in the church service. Monophysites retain, in Egypt, the Coptic; in Ethiopia the old Ethiopic, while it is the Amharic which is spoken; in the patriarchate of Antioch, the old Syriac, although both there and in Egypt the common idiom is the Arabic, and in Armenia, the old and otherwise obsolete Armenian. The Nestorians alike of Turkey, Persia, and India, whatever the language they speak, use in their worship only the ancient Syriac of their religious books; and the Maronites still continue to read their prayers in that same language, which they no longer understand.

In this view we also observe the preponderance of the Slavic race among the Christians of the East. Even there the more recent European element prevails. Of the sixty-six millions, or thereby, connected with the orthodox church, at least fifty-eight millions accept the Slavonic as the language of their devotions.

In every instance, it is the old language in which the Scriptures and liturgies were first established among the people which is held as sacred; the idea of sanctity attaching to it as it became obsolete and obscure to the common understanding. Such, in like manner, is Hebrew to the Jew, old Arabic to the Mohammedan, Sanscrit to the Hindu, the learned system of the Mandarins to the Chinese, and Latin to the Romanist. Protestants alone, and those who follow their example, employ the vernacular in the service of the sanctuary, preferring an intelligent worship to a blind veneration.

The little volume which has given occasion to these statements of ecclesiastical relationships, is one of those which the learned author of the "History of the Holy Eastern Church" throws out, from time to time, as incidental to the prosecution of his larger work. It consists of eight brief treatises, six of which are from the pen of Mouravieff, the illustrious church historian of Russia. Catholic orthodoxy, as compared with Roman catholicism, forms the topic of the first, which is also the longest and most valuable. It is followed by a paper, biographical and critical, on the great men of the Russian church; and that by an account of the recently formed mission to the heathen of the *Altai*s. The Romish dogma of the immaculate conception, considered from an orthodox point of view, is the subject of the fourth. Two letters, one from Palestine, and one to a Roman neophyte, by Mouravieff; a copy of the prayers in honour of the passion of our Lord, and an account of the confessions of faith employed by the eastern church complete the list. Prefixed is a tabular view of the present catholic church of the east.

Much as the Christian world owes to Mr. Neale, for the light he has already thrown upon a region of church history, which previously to his labours was almost unknown to scholars of the west, it is with the deepest interest that we receive from his

hand every additional fragment, and with impatience that we wait for a new instalment of his great work in the history of the Patriarchates yet to be recorded.

We shall close this article in the words with which Mr. Neale takes leave of his reader, making free to accept them in their best meaning, according to our views, and as really comprehensive of all branches of the church of God.

“And now I pray God to accept this volume as a mite thrown into the treasure-house of preparation for union. The union of the three churches, that second, and even more glorious pentecost, we cannot hope to see; but in the meantime, amidst all the obloquy and disputes, and suspicions and hard words of this generation, it is a blessed and consoling dream which some day will most assuredly become a reality. But a real and true union must not be, like that of Lyons or Florence, the triumph of one party, and the surrender of the other; but an equal assembly, where the problem of orthodoxy on the one side, and catholicity on the other, may be happily and enduringly solved. May God hasten that most glorious day.”

ART. VI.—*Malthusianism*.*

THE most general form of this theory is, that the constant relation between the natural increase of population and that of food, is such that the earth's productions necessarily tend to become less and less adequate to the support of its inhabitants. The moral consequences of this view, advocated as it is by a certain school of political economists, and exerting its influence at the present time among a large class of intelligent people, may serve to justify us in submitting it to a critical examination in the pages of a religious periodical. In doing this we shall attempt to show that the theory rests upon speculation and

* The greater part of the materials of this article may be found in *Principles of Social Science*, by H. C. Carey, 1858; and in *A Manual of Political Economy*, by E. Peshine Smith, 1860.

analogy, that the facts of social experience are opposed to it, and that its moral consequences are inconsistent with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures. We are persuaded that all this can be shown to the satisfaction of every candid mind.

Before entering upon this examination, however, it should be observed that there is a strong antecedent probability against the truth of this theory. In other words, there are rational grounds for a strong presumption that the Creator, in his infinite fulness of wisdom, power, and goodness, 'whom giving does not impoverish, nor withholding enrich,' has made ample provision for all the necessary wants of his human children; and this presumption is confirmed by the acknowledged fact that all these wants, except that of food, have been provided for with a bountiful liberality. The wants of man may be classified as physical, intellectual, and moral, or spiritual, the classification resting upon that element which predominates in each, because most of them partake to a greater or less extent of all these characteristics. The chief of the physical wants is that of food; of the intellectual, that of knowledge; and the moral or spiritual wants are summed up in that of communion with God. Besides these there is one other original want in man's nature, which is perhaps equally physical, intellectual, and moral, namely, that of communion with his kind—the want of society. Now, for the satisfaction of all these wants, unless that of food be an exception, it is acknowledged that adequate and abundant supplies have been provided. The human powers of procreation are acknowledged to be ample for the supply of all man's want of communion with his kind. In the facts and laws of nature, in the universe of truth, no one has ever anticipated any deficiency for our intellectual wants. In the revelations which God has made of himself in nature, in the human soul, and in his word, we have the source of the most abundant supplies for all our moral or spiritual wants. In fine, with respect to none of the physical wants, except that of food, is any deficiency ever supposed. All analogy therefore seems to warrant us in the expectation that the Creator has provided with equal liberality for this lowest yet most urgent necessity. It seems wholly irrational, and even monstrous, to suppose that an inordinate bounty in supplying man's want of communion

with his kind, should have led him to endow the procreative powers in such excess, that all the treasures of the earth, air, and waters, should be necessarily inadequate to the supply of food; and that an ever-increasing proportion of the human race must annually die of starvation. It seems as if it might be safely affirmed on *a priori* grounds, that a system of social science whose last word is that marriage has been virtually prohibited to the most numerous class of human beings, that charity to the poor is a violation of the laws of God, and cannot fail to increase the evil it is intended to relieve, must be false.

We now proceed to show that the Malthusian theory rests upon speculation and analogy.

The analogical argument which has exerted the greatest influence in propagating these doctrines, especially during the last quarter of a century, is drawn from the lower organisms, plants and animals. The "struggle for existence" which is constantly going on among them, is exhibited in Mr. Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, in elaborate detail. The substance of what he says, however, is contained in the following paragraph:

"A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being which during its natural lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, or during some season or occasional year; otherwise on the principle of geometrical increase, its numbers would quickly become so inordinately great that no country could support the product. Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force, to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint upon marriage. Although some species may be now increasing more or less rapidly in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them."*

Now this is unquestionably true of all the lower organisms,

* *Origin of Species*, p. 63.

and hence it is inferred that it must be true of the highest, man. But this does not follow. For the advocates of this theory themselves are not ignorant that the argument from analogy can never prove that anything is so; all that it can prove is that something may be so; and thus lead to the inquiry whether it is so or not. If there be in the human world a "struggle for existence" similar to that which reigns among plants and animals, and by which vast multitudes of the feebler organisms must ever be destroyed, it must be proved by other arguments besides this, and beyond any which analogy can furnish. For evidently there may be good reasons why this struggle should prevail in the lower and not in the higher organic worlds. One reason for the creation of vast numbers of the lower organisms, beyond the possibility that they should all live to die a natural death, is obvious, namely, that they are created, plants to supply food to animals and man, and animals for food to man and each other. Here, then, the analogy breaks down upon the very point which it is adduced to establish. For human beings are not created to become food either to one another, or to the animals; but, for aught that appears, to live out the full term of their natural life. The analogy, therefore, does not warrant us to expect anything like so high a rate of natural increase in men as we find in other creatures. Accordingly it is a well established law of the natural development of organic life, that its lower forms increase and multiply with immensely greater rapidity than the higher. A single fish-spawn, *e. g.*, contains literally millions of germs, whilst a human pair can produce only a very few offspring. A similar law in its relations to the supply of food for man and animals had been observed as early as the time of Herodotus, who says, in explanation of the causes which prevented the rapid multiplication of what he calls the "winged serpent" of Arabia: 'I, myself, have observed this law of animal life, that the wise providence of God has made those creatures which are good for food, very fruitful, as the hare; but those which are noxious incapable of rapid multiplication, as the lion.*' For these, and many similar reasons, it may be for ought that appears, notwithstanding this analogy, that the human powers of pro-

* Herodotus, book iii. chap. 107, 108, 109.

creation shall be found at last no more than adequate to supply the want of society, and to *replenish the earth and subdue it*.

But Mr. Malthus himself does not base his theory upon this analogy, although it has contributed of late more than all other arguments to its credibility and acceptance. He lays it down as a principle which hardly requires proof,^a that population, when not restricted by external causes, must increase in a geometrical ratio, whilst the production of food can never increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio; viz. the former as 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, &c., and the latter as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. This principle is assumed by Darwin, and by all the disciples of Malthus, as incontrovertible. We venture to deny it, and to challenge the proof. It rests upon purely speculative and hypothetical grounds. It has never been proved—the proof of it has never been formally attempted—it is incapable of proof. For, in the first place, no portion of the human race has ever been freed from external checks upon the propagation of the species, in order to make possible a determination of the law of its increase in such circumstances. A multitude of powerful restraints upon the natural increase of mankind, such as diseases and war, have always been in operation. These restraints have never been determined in their numbers or efficiency. In the present state of our knowledge they are incapable of being so determined. How then is it possible to establish the law of the natural increase of mankind in circumstances in which they have never been placed? In the second place, no scientific determination has ever been attempted of the law of increase in the production of food of which the earth is capable. The loose and general statements of Malthus himself upon this point, do not even suggest the possibility of a scientific solution of the problem; and what he does say, was in entire ignorance of all the resources of agricultural chemistry, and of the relation of the inexhaustible stores of the atmosphere to the nourishment of organic life. Nor have his disciples contributed anything, strange as it may appear, to supply his deficiencies upon this point. We affirm then that both branches of this fundamental principle of Malthusianism remain to this day unproved, and further, that they are both incapable of proof.

But if it be conceded that the procreative powers of mankind, being conceived of as adequate to populate the whole earth from a single pair, must needs, if unchecked, tend to overpopulation, it does not follow that the check required must come from the want of food. For aught that appears, other checks may continue to prove amply sufficient to keep down population within the limits of the earth's capacities to support it. It will be shown hereafter that this has hitherto been the case in every country of Europe, in which no excess of population has ever yet occurred, but all the want and starvation among the people have arisen from other causes. For aught that appears, these checks may continue to be sufficient to the end of time, and they may increase in numbers and efficiency as population advances. The all-wise Creator, who, by his immutable laws, stored away the coal thousands of years ago to meet the want which should arise from the destruction of the forests, and the rock-oil to be discovered when the whale should have begun to disappear, may have implanted in the human constitution itself, just those checks upon the increase of population, which may hereafter be required, and which shall be developed at the proper time, when all the waste lands of the globe shall be fully occupied and tilled to their utmost capacity of production. Some such pre-arrangement as this is just what we might expect from the Divine wisdom and power and goodness, and it would be in perfect analogy with the wonderful facility which the physical constitution of man has always exhibited in adapting itself to the ever-varying circumstances and conditions of his earthly life.

But the disciples of Malthus shut themselves up within much narrower limits than those which would be allowed them by this principle of the geometrical ratio of the increase of population, and the arithmetical ratio of that of food. In other words, they take much higher ground, by undertaking to show that increase in the production of food can never be so great as that allowed by the arithmetical ratio of Mr. Malthus, except perhaps for a very short time, and in extraordinary circumstances, and that all the resources of emigration, whilst the greatest abundance of unoccupied land remains, are totally inadequate to supply the want of food which arises from over-

population. These statements are founded upon what is called Ricardo's Theory of Rent, in which that author undertakes to explain the reason why land employed in agriculture will pay a rent to its owner. This theory, on account of the use which has been made of it in support of the Malthusian doctrine, requires now to be examined.

In 1815 Mr. Malthus himself published an Essay on the Nature and Progress of Rent. His ideas however upon this subject had been previously broached by other writers on Political Economy. Subsequently they were taken up by Mr. Ricardo, and formulated in a theory with detailed applications. This theory, which has come to be associated almost exclusively with Ricardo's name, presented in his own words, is as follows:

"On the first settlement of a country in which there is an abundance of rich and fertile land, a very small proportion of which is required to be cultivated for the support of the actual population, or indeed can be cultivated with the capital which the population can command, there will be no rent; for no one would pay for the use of land, when there was an abundant quantity not yet appropriated, and therefore at the disposal of whosoever might choose to cultivate it. On the common principles of supply and demand, no rent could be paid for such land. . . . When in the progress of society land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land. When land of the third quality is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on the second, and it is regulated as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference between the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every step of the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent on all the more fertile land will rise."*

* On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, by David Ricardo, Esq. London, 1817. Pp. 52—55.

Such is Ricardo's world-famous Theory of Rent which has been vaunted by great authorities as the most important contribution to political economy made since the time of Adam Smith! J. Stuart Mill, one of the latest, and probably the ablest writer on Political Economy that England has produced within this century, speaks of it in the following words: "This general law of agricultural industry is the most important principle in Political Economy. Were the law different, nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth would be different." It is necessary to bear in mind these remarkable words. For if it can be shown that there is no such law as this, then the whole system of the English economists, themselves being judges, is overthrown.

The first and most obvious objection to this theory is that it is purely hypothetical and speculative, a pure *a priori* hypothesis, an assumption without the shadow of proof. Its authors and supporters rest it wholly upon the antecedent probability. They assert that men, being rational, would first choose and settle upon the richest lands, therefore they always have done, and will always do so. Not one of them seems ever to have thought of examining into the history of new settlements, to see in what order superior and inferior lands have actually been occupied. Here then is a great system of Political Economy vauntingly based upon a purely speculative notion.

The second objection is, that precisely the opposite of this theory may be made to appear quite as plausible, and, indeed, far more probable, on precisely similar *a priori* grounds. It may be worth while to look at them for a moment.

Let us observe then, that when men come to settle new countries, they are necessarily few in numbers, with little aid from the appliances of civilization. If the first occupancy is by a tribe of savages, which has often been the case, they support themselves by hunting and fishing, after that by pasturage, and either do not till the ground at all, or only in the feeblest manner. In such states of society population is necessarily very sparse. For it has been roughly computed that one-half acre of cultivated land will furnish as much food as eight hundred acres of forest and stream to a community of hunters and fishers. And when cultivation begins under any circum-

stances, farming implements are difficult to be obtained, and are of the rudest construction; whilst the sparseness of the population precludes the massing of numbers and coöperation in great agricultural enterprises. Consequently the first practical question which new settlers have to meet, is not where they can find the deepest and richest soils, but where it is possible for them, with their rude implements and paucity of numbers, to overcome the resistance of nature, and eke out a bare subsistence for themselves and their families.

Now the resistance of nature is commonly greatest where her strength is greatest. Entering a new country, the settlers find a wilderness. Dank and pestilential vapours fill the valleys, whose natural growths are the heaviest timber or impenetrable jungles, the cover of ferocious beasts and noxious reptiles. Here a vast work of clearing and drainage must be done before the soil can be rendered productive. But to this work the forces of the new settler are totally inadequate; and even if this were otherwise, he and his family would probably be cut off the first year by the malaria which floats along the sluggish streams. The next best soils extend for some distance up the sides of the valley and lower slopes of the hills. But here also the timber is too heavy to be cleared away by the new settler's imperfect tools and inadequate force of numbers. Hence, from the necessities of his condition, whatever might be his wishes, he is compelled to pass by these, and to commence the work of cultivation upon the light, thin soils of the upland slopes, where there is no malaria, no heavy timber, nor thick jungle, to be cleared, where no drainage is required, which can be immediately worked with his inadequate force and implements, and which will afford him the speediest though scanty returns—"returns, however, which are immeasurably in advance of all that could be obtained by his savage or nomad predecessors, who roamed over a thousand times greater space, and depastured the natural grasses with their flocks and herds."

"It is the first step which costs." When the new settler's first crop is gathered from his thin soil, he has notwithstanding a store which will last him till the next harvest, and which gives him some leisure to improve his tools. This improvement, and the natural increase of his live stock, render the next year's

labours somewhat more productive. And thus, year by year, he is enabled more thoroughly to till the ground, still further to improve his agricultural implements, to clear more and better land, and extend his plantation. As his children grow up around him, they take part in his labours, and increase his force. By their aid he is now enabled to clear away heavier timber, and thus to bring deeper and richer soil under cultivation. In this way, as population advances, from generation to generation, the progress of settlement and tillage is naturally from the lighter and poorer soils to those which are heavier and richer, down to the swamps and bottoms of the valleys. Thus the richest lands, where the strength and resistance of nature are greatest, where a gigantic work of clearing and draining is indispensable, must needs be the last which are reached, when population has become the most dense, and the appliances of civilization the most numerous and efficient.

Such, in brief, is the *a priori* argument which is opposed to Ricardo's theory. Certainly it is no less probable than that which it is adduced to refute; and a system of social science of an entirely opposite character, might be as legitimately built upon this foundation as the English system is built upon their theory. But whatever is worthy of the name of science can make no further use of such speculations than to raise from them the inquiry, whether the conclusions to which they point are true or not? And this question must be settled by an appeal to the facts of the case. Hitherto we have only one *a priori* theory set off against another. It is necessary now to inquire further, what has been the history of new settlements? Do the facts of the case show that they have first been made on the richer or poorer soils; and have increasing populations proceeded from the former to the latter, or from the latter to the former?

Mr. Henry C. Carey was the first writer who undertook to submit Ricardo's theory to the test of facts. In this part of his *Principles of Social Science*, he has given us a vast historical induction; in the course of which he traces the history of new settlements in the United States and their territories, in Mexico, the West Indies, South America, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Greece, and other countries. It is impossible

to do any sort of justice here to this splendid historical argument. It should be read and studied by every one in the author's own words. A few well-known facts, however, may be mentioned as examples.

In England those parts of the country which in the days of Richard *cœur de lion* were forests and swamps, are now under the highest and most productive cultivation. The morasses of South Lancastershire, which had nearly swallowed up the army of William the Conqueror, are now among the most productive lands of the kingdom. The Lincoln Fens, which Cromwell undertook to drain by the labour of his Dutch prisoners, and failed, together with the border countries between England and Scotland, which two centuries ago were the haunt and refuge of the bold moss trooper, are now drained by wind and steam hydraulics, and are proverbial from their fertility. Everywhere the lands most recently brought under cultivation are those which have required the heaviest outlay of capital, especially in the form of machinery, to reclaim them. A considerable portion of such lands were totally irreclaimable until the invention of the steam engine. Even in the prairies of the United States and Territories, where there is no jungle nor timber, it is found that the lighter soils are first occupied, and the deepest at a later period of settlement. Thus, in the Report of the American Pomological Society, 1849, it is stated that "many small tracts known as wet prairie fifteen years ago, and *rejected by the first settlers*, are now brought under cultivation. . . . To constitute dry prairie it must be rolling. Between the waves of this great ocean . . . are the sloughs, *the terror of the early emigrant, and the most valued possession of his successor*. . . . These sloughs are the drains of the dry prairie. . . . The soil of the dry prairie is from twelve to eighteen inches deep in this region; the wet prairie in general much deeper; and the alluvion (of the river bottoms) as in all countries of irregular and often astonishing depth." In general, we find at the present time that the best lands are not cultivated except where population has become dense. Where it is sparse, tillage recedes from the river banks, and runs along the crests and ridges of the hills. The old roads wind from hill top to hill top; regardless of the increased distance

and of the toil of ascent and descent. They connected the scattered villages and sparse settlements. The modern railway on the other hand connects great cities. It plunges through forests and swamps, wholly or comparatively destitute of population, which, however, soon follows its course. The jungle and timber are cleared away; the swamps are drained; villages, towns, and cities spring up along its line; and now at last the best lands are brought under cultivation.

The result of this whole argument is, that Ricardo's theory of the occupation of land will not stand the test of the facts of history. Its precise contrary is true; viz., that the poorer lands have in general been first occupied; and that increasing populations have almost or quite uniformly advanced from the poorer to the richer soils.

This conclusion is confirmed, and the Malthusian doctrines still further refuted, by another class of facts of still greater significance. These are brought to bear immediately upon the question, whether increasing populations have actually produced a decreasing proportion of food for each mouth, as required by Ricardo's theory? And here we undertake to show from various considerations, but especially from statistical tables, that precisely the opposite of this is true.

Ricardo's theory, then, as applied by himself and others, gives us the following procedure and results. Suppose a colony of one hundred persons in families to settle in a new country, they choose first, of course, the best portion of the land. This yields them for the first crop, say, 1000 bushels of wheat, ten bushels for each person. In twenty-five years, say, the population will have doubled, requiring them to cultivate a double portion of the land. The latter part of this must be of inferior quality to the former. It produces, say, 900 bushels, giving for the whole crop 1900 bushels, which yields but $9\frac{1}{2}$ bushels for each person. In another twenty-five years the population doubles again, and now amounts to four hundred persons, requiring double the amount of land, the addition being of a still inferior quality. The whole crop now amounts to 3500; and this yields but $8\frac{3}{4}$ bushels for each person. Another twenty-five years, population doubled again, amounting now to 800, and the whole crop gives but $7\frac{3}{10}$ bushels to each person. Thus

we have a constantly decreasing proportion of food for each mouth as population advances. But all this is upon the supposition that each person of the 800 occupies as much land as each of the 100 did at first; so that the population has not increased in density at all. But now if the land be limited from any cause, so that each person of the increased number cannot obtain as much land as his ancestors each occupied, this decreasing proportion of food for each person is necessarily and greatly accelerated, and still further by the tendency (assumed by these writers) of cultivation to exhaust the natural fertility of the earth. Such are the inevitable and acknowledged consequences of the theory.

Now upon examination of the facts of the case, no such consequences appear in the history of increasing populations, but the contrary, namely, that increasing populations produce an ever-increasing amount of food for, and actually distribute it normally to each mouth, and that the densest population known in Europe is consequently and actually in the best economical condition. Here also Mr. Carey has a vast and splendid induction of facts; only a few of which can be mentioned as examples of the whole.

Upon this point we have the best statistical information of the progress of population and economic improvement in France. Let us take the interval between Louis XIV. in the year 1700, and Louis Philippe, 1840, one hundred and forty years. For this period, M. de Jonnès, the head of the statistical bureau of the government, has compiled statistical tables, which give us the following among a vast number of other most interesting facts. 1. The whole population of France nearly doubled, lacking but three millions of it, in one hundred and forty years. 2. The whole crop or product of food nearly quadrupled in the same time. Consequently a population twice as dense has produced four times as much food, and twice as much for each mouth. But it is of importance also to know how this increased product of food was actually distributed, and what was the condition of the labouring poor during this time. In 1700 then we find from these tables that the landlords and capitalists received for their share of the whole product, full two-thirds, or twice as much as the labourers, the

actual tillers of the soil, whilst in 1840 the labourers received three-fifths of the whole, or fifty per cent. more than the landlords and capitalists. This however does not indicate that the landlords received less in absolute amount; for so great was the increased production during this period that two-fifths of the whole in 1840 was far greater in absolute amount than two-thirds in 1700. For notwithstanding, or rather, because, the labourers were so much better paid, the absolute amount that remained to be distributed among the non-agricultural portion of the people had increased one hundred and twenty-seven per cent., whilst those among whom it was distributed had increased only one hundred per cent. Again, the whole cost of cultivating the soil of France increased during this period more than seven times; the proportion of this, which was paid in wages, was nearly doubled; the proportion for each individual nearly trebled; and the daily wages received by each individual of the agricultural families was nearly quadrupled. In the meantime the cost of wheat, taken as an index of the expense of living, had increased about thirty sous per bushel, or less than one-eighteenth of its value. And, again, the wages of an agricultural family per year in 1700 was one hundred and thirty-five francs, whilst the cost of wheat enough to give them bread was two hundred and fifty-four francs, leaving a deficit for them to make up with acorns, chestnuts, and such materials, one hundred and nineteen francs. In 1840 the wages of such a family was five hundred francs, whilst the cost of wheat enough to give them bread was two hundred and fifty-six francs, giving an excess of wages over the cost of bread, for clothing, and other necessities, two hundred and forty-four francs. Thus it appears that under Louis XIV. the rural population of France wanted bread half the time. Intermediate statistics show that under Louis XV. they had bread two days out of three; under Louis XVI. three days out of four; and under the Empire and Louis Philippe, they had bread every day, and a constantly increasing surplus of wages for clothing and other necessities. It is true indeed that during all this time they had food and clothing, such as they were, those of them that survived starvation. But their bread was made of inferior grains, chestnuts, acorns, fern, and worse materials; nor could

they obtain enough even of such wretched means of subsistence to prevent multitudes of them from perishing. One of the ministers of Louis XV., in 1739, says: "At the moment when I write, in the month of February, with appearances promising a harvest, if not abundant, at least passable, men die around us like flies, and are reduced by poverty to eat grass." The Duke of Orleans carried a loaf of fern bread into the king's council to show his majesty what his subjects lived upon. Few persons are aware of what wretched food the masses of the people of Europe lived upon in "those good old times."

In these tables, moreover, we have compared the more with the less populous portions of France, with precisely similar results. We cannot go over the details. They show a constantly increasing proportion of food produced for, and actually distributed to each mouth, as the population increased in density; and a decreasing proportion as it became more sparse. Thus, in the words of a French Economist: "If we compare together the ten most populous and the ten least populous departments, it appears from official statistics that in the former the yield for each person is more in quantity, and better in quality, to the extent of thirty per cent. in weight of grain, than in the latter; and there is a similar disproportion in all other products of the soil besides grain." In other words, there was produced in the portions of France where the population was more dense at least a third more food for each mouth, than in those where the population was more sparse.

With respect to the other states of the continent and to Great Britain, we have not such precise statistical results; but we have a body of general facts which necessarily involve similar conclusions; and some of these facts are more significant than any yet given.

Thus the following statements are taken from Adam Smith, although some of them are sufficiently known to all readers of general history. "Under the feudal governments the tillers of the soil were commonly bondsmen, or tenants at will. Both their persons and services were at the disposal of the feudal lord, who supplied all the little capital employed; to whom therefore all the produce belonged. But in the present state

of Europe the share of the landlord seldom exceeds a third, sometimes not a fourth part. Yet the rent of lands (that is the share of the whole produce received by the landlords) in all the improved parts of the country, has tripled and quadrupled in absolute amount since the ancient times; and this third or fourth part received by the landlords, is, it seems, three or four times greater than the whole formerly was. Rent, though in the progress of improvement it increases in absolute amount, diminishes in proportion to the whole produce of the land." Now then the other two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole produce, which does not go for rent, remains to be divided between the farmer and the labourer; and this must be four or five times greater than the whole amount was formerly, whilst the population of no country in Europe is three times as great as it was five hundred years ago.

From the statements of Mr. Malthus himself, forty years after Adam Smith, it would appear that the whole amount of the produce of the soil of England, and the proportion of it enjoyed by the labourers, had still further increased during that period of rapid improvement. "According to the returns lately made to the Board of Agriculture, he says, the average proportion which rent bears to the whole produce seems not to exceed one-fifth; whereas, formerly, the proportion amounted to one-fourth, one-third, or even two-fifths. Still, however, although the landlord has a less share of the whole produce, this less share, from the very great increase of the whole, which has arisen in the progress of improvement, yields a larger quantity." Now if one-fifth was at this time greater than two-fifths had been formerly, the whole produce was more than doubled; and of this whole, four-fifths went to the labourer and farmer. All this in the face of what his own theory required. How this difficulty is disposed of we shall see hereafter. It is not the least wonderful thing connected with this whole subject.

In like manner, Mr. Senior, one of the ablest of this school of Political Economists, in 1836, thus estimates the improvements which had taken place in England and the southern parts of Scotland in the preceding sixty years: "Population

doubled, wages of labour more than doubled, rent nearly trebled."

These are examples of a vast multitude of facts which have been adduced in disproof of Ricardo's theory that increasing populations produce a decreasing quantity of food for each mouth; and these are crowned by one acknowledged fact, which we claim is not only sufficient of itself to overthrow the theory, but also the whole system of Political Economy which is built upon it. Far the most populous country of Europe is Belgium; and it is an undisputed fact that the economic condition of the people in that country is the best in Europe. There is hardly any such thing as pauperism, or distress from the want of food. The country produces more than enough for all its inhabitants, and large quantities of food are constantly exported. This one undisputed fact amounts, as we claim, to a demonstration that there is no such thing as over-population in Europe; and that wherever there is pauperism, or distress from want of food, as in England and Ireland, it arises from other causes, namely, false and wrong social arrangements. For during the Irish famine itself, in which perhaps a million of human beings perished from starvation, the exportation of food in large quantities from that country, was constantly going on. It was not that Ireland did not produce food enough for its inhabitants, that they perished; it was because they had nothing to buy it with: and the reason of this was simply the want of a sufficiently diversified industry. Into the discussion of this point, however, we cannot enter in this article.

Here now the question arises, how do the Malthusian Economists deal with these facts? And the answer is that they frankly admit the most significant of them, and undertake to reconcile them to their theory. Some quotations to this effect from these writers have been already given. Thus Mr. Senior in 1836: "Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the population of England has about doubled; the produce of the land has certainly tripled, probably quadrupled." Mr. McCulloch also says: "Let any one compare the state of this, or any other country of Europe, with what it was three hundred, or one hundred years ago, and he will be satisfied that prodigious advances have been made; that the means of subsistence have

increased much more rapidly than population; and that the labouring classes are now generally in possession of conveniences and luxuries that were formerly not enjoyed by the richest lords." This is not true of the present condition of the people; for it leaves out of view the enormous increase of pauperism in England during the last thirty years, under the influence of her wrong social arrangements, by which the natural distribution of the wealth created has been prevented, so that it has been more and more concentrated in the fewest possible hands. But it would be easy to multiply to any extent similar quotations.

These admissions, however, as was said, the Malthusians do not understand to invalidate the *a priori* theory to which they have been so long and so fully committed. They believe in the doctrine that one theory is worth a thousand facts; and if the facts cannot be made to square with the theory, so much the worse for the facts. Thus Stuart Mill, admitting that the facts of *modern times* are against the theory, goes on to say: "This, however, does not prove that the law of which we are speaking, does not exist; but only that there *is some antagonizing principle at work, making head against the law*. Such an agency there is in habitual antagonism to the law of diminishing returns from the land . . . it is no other than *the progress of civilization*" (sic). But he comes to the conclusion that this law constantly operating, must in time produce its due effect, notwithstanding this "antagonizing principle." So, also, Mr. McCulloch: "From the operation of fixed and permanent causes, the increasing sterility of the soil is sure in the long run to overmatch the improvements that occur in machinery and cultivation."

These statements seem to us little less than prodigious. For here it is conceded that this boasted law does not hold good in an advancing civilization. Here it is admitted that for more than two centuries of the most rapid increase of population ever known, the progress of civilization has been more than a match for this law. What then becomes of it in the past if, in the human race, taken as a whole, civilization has always been advancing? and what becomes of it for the future, if civilization should continue to advance? Certainly the former of these suppositions

has never been disproved; as certainly the latter is incapable of being disproved. Here, then, this boasted law of "the increasing sterility of the soil," is conceded to be no law at all of the actual facts, but something which might, could, would, or should be a law, if it were not for the progress of civilization! A great system of political economy vauntingly based upon a purely speculative notion, which confessedly ignores the progress of civilization! Is this anything less than prodigious?

It must, however, be observed further, that upon this theory it is impossible to explain or to understand how civilization should ever have made any progress. For in the case already given of one hundred settlers on the best land of a new country, if we allow that eighty of them might be sufficient to work the soil, that would leave twenty of their number to make and improve tools, machinery, and other appliances, to attend to the education of the youth, and other such necessities of civilization. Now at every advance which they make to poorer soils, they must needs occupy a greater proportion of land, because it becomes poorer and poorer, in order to produce a sufficiency of food; and this necessitates that a constantly increasing proportion of their numbers should devote themselves to tillage, leaving a constantly decreasing proportion to apply themselves to the production of tools, &c., whilst the population constantly becomes more and more sparse. At first then they have eighty out of the hundred for other necessary purposes of civilization besides tillage; at the second stage they will have but fifteen to the hundred; at the third, ten; and soon none at all. Every human being must work in the fields to procure a bare subsistence; this soon fails, and the feebler begin to die of starvation. Thus at every successive stage of the relatively decreasing returns from the land, we find less and less force and time available for study, invention, and improvement in general, that is to say, for the progress of civilization. How then is it possible that civilization should ever have made any progress? According to this theory it must have been always and everywhere declining with ever-increasing human misery. But because it is impossible to deny that in some circumstances progress has been made, at least during the last two centuries in Europe, these writers are forced to treat the progress of

civilization as an accident, which is subject to no law, and admits of no explanation. And this, forsooth, they call "Social Science."

Here then we recall the words of perhaps the very ablest expounder of this system of notions and fallacies, J. Stuart Mill. "This law is the most important position in political economy. Were the law different, nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth would be different." The law is different—there is no such law; it is purely imaginary. The precise contrary is the law of the facts of the case. New settlers begin with the lighter soils, that are the most easily worked. The proper culture of these tends to enrich and not to impoverish them. As population and force increase, and tools and other appliances are improved, the settlers advance to soils of superior strength and fertility, which are more difficult to be cleared and worked. Whence an increase of food for each individual; increased proportion of their numbers released from the work of tillage, and enabled to apply themselves to study, invention, and general improvement to all that belongs to an advancing civilization. This is the law of the facts of the case. Therefore "nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth" are different from the exhibition made of them in English Political Economy. In fact this whole system is simply the blossom and fruit of English institutions, the worst economic arrangements to be found anywhere except on heathen ground. Malthusianism is nothing else but the attempt to justify theoretically these institutions and social arrangements, with all their consequences of pauperism and starvation.

There are two points which have not been noticed in the preceding review, and which can only be glanced at now.

The first of these is, that when these writers speak of "the law of the decreasing fertility of the soil," they do not simply mean that men occupy ever poorer and poorer lands as population increases, but in addition to this, that the constant tendency of agriculture, upon the whole, is to exhaust the soil of its natural fertility. They assume that land has a certain natural amount of productive power, and that this is constantly, upon the whole, in a process of exhaustion. They are

either ignorant of, or they have a sublime contempt for, all inquiries into the sources from which the earth derives its fertility, and all the results of agricultural chemistry. Now these inquiries and results have poured a flood of light upon this whole subject, showing us that the earth relies for her fertility chiefly upon the atmosphere, and that the atmospheric supplies are inexhaustible. Thus we know now that the growths of the earth on an average take from the soil not more than two-tenths of their substance; full eight-tenths are drawn directly from the atmosphere. Whence every crop, as it is consumed, deposits something less than eight-tenths of its weight in the soil, which was not there before. And it makes little difference how it is consumed, provided it be not burnt up; when all that was taken from the atmosphere escapes back into it again in a free state. But when it is consumed in any other manner, as there is still some tendency to this escape, the amount deposited in and retained by the soil is less than eight-tenths, perhaps five or six. In this way the soil of the western prairies has been formed, and made what it is, and is constantly rising, viz., by the annual decay, perhaps for thousands of years, of the natural grasses produced upon it. Hence it is the natural tendency of the increase and multiplication to any extent of organic beings, both plants and animals, and of their decay, to enrich the earth, taken as a whole, and not to impoverish it, as these writers suppose. Whenever a portion of the soil is thus impoverished, it is by the remorseless removal and consumption of its growths away from it, and making no proper returns. Otherwise the tendency of agriculture is rapidly to enrich the soil year by year. And thus this element of the Malthusian "law of the increasing sterility of the soil" is found to be no law at all of the actual facts; but the reverse is true.

The second point which has been omitted, respects the normal relation between the increase of population and that of wealth in civilized countries. The later English Economists lay it down as a principle that the increase of wealth in any country is measured by the rate per cent. interest which money commands. They do indeed qualify this statement by such general additions, as that the government must be liberal, and property well secured. But they apply it without qualifica-

tion to their own country, France, Germany, the United States, and Canada. There is not indeed, as usual, the least foundation for this notion; as Adam Smith would have taught them, if they had not utterly repudiated the authority of their great master. For he says that "the rate of interest is naturally low in rich countries, and high in poor countries; and it is always highest in the countries that are going fastest to ruin." But this is characterized by Mr. McCulloch as a most erroneous statement, and he adds, "we have no hesitation in laying down as a principle, which holds good in every case, and from which there is really no exception, that if the governments of any two countries be equally liberal, and property in each equally well secured, their comparative prosperity will depend upon their rate of profit," *i. e.*, upon the different rates per cent. interest which money commands in those countries. The truth is, however, that in all industrial countries, where money is borrowed for investment in productive enterprises, the rate at which wealth increases is far greater than that which money commands. We cannot stop to prove this, except to observe, that it was the application of this erroneous measurement to the increase of wealth in this country, which led the English people into those false estimates into which they fell, of our financial ability to meet the expenses of the late civil war.

But now let us assume this wholly inadequate standard of measurement for the increase of wealth and compare it with the increase of population. The highest rate of the increase of population known in any country, is that in which it doubles every twenty-five years. This is less than three per cent. per annum. But three per cent. is a very low rate of interest. It averages four or five in England, France, and Germany; it is seven in this country. Yet at three per cent. wealth doubles in less than twenty-three years. So that at this extreme high rate of the increase of population, and this extreme low rate of the increase of wealth, the latter would always keep in advance of the former. Where the rate of profit is five per cent. wealth would amount to nearly three and a half times the original sum in twenty-five years; while population could not be more than doubled. In another twenty-five years, population would be doubled again, but wealth would be more than ten times as

great; giving to each of the quadrupled population nearly three times the quantity of useful things that was enjoyed by each when the population was less by three-fourths. Now the increase of population in such old and well-peopled countries as England and Holland has hardly ever been greater than at the rate of one per cent. per annum; whilst the rate of profit has averaged from three to five. In such countries an increase of two per cent. in wealth would always keep it in advance of population. But the actual increase of wealth in such countries for the past two hundred years has been nearer ten or fifteen or twenty per cent. than four or five; and in the present state of the world, wealth of whatever kind can always be converted into food.

Here then we have another proof that the distress from want of food in England and other industrial countries has literally nothing to do with overpopulation; but is wholly due to other causes, chief among which is a totally inadequate system of the distribution of the wealth that is produced.

We come now, in conclusion, to consider some of the moral consequences of this theory, which have been reserved to the last on account of their superior weight with those who do not claim to be experts in social science.

The first of these is, that all attempts to relieve the distresses of the poor by poor-laws, charitable institutions, and charity in general, are contrary to the laws of nature, and cannot fail to increase and aggravate the evil which they are intended to mitigate. Mr. Malthus himself, being a clergyman of the Church of England, could not indeed tell us in so many words, that we must never give a shilling to a starving beggar; but he developes in detail the consequence from his doctrines above stated, and leaves us to apply it for ourselves. He tells us that every increase of food thus supplied to the poor, stimulates the increase of population; and every increase of population increases the evil of pauperism. The necessary effect of this doctrine in hardening the hearts of the rich against the poor, is obvious. It brings man's noblest sympathies into direct conflict with his social duties, which, of course, require him to do all he can for the mitigation of distress, consequently never to bestow charity. For every act of charity increases

the amount of human destitution and misery. This surely must be a detestable doctrine to all who have human hearts.

The second of these consequences is that, according to this theory, a very large proportion of mankind must be deprived of the blessings of marriage, and of the family. This consequence is frankly avowed by Mr. Malthus and his followers. They exhort the poor to abstain from marriage, as their only hope of escaping starvation. It is appalling to contemplate the practical results which must follow such a violation of the laws of nature. For if there is anything certain it is that the well-being of mankind can never be generally realized out of the marriage relation. What would men become but for the purifying influence of women in married life, and what without the educating, ennobling influence of the family! Impurity, more wide spread and desolating than any ever known, except on heathen ground, would be the result. Promiscuous intercourse, from which a large portion of mankind, as it would seem, have slowly emerged, would return with all its horrors. We do not hesitate to affirm that if the advice of these writers should be followed, that the work of two thousand years of Christian civilization would be undone. The world would be engulfed in perdition.

The third moral consequence of this theory is, that it tends to promote all those abominable means of frustrating the natural course of nature in the production of human offspring, and even infanticide itself, which have prevailed so extensively among the heathen, and which, from the influence of this theory, are now returning with a dreadful significance among us. Upon this point Dr. Nathan Allen of Lowell, Massachusetts, has given us some alarming statistics, drawn from the registration of births and deaths in that state.* From this we learn that there has been among the native New England people, for many years, a steady decline both in the number of children to each family, and in the number of births relatively to the number of deaths. Formerly the general average of children to a family was from eight to ten. In one small town there were at one time ten hundred and forty-three children in ninety families, between eleven and twelve to each family. The present generation averages not more than three children to a family. In

* See a communication to the *New York Observer*, October 4th, 1866.

1864 the deaths among the American population of the State exceeded the births by nine thousand. In Boston alone the deaths exceeded the births by fifteen hundred and two. Again, for any community to be in a prosperous condition with respect to the increase of its numbers, the annual birth-rate must be at least as one to thirty of the adult population; whilst that of the American population in Massachusetts is less than as one to sixty. In fact this glorious old Puritan stock is disappearing from New England under this process, at an appalling rate. Much of this is, no doubt, due to the fact that so many of the young people, especially the young men, emigrate to the new states of the West. But this fact can have no bearing upon the decrease of the number of children in each family. In the words of Dr. Allen: "What cause, or causes, could ever possibly bring about such disastrous results? The whole explanation may be summed up briefly under two heads: 1. *The physical degeneracy of women*: and 2, the settled determination among a large portion of them in married life *to have no children, or a very limited number*. . . . No language, he adds, can adequately portray the terrible effects which have already resulted from these violations of law; and no imagination can fully comprehend the nature or extent of the disastrous consequences which are yet to follow in the same train." In addition to this, the extent to which infanticide is now prevailing among the labouring poor of England, is known to be so great that the statistics are kept as much as possible from the public. The intelligent London correspondent of the *New York Times* of December 27, the day on which this is written, says: "Wife-killing is one of the most common crimes in England, next to infanticide, which has become so much a custom as scarcely to be considered a crime."

Now all these abominable practices and their results, are in perfect accordance with this theory. For it teaches us that the one great thing to be avoided for the welfare of the human race, is the increase of population. If children are born, in natural numbers, the greater portion of them must perish from starvation. It is a mercy, therefore, to prevent them from coming into the world, or if they must come, to remove them as early as possible. If these views should once come to con-

trol the action of legislators, it is easy to predict that infanticide will cease to be a punishable crime, and will be regarded as a praiseworthy act, as it has always been among the most degraded of the heathen.

The last consequence of this theory is, that it subverts all faith in the Holy Scriptures. Its teachings are diametrically opposed to those of the word of God. God has given the express command to the human race to *be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth*; and this command is communicated in the form of a Divine blessing. These authors teach us that the natural increase of population is the greatest curse of humanity; and enjoin upon a large proportion of mankind to avoid marriage, and to frustrate their natural fertility. God has placed all men in families; these men would deprive a large proportion of mankind of the blessed influences of the family. God has enjoined charity to the poor; here we are taught that it is a curse, which can never fail to increase the evil it is intended to mitigate. God has forbidden murder; infanticide is the legitimate and inevitable practical consequence of this theory.

ART. VII.—*The Rejection of Christ by the Jewish Rulers and People.*

WE propose in this article, to inquire into the causes of the rejection of Christ by the Jewish rulers and people; to exhibit the principal occasions when this was publicly and decidedly done; and to present the evidence they possessed of the truth of his character, and of the validity of his claims.

From whatever point of observation this rejection is viewed, it stands out boldly as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the religious history of man. It presents the case of a nation, decided in their religious convictions, rigorous in their religious observances, members of the true church of God, and enjoying the full and clear light of his written word, struck, individual cases excepted, with total moral and spiritual blind-

ness. Facts and truths, supported by every kind of evidence that is adapted to produce conviction, were either explained away by senseless cavils, and by the most improbable suppositions, or were bluntly rejected. And this was done not once or twice, but many, many times, during a period of three years. Had these facts and truths been entirely new in their character, this rejection might have been in part accounted for by this circumstance: the human mind is slow to apprehend that which is totally different from its present knowledge, and its accustomed trains of thought. The use of language also, in a sense new to it, and especially the introduction of new words, which the presentation of such facts and truths renders necessary, cover them with doubt and mystery. A man, for example, who is intelligent on other subjects, but who is ignorant of the nomenclature of chemistry, might be present at a lecture where the most brilliant experiments were performed, and where the explanation of the lecturer was clear and satisfactory to those who understood his terms, and yet to him the whole might be an énigma. When Paul preached to the cultivated and fastidious Athenians, their philosophers said, "What will this babbler say? He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods; because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection."

No such explanation as this can be given of the blindness and prejudice of the Jews. They were looking for the appearance of Messiah at the time Jesus commenced his public ministry. The prophecy of Daniel, ix. 24—27, had definitely determined it. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city," said the angel to the sorrowing prophet. The key of the period measured by these prophetic weeks they had in Levit. xxv. 8. Each week represented seven years. Counting, therefore, from the date of the commission of Artaxerxes king of Babylon to Ezra to rebuild Jerusalem four hundred and ninety years, it brought them to their own period as the one of Messiah's coming.

That they did then expect him is perfectly clear, not only from the narratives of the Evangelists, but also from the testimony of Josephus, and of Tacitus and Suetonius. The Roman historians declare that the belief was general over the East,

derived from prophetic books, that at that very time one should arise in Judea, who should obtain universal dominion. And Josephus says it was this expectation which inspired the Jews in their effort to throw off the Roman yoke. (See Robinson's *Calmet*, art. Christ.) But more than this, they distinctly and universally recognized the fact, that his coming was to be the most glorious era in their history. They firmly believed that it would bring to them the richest blessings; that it would be the complete fulfilment of the promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

There were in their Scriptures minute prophecies relating to his birth and lineage. He was to be born of a virgin; his descent was to be through the royal line of David; and his birth-place was to be Bethlehem. If they had been capable of instituting a candid examination, they would have found that these prophecies were fulfilled in Jesus. If again, their stolid, unreasoning prejudice had not taken away all power of mental and spiritual vision, they would have discovered in the noble and dignified person and bearing of Jesus, in his sinless life, in the divine depth and wisdom of his teachings, and in the splendour of his witness-bearing miracles, the clearest and fullest evidence that he was their long expected, long and earnestly wished for Messiah. From whence then their unbelief? Why did they reject their glorious Messiah? Why did they crucify the Son of God, and put him to an open shame? Were the laws which govern mind in its reception of truth, in their case, suspended? Did a kind of monomania, an insanity confined to this one subject, seize upon this whole people? Did a demoniacal possession, (in that age so common in individual cases) formed by the joining together of a terrible judgment from heaven, and of an uprising of all the powers of hell, fall upon that unhappy generation? As we view their conduct from our stand-point in this age, it certainly looks like this. And yet there was "method in their madness;" there was evident intelligence and design in these works of the devil.

Our first business, in replying to the question, Why did the Jewish rulers and people reject Christ? will be to ascertain their civil and religious condition at the time this greatest and blackest of crimes was committed, because in this will be found

the roots of the tree which bore such baleful fruit. In doing this, however, we shall not attempt to trace the long train of causes by which they were brought into this condition; but simply endeavour to exhibit what it was when Christ commenced his public ministry.

They were then a subject people. Roman soldiers garrisoned their cities and towns, and Roman governors held the supreme power over them. At the same time, they were treated with comparative leniency. They were allowed the full and free exercise of their religious faith and worship; and apparently all, except the higher civil offices, were filled by their own people, chosen by themselves, and executing the laws prescribed by Moses.

The Sanhedrim, their highest court, still bore its mixed character of a civil and religious tribunal; and it had jurisdiction in all cases, it would seem, except that it could not execute the penalty of death. The people were allowed, as a general thing, to hold their property, and to pursue their accustomed occupations without Roman interference. For a number of years after their subjugation, they were not even taxed by the supreme government.

About the time of the birth of Christ, however, a decree was promulgated by the emperor, which brought them under this humiliating and onerous burden. That rapacious system of extorting money, which by the corruption it produced at Rome, and the discontent it caused in the provinces, had so large a share in hastening the downfall of that mighty empire, the Jews, in the time of Christ, felt in its full force. It was one of their chief grievances, and they manifested their disgust and opposition to it in every way they were able, without bringing down the iron hand of Rome upon them. So unpopular was the office of tax-gatherer that no respectable Jew would accept it. To do so, was to cut himself off from all social and religious intercourse with his nation. A publican was an outcast; a man despised and hated by all around him; and in no other way could the scorn and maledictions of the people be so effectually brought down upon a man, as to charge him with having defended the Roman taxation. A remarkable proof of this is found in the skilfully formed dilemma into which the Phari-

sees attempted to bring Christ, by proposing to him the question, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not? Shall we give, or shall we not give?" If he replied, No, it would be an act of insubordination to the Roman government; if Yes, it would bring him into disrepute with the people.

We have remarked that the Roman tax was one of the chief grievances of the Jews, but it was by no means the only one. That proud and high-spirited people looked down with feelings of contempt upon all other nations. And there were strong reasons for this. Their illustrious origin, and their religious character and institutions, as God's covenant people, separated them from all others, and placed them immeasurably above them. They alone had God's written word. It was clothed in their language, and addressed to them. They were, by birth and by covenant, the members of his church. It was impossible but that the Roman yoke should gall them to their heart's core. Their painfully tragic history shows that they never ceased to writhe under it, and to rebel against it, until finally, by their sullen discontent, and their open insurrections, they brought the full power of the empire upon them to their utter destruction.

About two years before Christ commenced his public ministry, Pontius Pilate, a Roman by birth, was raised to the Procuratorship of Idumea, Judea, and Samaria. He was a man of impetuous, cruel, and rapacious character. While he does not seem to have interfered, under ordinary circumstances, with the religious faith and customs of the Jews, he visited with terrible severity every infraction of the Roman authority. By his cruelty, his extortions, the tortures he inflicted on those who fell under his displeasure, and the number he put to death without trial, he rendered himself, and the government he represented, exceedingly odious to the Jews. Discontent was general among them, and they sighed for deliverance. This they confidently expected in the person and reign of Messiah. The prophecies pointed to the period then passing as the one for his appearance; and as their interpretation of those prophecies made him a Mighty Prince, who was to establish a temporal kingdom, excelling all others in power and splendour, and finally attaining universal dominion, the unhappy people, one and all, looked to

him as their deliverer from the Roman power. So strong and so general was this expectation, that several impostors had taken advantage of it to create insurrections. Gamaliel, in his remarkable speech before the Sanhedrim which arraigned the Apostles for preaching Christ in Jerusalem, a few weeks after his crucifixion, mentions two of this character: Acts v. 36, 37. In a word, the whole Jewish people, at the time our Lord appeared, were in a state of civil and political agitation and distress; eagerly looking for his coming, but alas, with such mistaken views of his character and work, that when he came they knew him not, they received him not. They blindly rejected him, and, with their own hands, put him to a cruel and ignominious death.

We now turn to the religious state of the Jews in the period under review. Taking a merely general and outside view of it, it would seem to have been fully up to their most favourable state at any time posterior to the reign of Solomon. The temple of God at Jerusalem was one of the most splendid edifices then standing. The materials of which it was constructed were of the finest and most costly description, and it was enriched by the most elaborate and splendid ornaments of gold and silver. The worship of God there, in accordance with the Mosaic ritual, was fully maintained and generously provided for. The orders of the Priesthood and of the Levites were filled by the descendants of Aaron and by the tribe of Levi. The great feasts prescribed by the Law were regularly observed and largely attended, not only by Jews resident in Palestine, but in foreign countries. Asia, Africa, and Europe were largely represented at the great national jubilees. Synagogues were erected in all the towns and cities. Each of these had a copy of the Old Testament, which was read and expounded to the assembled people. The Sabbath was rigorously observed, and a Jew who profaned it by any outward act was liable to be cut off from all religious fellowship and privileges.

In matters of faith they are divided into three sects. The Essenes, who were the mystics, the transcendentalists, and monks of the Jewish family, were the least numerous and influential.

The Sadducees who, though less in numbers than the Phari-

sees, possessed great authority and influence, because they were the allies of the Roman power. They were loose in their morals, and semi-infidel in their faith. Holding the doctrines of the Epicurean philosophy, they denied the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the existence of angels. They were the rationalists and sceptics of the Jewish family.

The third sect was the Pharisees, by far the most numerous and influential with the people. They, in reality, represent the religious faith and practice of the Jews in the age of our Lord. It is therefore important to the object of this article, to give a somewhat extended view of them. The leading Pharisees were men, outwardly at least, of an eminently devoted and self-sacrificing religious character. In this respect they put to shame the vast majority of the Christian ministry of this or any other age, except that of the Apostles. Truly, they had a righteousness and a fiery zeal for God, but it was not the righteousness which is by faith, and it was not a zeal which is according to knowledge.

It was a righteousness and a zeal which had its roots and its growth in a wholly legal spirit—in the over-scrupulous and painful observance of the letter of the law. In frequent and rigorous fasts; in long and studied prayers, offered in the most public places, which had the form without the spirit; in ostentatious contributions to the support of religion, giving the tenth of all their incomes, down to the very herbs which grew in their gardens; in the outward manifestations of devotion, in their speech, in their countenances, and in their dress; in frequent ceremonial washings of their hands, and of pots, and cups, and plates, used at their meals; in an outward observance of the Sabbath so strict as to forbid the performance of acts of mercy and necessity; and in a haughty and insulting refusal to hold any intercourse whatever with the irreligious and immoral.

The legitimate effect of all this on fallen human nature, was to foster a spirit of intense pride and self-righteousness. It led them to value themselves on their superior religious knowledge, on the purity of their lives, and on their full and blameless obedience to the law. In its relation to men, it prompted

them to look with contempt upon all who did not come up to their standard. Their language was, "Stand thou aside, I am holier than thou." In its relation to God, it produced in them a settled conviction that they were, above all other men, his honoured and accepted servants; and that in virtue of their covenant relation as the children of Abraham, and their meritorious obedience, they were clearly, certainly entitled to everlasting life.

All this when, in truth, sin held undisputed sway over the inner man; when corruption festered and rioted in their hearts, and manifested itself in the motives and principles which prompted this very outward obedience, in which they so much gloried. They envied and hated other men, but it was under the guise of religious zeal; they were harsh and unmerciful in their treatment of offenders, but it was their desire to sustain the authority of God's law; they were avaricious and extortionate in their demands upon the weak and defenceless, they devoured widows' houses, but they cast the full tenth of their gains into the treasury of the Lord; they permitted the undutiful child to withhold support from his aged and helpless parents, but they commanded him to devote the amount thus saved to the support of religion; they permitted the unfaithful and licentious husband to put away his wife, on the most frivolous grounds, but they required him to give the forsaken woman a bill of divorcement according to the law of Moses. Thus the most monstrous crimes were perpetrated under the name of religion.

It was this deep and wide-spread corruption, not less than their insurrectionary and rebellious spirit, that led Josephus, himself a Jew and a priest, in his account of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the nation by the Romans, to write that sentence of bitter and scathing condemnation, "I believe, had the Romans made any longer delay in coming upon this wicked race, an earthquake would have swallowed up the city, or a flood would have drowned them, or the thunders which destroyed Sodom would have struck them. For this generation was more ungodly than all that had ever suffered such punishments." *Wars of the Jews*, book v. chap. 13, sec. 6.

The Pharisees filled, in the age of our Lord, the chief post

of instruction throughout Judea, and they were held in the highest veneration by the people, as the expounders of the law and the prophets. They received the whole of the Old Testament as the plenary inspired word of God, and they professed to bow implicitly to its authority; but they had also a large body of comments upon the sacred text, by their most learned and venerated Rabbis, called the Traditions of the Elders, which they treated with scarcely less reverence. They themselves obeyed these traditions, and required their followers to do this, with the most scrupulous care. They added thus to the already heavy burden of the ceremonial law, a crushing weight. They covered almost the whole of social life and intercourse with their rites and ceremonies, seeking, it would seem, to give the whole a religious character. Their object in these supererogatory precepts and obedience was to gain distinction among men for special devotedness, and to add to their merit in the sight of God.

All this grew out of their entire misapprehension of the nature and design of the ceremonial law revealed through Moses. Aside from its being the method prescribed by God for his worship, it had a twofold purpose. The first and chief design was to prefigure the atonement which Messiah in the fulness of time would make, and to enable God's people by the observance of its requirements in the exercise of faith to obtain the priceless blessings of that atonement. The second was to humble them, to keep the remembrance of their sinfulness ever present, ever fresh, and, by the rigor and oppressiveness of its demands, to lead them to look forward to Messiah's coming, with earnest longing, as the time of their spiritual deliverance. All this they lost sight of, and they came to regard it as a great system by which personal righteousness, and personal desert before God could be acquired. Hence they added to it still more onerous, still more rigid and painful observances. And they held and taught that a descendant of Abraham, who scrupulously, straitly performed all these ceremonial requirements, was assured of salvation. Under these teachings and this practice they became mere formalists; men of ice; men of iron; and they ceased entirely to regard the coming Messiah as a Redeemer, a great atoning sacrifice,

a deliverer from the corruption and curse of sin. They only looked and longed for him, as we shall more fully see, as a great earthly conqueror, who was to deliver them from the civil and political evils under which they groaned.

We have remarked that the leading men among the Pharisees were regarded by the body of the people as the true expounders of the prophecies. It was by their interpretation of the prophecies relating to Messiah, more than by any other single instrumentality, that they gave form and direction to the views of the masses in relation to him. The patent and striking fact that the prophets speak of Messiah in two seemingly opposite characters, now as a mighty prince setting up a glorious kingdom, bearing in its progress righteousness and peace, and salvation to men, and destined to universal and endless dominion; and again, as "persecuted, despised, and rejected," as "wounded and bruised," as "in prison," as cut off from the land of the living, as "making his grave with the wicked and the rich in his death," these opposite declarations they knew not how to reconcile. Some held that there were to be two Messiahs, the one a majestic and victorious king, the other a rejected, despised, and suffering man. Whether these views were openly and generally expressed in their exposition of the prophecies to the people in the synagogues, we have no means of determining. However this may have been, there is abundant evidence that the first of these Messiahs was the one they taught the people to expect at that time. Interpreting the language of the prophets in a literal and temporal sense, they led the multitude to look for Messiah in the character of a mighty earthly prince, who was to place himself at the head of the Jewish nation, overcome and disperse their enemies and oppressors, and make them the ruling nation of the world.

Like the man who is slowly dying from an ulcer, which has its roots in the very centre of his vital organs, and who expects his physician to remove it by covering up its putrid and livid mouth, so the Jewish rulers and people, entirely overlooking the fact that the seat of their malady, the source of their woes, lay deep within their hearts, and in numberless crimes against God, expected Messiah, their divine Physician, to heal them

by removing the sorrows and desolations of their civil and political condition.

Gathering now into one view what has been exhibited of their civil and religious condition, we have before us the causes of their rejection of Christ. Over and above the essential opposition of corrupt human nature to God and to righteousness, these unhappy people were totally blinded, and bound hand and foot by two great errors, wrought out and perfected by themselves, viz., their icy, dead formalism, and their false interpretations of the prophecies relating to Messiah, applied to their oppressed and wretched civil and political condition; the two interwoven and interlinked, and covering them like a coat of mail, forged by Satan himself in the fires of the bottomless pit. The one shutting their eyes to their own sins, to their deep and damning corruption and wickedness, and leading them to feel that they needed no Messiah, and desired no Messiah, to deliver them from these; and the other filling their minds and hearts with false and delusive desires and hopes, which wholly shut out from their view the true spiritual and remedial character of Messiah, and made him merely a temporal prince, an earthly king.

We proceed now to the second division of the subject, which is the manner in which the Jewish rulers and people rejected Christ, and the character and power of the evidence of his Messiahship, which was furnished to them in his person and life, and in his teachings and miracles. The consideration of these two things will, from their close relation, naturally come together.

Passing over the circumstances of our Lord's birth and early history, because, though these furnish a clear and weighty body of evidence to us, who have his full history, they were probably unknown, at that time, to the Jewish rulers and people, we come to the appearance and testimony of his herald, John the Baptist. His advent had also been distinctly predicted, and the time of it fixed. The prophet Malachi, the last of the illustrious line, in the closing words he was commissioned to utter, distinctly foretold the appearance of John as the messenger of Messiah: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord whom ye seek

shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts." Mal. iii. 1. And again, in the very last two sentences, obviously designed, from this circumstance, to give the age in which Christ was to appear a prophetic mark about which there could be no doubt: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." Mal. iv. 5, 6. Equally clear and decisive was the prediction of John's coming and office by Isaiah, xl. 3—5, which the Baptist applied to himself when the leading men at Jerusalem sent a special embassy to him with the question, "Who art thou?" John i. 19—27.

The effect of John's ministry on the Jewish people of all conditions was, in the highest degree, remarkable. His person, dress, and manners, his stern character, his thrilling eloquence, and above all, his solemn and startling message, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," broke upon the ear of his slumbering countrymen like a voice of thunder from heaven. They were for the moment awakened. They came out to him from the cities, and towns, and hamlets of the land, into the wilderness that lies between Jerusalem and the river Jordan. Their hearts were touched. They saw, for the time, their sinfulness, and professed repentance. The leading men of the Pharisees alone stood aloof. True to their formalisms, jealous of their power and distinction in religious matters, they looked upon this great spiritual movement, among the dead masses of their followers, in a cold and cavilling spirit, waiting for the opportunity and means to arrest it.

John's testimony to Christ as Messiah, was in the very highest degree, clear, particular, and ample. To his disciples standing around him when Jesus was coming to him, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!" "The same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." "This is the Son of God." John i. 29—34. To the Jewish rulers he said, when they sent to him the embassy already referred to, "I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you whom ye know not: He it is, who coming after me,

is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose." To the Jewish people as a whole, when their interest and expectation in reference to him were raised to the highest point, "when all men mused in their hearts of John whether he were the Christ or not," he said, "I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Luke iii. 16.

It is a fact, worthy of special notice, that the ministry of John was an open and direct attack upon the formalism of the Jewish rulers and people, and, by an inference so pointed and forcible that it seems impossible they should have failed to make it, upon their false interpretation of the prophecies relating to the Messiah. He cut up root and branch their self-righteousness, and he blasted their false hopes of acceptance with God on account of their covenant relation, and their ceremonial obedience, by his bold and scathing denunciations, and by the distinctness and prominence which he gave to the great spiritual truth they had so utterly lost sight of, that religion is a work in the soul, a turning of the heart to God by repentance and faith in his Son. To the multitude who came forth to be baptized, he said, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, That God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the roots of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." Luke iii. 7—9.

It is to be borne in mind that the ministry of John lasted a year and a half. That during all this time he continued to bear this testimony, direct and indirect, to the character and claims of Jesus as Messiah. That within this period a multitude of the Jews, perhaps a majority of them, were personally present, and heard his declarations. It is to be remembered also that, all this while, he was unsparing in the blows he dealt with such crushing force, upon their formalism, their self-righteousness, and their hypocrisy. All this while his solemn, startling cry was, "Repent, repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at

hand;" thus seeking to turn their eyes inward upon themselves, and to lead them to feel that Messiah's coming and kingdom had reference to their spiritual state and wants, to their deliverance from sin, and not from temporal evils. His ministry was, therefore, in the highest and fullest degree, preparatory to Christ's coming and work. It was a literal fulfilment of the prophecy, that he was "to prepare the way of the Lord." It was in all its parts a testimony from God to Jesus as Messiah.

Of its remarkable effects upon all classes of the Jewish people, except the leading Pharisees, we have already spoken. It produced a movement among the dry bones, which had the strong semblance of a great and general revival of true religion. But alas, the permanent effects of it appear to have been slight and meagre. A very few accepted and believed his testimony. On the vast majority it fell like seed upon a naked rock: like a flash of the noonday sun upon the eyes of the dead.

In the manner of their reception of the ministry of John, therefore, in their refusal to give practical and permanent weight to the testimony he bore to the Son of God, the Jewish rulers and people manifested their first open rejection of Christ.

We come now to their treatment of our Lord himself. We shall aim to bring before the reader the chief occasions when their rejection was open and decided, and, at the same time, show the nature and the force of the testimony he offered to them of his character and claims. In doing this we shall not enter at all upon the intricate chronological questions which relate to the date of the commencement of his public ministry, to the length of time it continued, and to the number of the great national festivals he attended, as this would be wholly foreign to the object we have in view. We shall follow, in general, the chronological order adopted by the Rev. S. M. Andrews in his able and exhaustive "Life of our Lord."

The first occasion after his baptism, on which our Lord publicly revealed himself to the Jewish rulers and people, was at the Passover mentioned by John ii. 12. Though he did not on that occasion in words claim to be Messiah, his acts, in the strongest manner, set forth this claim.

On the plea that God's worship was promoted by having the

animals offered in sacrifice near at hand, that strangers who came to worship might readily procure them, the authorities permitted men to erect stalls within the outer court of the temple, where oxen and sheep and doves were exposed for sale. Under the same plea, those who exchanged ordinary money for the sacred shekel, had tables there for the transaction of this business. When, on coming to the temple, our Lord found these men and animals there, he made a scourge of small cords and drove them all out, saying to them, "Take these things hence: make not my Father's house an house of merchandise."

This bold and decisive act could not fail to excite a great commotion, and to draw the attention of all to himself. It was a public declaration of his Divine authority, and a stern rebuke of those who were trafficking within the sacred enclosures of God's house, and of the rulers who permitted this profanation. That they so understood it, and that they keenly felt it, is obvious from their demand for his authority in thus summarily overthrowing a custom sanctioned by their highest court. "What sign," said they, "showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things." In reply he gave them a sign by referring to his own death and resurrection, but they did not understand him. They supposed he was making a vain boast when he said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," because they understood him to speak of the temple of God, within which they were standing, while he referred to his own body. He did not correct their mistake, because he knew their motives. They did not seek for evidence of his character and claims; their demand was prompted by displeasure at the act of purification he had performed, and their desire was to obtain grounds for his arrest and punishment. It is surprising that they did not at once do this; and it is a strong proof that his person, and character, and teachings, in connection with the testimony of John, had made a deep impression upon them.

The truth we wish to bring out from this account of our Lord's first public revelation of himself to the Jewish rulers and people is, that they knew he claimed to be Messiah, and that there was before them a body of evidence which ought to

have commanded their candid and careful attention. This they rejected. True, many of the people did for the time "believe in his name when they saw the miracles which he did." But that this was one of those waves of popular opinion, which soon subside and leave scarcely any traces of their existence behind, is clear from the words immediately following, "but Jesus did not commit himself unto them." This was the second public and decisive rejection of Christ by the Jewish rulers and people.

Leaving Jerusalem after the passover was concluded, he went into the surrounding region and preached his gospel and baptized, through his disciples, those who came to him. It soon appeared, however, that the eyes of the chief Pharisees at Jerusalem were upon him, and that they would proceed to violent measures to arrest his growing influence with the people. He therefore retired into Galilee, and probably continued for a time in comparative seclusion.

His next public appearance before the Jewish rulers and people is thus announced in John v. 1, "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." While there he again fixed their attention upon him, and with great distinctness set forth his Messiahship by healing on the Sabbath a lame man, who was lying in one of the porches surrounding the pool of Bethesda, and by the reasons he gave for the act, when charged with having profaned the day. The probability is he was arraigned before the Sanhedrim to answer to the charge of having desecrated God's day, as there is full proof that the Jewish rulers were greatly offended. The historian says they "persecuted Jesus and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath-day." John v. 16. His defence is in every respect remarkable. He does not say that in forbidding works of necessity and mercy the Pharisees had given a wrong and oppressive interpretation of the fourth commandment, but he takes infinitely higher ground. He claims to be Lord of the Sabbath. He asserts his community of nature with God the Father, and demands for himself equal honour. He declares that all judgment is committed to him by the Father. He distinctly proclaims himself the Saviour of men, invites all to hear him and to believe in him, and promises

to all who do this, eternal life. He repeatedly asserts his power to raise the dead, and declares that the day is coming when all the dead shall, at the sound of his voice, come forth from their graves to the final judgment. To all this he says, God the Father bears witness through the miracles he was commissioned to perform. And he finally appeals to the Old Testament Scriptures, for they testify of him.

Let the reader carefully examine this wonderful revelation of himself by our Lord in John v. 17—47; let him remember that this was probably spoken before the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, and that the man whom Jesus had healed of a lameness that had prevented him from walking for thirty-eight years, simply by the command, "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk," probably, was standing with him before that prejudiced court, and he will find that the Jewish rulers, then and there, had the most overwhelming proof that Jesus was Messiah. He will also, probably, come to the conclusion that it was the nature and power of that evidence which so overawed them that they could not put in force their determination to arrest and punish him, even with death. All this, however, they deliberately and of purpose rejected, smothering for the time their intense hatred, and waiting for a more fit opportunity to destroy him. This was their third open and decisive rejection of him.

He now returned to Galilee. He had a great work to do in the delivery of those precious teachings which occupy so large a space in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; in the performance of a multitude of miracles, that were to be the witness of God, not only to that age, but to all succeeding ages; and in the selection and training of the men who were to lay the foundations of his church, and to carry his gospel to the nations of the world.

He chose Galilee for this purpose, because the enmity and persecutions of the chief men of the nation did not permit him to do it within the limits of Judea. During the succeeding year and a half, he remained in Galilee, pursuing his great work with wonderful activity. On the Sabbath he entered the synagogues, and read and expounded the Scriptures, applying the prophecies to himself. On several of these occasions he wrought miracles of healing upon the diseased and infirm, who

were present. On other days of the week he made circuits through the cities, and towns, and country, preaching to the multitudes who followed him. Frequently he spent whole days in thus delivering his divine instructions.

During this entire period he was constantly performing stupendous miracles. Healing the sick; causing the lame to walk; the blind to see; the deaf to hear; the dumb to speak; casting out devils; and raising the dead. Twice he stilled a tempest on the Sea of Galilee. Twice he fed thousands who were faint and hungry, with a few loaves and fishes. Thus he manifested his omnipotent power over nature, over diseases, over evil spirits, and over death. Thus he furnished in his person, in his life, in his teachings, and in his mighty works, a constantly accumulating, constantly brightening volume of evidence that he is Messiah, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. Yet when we come to sum up the fruits of our Lord's ministry in Galilee in the matter of gathering in those who should be saved, and in gaining the confidence of the people to whom he ministered, how few and small they are! His mournful, fearful prophetic denunciation of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum applies to the whole of Galilee, for with few exceptions they all rejected him.

His work in Galilee was now closed. While from the intense hatred, and the violence of the rulers of Judea proper, it was not performed in their country, and, from being but imperfectly known to them, could produce but little impression upon them, it has been, and it will be to all succeeding ages and generations, second in importance only to that great final action by which his atonement was completed—his death upon the cross. The account of it fills a very considerable part of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The body of precious spiritual truth, the vast number of miracles each and all manifesting the deep and tender love and sympathy of our Lord for perishing men, not less than his Divine nature, character, and office, and the selection and training of the apostles who laid the foundations of his church, and under the teachings and guidance of the Holy Ghost wrote so large a portion of the New Testament, are among the greatest gifts of God to men. That mind must be indeed dark and dull, that heart must be indeed hard and insen-

sible, that can resist the enlightening and saving influence, which beams from every page like the light of an unclouded sun.

The Feast of Tabernacles occurred in October of the year in which our Lord finished his work in Galilee; the last year of his public ministry and of his life. He went up from Galilee to attend that feast secretly, as to the time and direction of his journey, but with the purpose, it would seem, of revealing himself more openly to the Jewish rulers and people at Jerusalem, and of submitting to the indignities and cruelties they were to heap upon him, as the appointed time for the completion of his great work of redemption drew near.

There seems to have been a general expectation that he would attend that feast. During the early part of it many inquiries were made for him, and his character and claims were privately much discussed by the people. Some expressed a favourable opinion, while others denounced him as a deceiver. About the middle of the feast he appeared in the temple, and openly taught the people. His enemies were greatly surprised at the knowledge and skill he displayed. It is probable the Sanhedrim had formally determined to arrest him, and put him to death, if he came to the feast. We infer this from his own declaration that they sought to kill him; from their many inquiries for him during the early part of the feast; from the restraint upon the people while speaking of him; and from the question asked by some who were resident at Jerusalem, while they listened to his wonderful words, "Is not this he whom they seek to kill? But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him." John vii. 25, 26. During the four or five days of the feast which remained after his arrival, he seems to have sought, rather than avoided, contact with his enemies; and when they replied to his Divine teachings with cavils, and sneers, and abuse, he answered them with unsparing plainness and severity. He declared that they were utterly ignorant of God; that manifesting the spirit of their father, the devil, they believed a lie, rather than the truth which God had commissioned him to declare; that they were wholly under the power of sin and would die in sin. At the same time he openly and repeatedly set forth his Divine commission and authority, his oneness of nature with God the Father, and in the courts of the

temple, while the thousands of the assembled worshippers were standing around him, he proclaimed, in a loud voice, his character and office, as the Saviour of men. John vii., viii., ix., x.

On the Sabbath, either the last of the feast, or that of the week following, he healed a man born blind. This miracle created a great commotion among his enemies. They at first refused to believe in its reality; but being compelled at last to admit this, by the testimony of the man and his parents, they attempted to turn aside the force of the miracle, by giving him this astounding direction, "Give God the praise: we know that this man is a sinner!" His reply to them is the most complete overthrow that ever a set of bigoted and blood-thirsty wretches received. See John ix. 25—33.

During this period, they four times attempted to take his life. Once, in their blind rage, they were on the point of stoning him, and three times they sought to arrest him, but they were restrained by the unseen hand of God; as the historian expresses it, "His hour was not yet come."

This was their fourth open and decided rejection of him, and it was more fierce and determined than any which had preceded it.

The Feast of the Dedication commemorated the purifying of the temple, B. C. 167, by Judas Maccabeus, after the profanation by Antiochus, king of Syria. The time of its celebration occurred about the middle of December. Our Lord embraced this occasion to again present himself to the rulers and people at Jerusalem. Soon after his arrival, "the Jews" (John uses this term to designate the heads of the nation) "came round about him and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." Jesus answered them, "I told you, and ye believed not: the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you." He did not give them a direct answer for two reasons, viz., the evidence they had already was more than sufficient. His teachings and miracles, which they had heard and witnessed, fully answered their question. And again he knew their motives; it was not evidence they wanted, but grounds upon which to found a charge against him. As he

proceeded in his reply he declared that his own sheep knew him and followed him. To *them* he would give eternal life, and none could pluck them out of his hand. They were given to him by his Father, who is greater than all. . And then he used that remarkable language which expresses so fully his community of nature with God the Father, "I and my Father are one." Regarding this as blasphemy, they took up stones to stone him. He calmly continued his address, and appealed to his mighty miracles for proof of the claim he had thus made, and finally repeated it in these emphatic words, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in him." John x. 22—38. They now sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands, probably by a miraculous disappearance.

This was their fifth open and decided rejection of him.

Leaving Jerusalem he now passed over into Perea, beyond Jordan, and remained there until recalled to Bethany by the messengers who came to inform him of the dangerous illness of Lazarus. The raising of Lazarus from the dead, perhaps the most illustrious of our Lord's miracles, produced a deep and general impression on the people at Jerusalem. A very considerable number of the principal men of that city, of which Bethany was a suburb, were present when it was performed, and therefore the evidence they had of its genuineness was beyond denial or even doubt. The rulers were compelled to admit this, but its only effect on them was to alarm them and to increase their hatred, and their efforts to destroy him. When the news of it reached them, they held a council, and formally resolved to make more active efforts to arrest him, and to put him to death. John xi. 47—53. It is a fact which evinces in the most remarkable manner their deep-seated prejudice, and their fiendish hatred of our Lord, that the miracle, which, more fully than any other he performed, proved his claim to be Messiah, should have been the one that led them to resolve that, from that hour, no effort should be spared to accomplish his destruction. To escape from their violence, he immediately retired, with his disciples, to a secluded spot, and remained there until the approach of the Passover, which was the time

appointed for the completion of his great work of atonement, by his death on the cross.

In speaking of the tragic scene of our Lord's death, which, with the events immediately preceding, constitutes his final rejection by the Jewish rulers and people, we shall touch only those points which bear directly on the object of this article. Here their blindness, their stubborn unbelief, and their fiendish malice attained their full satanic growth and power. That dead formalism which abhorred everything spiritual, and covered their reeking corruption with a cloak of self-righteousness that nothing could penetrate, and those false interpretations of prophecy which led them only to desire and look for a Messiah, who came to relieve them from temporal evils and sufferings, and to raise them to temporal distinction and glory, brought forth their mature fruits. Our Lord standing in the courts of the temple during the days of that memorable Passover, pure and lovely in character, speaking with divine wisdom, exposing their formalism and hypocrisy, the Godhead within him flashing forth with exceeding splendour, in the miracles he wrought, yet entirely devoid of those temporal distinctions which they supremely loved and valued, eschewing them all, turning from them as from things unworthy of a word or thought, and holding up to view only spiritual and eternal things, was in all respects the opposite of the Messiah they desired and expected. They hated him intensely. They gnashed their teeth with rage when the impression his teachings and miracles made upon the multitude compelled them to restrain their violence. They thirsted for his blood, and were constantly, amid the solemn services of that great religious festival, plotting his destruction.

At length the time came for accomplishing their designs. One of our Lord's twelve bosom friends and disciples, inspired by the love of money, conceived and executed the purpose of betraying him. He went to the rulers and engaged for a sum, the amount of which had been fixed in prophecy six hundred years before, (Zech. xi. 12,) to betray his Lord and Master to them. He led the officers to the garden to which our Lord had retired for prayer to prepare himself for the awful agonies of the succeeding day. There they arrested him, and under the cover of night took him to the palace of the high priest. Here

the Sanhedrim was hastily assembled, and our Lord was put on his trial. The crime which they endeavoured to fix upon him was blasphemy; the penalty for which, according to the law of Moses, was death. But when they came to examine their bribed witnesses, their testimony was so indefinite and contradictory that the charge could not be sustained. To the charge and the testimony our Lord made no reply or defence. His enemies were therefore at a loss what to do to compass their determination to put him to death.

What a testimony is borne by this fact to his purity of character and life, and to the Divine wisdom and excellence of his teachings. For three years these crafty and unscrupulous men, before whom he was arraigned, had sought for the grounds of a charge that would justify them, according to their own unfair interpretation of the law of Moses, in condemning him to death, and now, when he stood before them silent and unresisting, without an advocate to plead his cause, and without a single witness in his favour, they were unable to do it. *

At length the high priest thus addressed him: "I adjure thee, by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death." Matt. xxvi. 63—66.

The Jewish rulers are now about to accomplish their designs. Their hatred and fierce rejection of Messiah are about to take a practical form. They have condemned him to death, but they cannot execute this penalty, without the consent of the Roman governor. Moreover, it is their purpose that he shall be put to death with every possible circumstance of ignominy and cruelty.

Conscious that they can bring no charge against him to which Pilate will listen as a ground for his condemnation, they resolve to overcome his expected objections by the urgency and violence of their demands. They therefore proceed in a body to the

judgment-seat of Pilate, leading our Lord bound, and there demand his condemnation. Their accusation is, "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute unto Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king." But after listening to their charges and testimony, and examining our Lord himself, he declares to the chief priests and people, "I find no fault in this man." Luke xxiii. 1—4. But this declaration only excited them to greater violence in their demands.

As in the course of the examination, it appeared that our Lord belonged to the province of Galilee, which was under the jurisdiction of Herod, who was then in Jerusalem, Pilate, to escape from the importunity of the Jews, and to avoid the responsibility of condemning an innocent man, sent our Lord to him, remitting the case to him for a final decision. The Jewish rulers followed to Herod's tribunal, and there vehemently repeated their accusations. But Herod could find nothing in their charges and testimony to warrant the pronouncing of the sentence of death, and while he treated our Lord with flagrant injustice and indignity, because he declined to gratify his curiosity by answering his questions, yet he sent him back to Pilate.

Pilate now gathered the chief priests, and rulers, and the people around him, and again declared our Lord innocent. "Ye have brought this man to me," he said, "as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him; no, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas." Pilate still hesitated, and again pronounced our Lord innocent. But with increased violence they cried, "Crucify him, crucify him."

At length yielding to their demands, "he took water and washed his hands before the multitude" (intending by this and his accompanying declaration, to free himself from responsibility, but in vain, for it is, if possible, more fully the solemn duty of a ruler to protect the innocent than to punish the guilty), and pronounced the sentence, and delivered our Lord to be crucified." Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.

In this final rejection of Christ, our Lord, by the Jewish rulers and people, three things appear with great clearness and force. The first is, that his character and claims as Messiah was the distinct and single ground of his condemnation by them. It was in reference to these that he was placed under oath. "I adjure thee, by the living God," said the high priest, "that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." It was his answer to this adjuration, "Thou hast said," that moved the court to pronounce the sentence of death upon him. Obviously it was the purpose of God that this issue should be thus distinctly made, and that this great crime should be thus fastened upon the Jewish rulers.

The second feature of this final rejection of our Lord is, that it is in the fullest sense and degree, a national act. The trial is conducted and the sentence is pronounced by the body of men who represent the secular and religious authority and dignity of the nation.

But in addition to this, the people are themselves called upon to ratify or reject this action. The custom, that some great criminal should be pardoned on the recurrence of the Passover, was used by Pilate to enable him to avoid condemning to death a man whom he knew to be innocent. He proposed to release Jesus, and, in doing it, employed language, without being himself conscious of it, that compelled them to reject our Lord under his Messianic title. "Whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas or Jesus, which is called CHRIST? For he knew that of envy they had delivered him. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus. The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas. Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do with Jesus, which is called CHRIST? They *all* say unto him, Let him be crucified. And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather that a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, HIS BLOOD BE ON US, AND ON OUR

CHILDREN." A prophetic imprecation, which is still in process of fulfilment. His blood *is* on them, and on their children.

The last feature of this final rejection of our Lord is, that in all the circumstances of it, his spotless purity, his Divine virtue and holiness, appear with infinite clearness and lustre. The crafty, bitter, intensely malignant Sanhedrim, were unable, even through bribed witnesses, to sustain the charge of blasphemy upon which they arraigned him, and were finally obliged to give some semblance of justice to their predetermined act of condemnation, by placing him under oath to assert or deny his claim to be Messiah.

The Roman governors, Herod and Pilate, also carefully examined his case, with the evident desire to gratify the fierce and violent demand of the Jewish rulers for his condemnation, but they were compelled by the entire absence of reliable testimony to declare him innocent.

We close this article by repeating the sentiment which introduces it. From whatever point of observation this rejection is viewed, it stands out boldly, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the religious history of man. It presents an unparalleled instance of moral and spiritual blindness, and of unmitigated and inexcusable wickedness. It constitutes the greatest and the blackest crime that ever has been committed, or, so far as we can see, can be committed in the universe of God.

SHORT NOTICES.

Analogy, considered as a guide to Truth, and applied as an aid to Faith.
By James Buchanan, D. D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology,
New College, Edinburgh, author of "Faith in God and Modern Atheism
compared," &c., &c. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter & Co. London:
Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1864. Pp. 626.

This is an elaborate and profound work, which must be carefully studied in order to be duly appreciated. For such study much time would be required. We have not had such time at command since the volume came into our hands. We can therefore only state the general plan and design of the work, which the distinguished position, and high reputation of the writer, must commend to the attention of those interested in such discussions.

The work is divided into three parts. I. The General Doctrine of Analogy. II. Sources of Analogy in Matters of Faith. III. Analogy applied to Modern Religious Questions. In the first division the several definitions of analogy are analyzed and examined; the difference between analogy and metaphor is carefully stated; the different kinds of analogy, the logical, symbolic, and theological, and the grounds of each are presented, and the principles thus evolved are traced in their widely extended applications. In the second part, the author, among other topics, treats of analogy between the volumes of nature and revelation; between the interpretation of nature and Scripture; between human and divine testimony; between human and divine relations; between natural and revealed laws; between Scripture and experience, &c., &c. In the third part, the doctrine of the book is applied to the questions of Theism, Rationalism, Spiritualism, Belief in Mysteries, Relation of Reason and Faith, Rituals, Rules of Faith, &c. A richer programme than the above can hardly be presented to the intelligent student in philosophy and religion.

Brazil and the Brazilians portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches.
By Rev. James C. Fletcher and Rev. D. P. Kidder, D. D. Illustrated
by one hundred and fifty engravings. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. London: Sampson, Low, Son & Co. 1866. Pp. 640.

Brazil, from its extent, geographical position, climate, soil, and productions, is destined to be one of the most important parts of the American continent. It has attracted, therefore,

an ever-increasing degree of attention of every class of men, commercial, scientific, and religious. It opens an almost boundless field for enterprise and improvement, and has entered upon an encouraging career of progress. Its emperor is one of the most enlightened and exemplary monarchs in the world; the friend of every scheme of improvement and favourable to religious liberty. As a field of missionary labour, Brazil is one of the most inviting on this continent, and a prosperous beginning has been made in occupying this field, by various denominations of Christians. The work of Messrs. Fletcher and Kidder is one of established reputation. Its having already passed through five editions, is a proof both of the interest taken in the subject and of its intrinsic worth. This new edition has appeared at the proper time, when public attention is renewedly directed to that important country.

The New Birth; or, The Work of the Holy Spirit. By Austin Phelps, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. 1867. Pp. 253.

Conversion, or, the new birth, Professor Phelps teaches is not a ritual change, neither is it a constitutional change, nor yet mystical, but it is a radical change of character. God is its author. The work is supernatural. It is not a development of anything in man, nor is it effected by merely natural or moral causes, but by the Holy Spirit. Man, therefore, is dependent on God for his regeneration. But this is a dependence not for power, but for will. Fallen men are able *to be*, as well as *to do*, all that God requires. This is assumed as a moral axiom; an intuition, which does not admit of dispute. Inability is a fiction. Ability is a necessary condition of responsibility. The old aphorism, which started the Augustinian controversy, "I can, because I ought," is repeated over and over as an ultimate truth. The two criteria by which intuitive truths are determined, are, universality and necessity. What all men do believe, and what every man must believe, is beyond doubt true. So far from the principle that ability limits obligation being universally believed, no man believes it; and so far from its being a necessary belief, no man can believe it. It is one of the most familiar facts of consciousness that we are bound to do much that we cannot do. Not that we are bound to see without eyes, or hear without ears, but to love what we hate, and to hate what we love. It is no less a matter of consciousness that these states of mind are not under the control of the will in any sense of that word. We are captives sold under sin; and cannot do the things that we would. These are facts

which no sophistry can elude; and which no enlightened conscience can ignore. We know as surely as we know our existence, that moral principles, dispositions, and feelings, owe their character not to their origin, but to their nature. If good, they are good no matter where they come from; and if evil, evil, no matter how they originated. Such we believe is the common judgment of mankind, and such is the doctrine of Scripture. Professor Phelps's book, although founded in its explanations, as we conceive, on a false philosophy, contains a great amount of valuable matter clearly and forcibly presented.

Studies on the Book of Psalms: being a critical and expository Commentary, with practical and doctrinal remarks on the entire Psalms. By William S. Plumer, D. D., LL.D., author of "The Bible," "The Grace of Christ," "The Law of God," &c. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866. Pp. 1211.

This book bears the well-known characteristics of Dr. Plumer's writing. It is sound, practical, and devout. The Book of Psalms is so constantly in the hands of the people of God, that a commentary so well adapted to general use, and so replete with wholesome truth, must, as we hope, find general acceptance.

Great in Goodness. A Memoir of George N. Briggs, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from 1844 to 1851. By William C. Richards. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. 1866. Pp. 452.

George Nixon Briggs was born at South Adams, Massachusetts, 1796. His parents were from Rhode Island. His father was of Puritan origin, his mother was Huguenot. He was at first apprenticed to a hatter; but turned to the study of law as early as his seventeenth year. In 1818 he was admitted to the bar, where he distinguished himself, not more for his abilities than for his courtesy and integrity. In 1830 he was elected to Congress, of which body he continued a member for twelve years. In 1844 he was chosen governor of his native State by a triumphant vote, greatly to the delight of the good people of the land. After a life of great distinction and usefulness he died September, 1861, in consequence of a wound occasioned by the accidental discharge of a gun. The principal distinction of Governor Briggs was his moral and religious excellence. From early life he was an exemplary member of the Baptist church, and a prominent actor in all schemes of pious benevolence. So much of the weal or woe of nations depends on the character of their rulers, that we cannot be too thankful when God gives such men as Governor Briggs a place and a voice in our national councils.

The Life of Daniel Dana, D. D. By Members of his Family. With a Sketch of his Character. By W. B. Sprague, D. D. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1866.

Dr. Dana was born at Ipswich, July 24, 1771. At the age of fourteen, in connection with his brother two years older, he commenced a singing-school, which proved a great success. In 1786 he entered Dartmouth College. After graduation, he was appointed preceptor of Moor's School, in connection with the College; he also taught two years at Exeter. In 1791 he returned to Ipswich, and took charge of the Classical School in that place, while he pursued his theological studies. In 1793 he was licensed, or "approved and recommended," "as a qualified candidate preacher of the gospel of Christ." In 1794 he was ordained pastor of the Presbyterian church in Newburyport, and after a successful ministry of twenty-six years was transferred to Hanover, New Hampshire, as President of Dartmouth College. He soon withdrew from that position as uncongenial with his feelings, and settled in Londonderry as pastor of the church, where he remained four years and a half. In 1826 he became pastor of the Second Presbyterian church at Newburyport, which position he resigned in 1845, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Dr. Dana was regarded as "one of the most able, devoted, and useful ministers of the period in which he lived." He died August 26, 1859, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. His publications were numerous, and his activity in all benevolent enterprises was distinguished. Mild, courteous, and engaging in person and manners, he gained in an eminent degree the affection as well as the respect of those who knew him. He was faithful in his adherence to the faith of his fathers, and had the moral courage to remonstrate against the departures from orthodoxy, when he stood almost alone.

The Draytons and Davenants. A Story of the Civil War. By the author of "Chronicles of the Schönberg Cotta Family." New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway. 1866. Pp. 509.

No writer of the age has exhibited greater talent for historical portraiture than the author of this work. She reproduces the characteristic features of the period in which her stories are laid with wonderfully fidelity. The reader himself lives in the scenes which are made to pass before him. To produce these effects, more is required than knowledge of historical details. Power of imagination, and skill in description are no less essential. All these gifts are united in the writer of the series of works to which this volume belongs, in an eminent degree. With these are combined a sound religious faith and a devout

spirit. All her books are written in the interest of evangelical religion, and they have been not only successful, but useful, to an extent which must be a lasting satisfaction to the author.

Jules Cæsar. Cours Professe à la Sorbonne en 1844 et 1863. Par E. Rousseau Saint-Hilaire. Paris: Charles Meyrueis, 174 Rue de Rivoli. Furne, Jounet et Cie. 45 Rue Saint-André-des-Arcs. 1866. Pp. 320.

Louis Napoleon's life of Cæsar is written in the interest of despotisms. He assumes that Providence from time to time raises up men to rule the world at will. Men who are not subject to law, being themselves the law. They have the right, because they have the power, to reign. Their genius, or intellectual superiority, invests them with autocratic authority. Happy, he says, are those who obey and follow them. Those who oppose them are at once blind and guilty. Blind, because they do not see the divine mission of such exceptional men; guilty, because their opposition can only delay and embarrass progress, but not hinder its advance. The assassination of Cæsar did not prevent the establishment of the empire, but it plunged Rome into the horrors of the civil war. The banishment of Napoleon to Elba did not extinguish the "Napoleonic ideas," but only retarded their development and adoption. Julius Cæsar is presented as the ideal of such a providentially commissioned autocrat. The principles on which he acted are evolved and held up as those which should guide men and nations in similar emergencies. That this work of the French Emperor is an extraordinary production, a work of research and genius, is generally conceded. It is conceded also that his hero is the foremost man of antiquity. As warrior, statesman, orator, and historian, he is preëminent, and in the combination of his gifts, unequalled. But after all, what was he? and what are the real lessons which his history teaches? These are the questions which Professor Saint Hilaire undertakes to answer. He places himself on the ground of moral right and wrong. His standard of judgment is the elevated Christian standard, which alone is worthy of trust. He admits Cæsar to have been all that is claimed for him as to his intellectual power, fascination, and force of character. Nevertheless, he was a bad man. He was supremely selfish. In youth, pleasure, in maturity, power; from first to last, self was his engrossing object. This being the case, he falls from his elevated pedestal. He ceases to be truly great. On this point, M. St. Hilaire says in the close of his review: "Is Cæsar then the greatest man of ancient times? No, I unhesitatingly reply, for my touchstone is moral greatness—the forgetfulness of self. . . . The truly great men, are the great citizens, as Phocion, Lycurgus, and Cato,

among the ancients, and William the Silent, Washington, and Lincoln, among the moderns; all those, in a word, who have not lived for themselves; who have lived or died for one conviction, one idea, one faith, one country."

The great lesson, according to our author, taught by the life of Cæsar, is the supreme and immutable authority of moral law. No superiority of genius, no assumed necessity, no apparent expediency, can justify its violation, or secure impunity to the transgressor. "It is impossible," says Professor St. Hilaire, "long to impose either on history or posterity. The verdict of ages has been pronounced; the judgment on Cæsar has been rendered. There is no longer an appeal. All the sophisms in the world only, in the end, break against the rock of truth. This eternal morality, against which each age delivers its assault, without which all human societies would crumble, does not need to be avenged on those who would do it violence; it does not even need to reply; it is only necessary for it to wait and to endure." These are grand words. We feel it to be a privilege to reutter them in the ears of our readers. M. St. Hilaire's book is little more than a brochure; and yet it will have more power over the reason and conscience than the costly tomes of the emperor, notwithstanding all the learning and talent lavished in their production.

The College Days of Calvin. By the Rev. William M. Blackburn, author of "William Farrel and his Times," "The Rebel Prince," &c. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 156.

Young Calvin in Paris, and the Little Flock that he Fed. By Rev. W. M. Blackburn. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 156.

These volumes are much above the standard of ordinary Sunday-school books. They are well written, interesting, and instructive.

The Resurrection of the Dead. By Rev. George S. Mott, author of "The Prodigal Son." New York: N Tibba's, 37 Park Row. 1866. Pp. 230.

The scriptural doctrine of the resurrection and its moral bearings are presented in this volume, in a clear, judicious, and edifying manner.

Our Passover, or the Great Things of the Law. By the Rev. William J. McCord, Wassaic, N. Y. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 120.

The first thirty-four pages of this book are specially devoted to the passover, as a type of the sacrifice of Christ; the latter part treats of the moral and ceremonial law, of the neces-

sity of redemption, and the mode of its application. It seems to be full of sound doctrine.

A Vindication of the "Letters on Psalmody" from the Strictures of John T. Pressly, D. D. By William Annan. Pittsburgh: Printed by W. S. Haven. 1866. Pp. 144.

Mr. Annan had published a volume designed to prove that the church is not bound to the exclusive use of the Book of Psalms in the worship of God in songs of praise. Of that volume Dr. Pressly wrote a review, to which the present publication is a reply. That Mr. Annan has the better in this controversy, is not saying a great deal, and that his arguments have not, and cannot be refuted, will be conceded by nine-tenths of his readers. It has always appeared to us one of the marvels of the Scottish mind, with all its strength and clearness, that it could be held in trammels so often by cobwebs, and those of its own spinning. There is, as far as most men can see, no more reason for affirming that the church is limited to the use of the Psalms, or even other inspired productions contained in the Bible, in the work of praise, than that it is restricted to the use of the Lord's Prayer, or other inspired petitions, in the work of prayer.

A Discourse delivered at the Opening of the Synod of New Jersey, October 16th, 1866. By the Moderator, Rev. John T. Duffield, D.D. With Notes and Appendix. Published by request. Philadelphia: James S. Claxton, 1214 Chestnut street. 1866.

As to the second coming of our Lord, there are certain points as to which the great body of Christians are agreed. 1. That there is to be a second advent of Christ. 2. That advent is to be personal, visible, and glorious. 3. That the time of his coming is unknown. He is to come as a thief in the night. Some indeed assume to have ascertained the year during which this great event is to occur; but they are comparatively a small part of the Christian public.

The points about which there is diversity of opinion are,

1. As to whether there are any events predicted in the Scripture, which are to precede the second advent, which have not yet occurred. Some believe that there are no such events, and therefore that there is no revealed reason why Christ may not come in a week or a day. The great body of Christians believe, on the other hand, that the national conversion of the Jews, as foretold in the Old Testament, and by the apostle Paul in Rom. xi., and the preaching of the gospel to all nations, as predicted by Christ; and the general prevalence of the true religion, are all to occur before Christ comes again the second time unto salvation.

2. There is difference of opinion as to the object of the second advent. Some say that Christ is to come to establish a visible, earthly kingdom, the seat of which is to be in Jerusalem; that the conversion of the Jews is to be the consequence of his coming; and that not until his second advent are the nations to be converted, or the knowledge of God to cover the earth.

The common faith of the church has been, and is, that Christ has ordained the preaching of the gospel under the dispensation of the Spirit, as the means of converting the world; and consequently that when Christ comes, it will not be to convert men, but to take vengeance on those who obey not the gospel, and to be glorified in all them that believe; that he will come to raise the dead, both the righteous and the wicked; to judge the world, and to introduce the final consummation. The second advent, the general resurrection, the final judgment, and the end of the world, are represented in Scripture as synchronous events. With what rapidity the one is to follow the other, is not revealed; but the first is in order to the others.

Dr. Duffield confines himself in this discourse mainly to one point, viz., to an attempt to prove that no predicted event, (such as the general prevalence of the gospel) remains to be accomplished, before the second coming of Christ; so that, for aught we know, he may come to-morrow, though he may not appear for a thousand years. The second advent, as death, is an imminent event; it may occur at any time; and we should be always expecting it, and always ready. The same is assumed to be true with regard to Christ's appearing. The whole power of the doctrine, he supposes, depends on this fact. If the whole world is to be converted before Christ comes, then we may be sure his advent cannot take place for a long time to come, and we cannot be in that state of constant expectation and desire, which the sacred writers enjoined. Such is the argument. Its fallacy appears from two sources. First, it is not true that the moral power of a future event depends on the apprehension that it may occur at any moment. The apostle Peter, after predicting that the heavens and earth are to be burned up, asks, in view of that event, what manner of men ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness; yet, according to the Premilleniasts themselves, Christ is to come, and a multitude of events are to occur before this final conflagration. The Scriptures hold up the great realities of the distant future, the resurrection, the judgment, and the final consummation, as adapted to produce a present effect on the minds of men, as reasons why they should constantly live

in reference to those events. Secondly, although our Lord and the apostles present his second coming as an object of expectation and desire, something to be longed for and watched for, by the men of their generation, yet they assured them that certain events were to occur before his coming could take place. Christ predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, the overthrow of the Jewish policy, and the spread of the gospel, as events antecedent to his second coming; yet he required his disciples to watch and pray for his appearing.

The apostles did the same thing. They urged the people to watch and pray for the coming of the Lord, and yet Paul told them that that day was not at hand; that a great apostacy was first to occur. So the church has believed, and does, as a general thing, now believe, in the national conversion of the Jews, and the preaching of the gospel to all nations, as events which are to take place before the second advent. Nevertheless believers long and pray for the Lord's coming, as the consummation of their redemption.

The Church Union. Brooklyn, January 5th, 1867. A weekly paper published at \$2.50 in advance.

This paper is established to promote Christian unity. The desire of greater union among the disciples of our Lord is widely diffused and constantly increasing in power. There are some who contemplate and labour to effect an organic external union of all Christians under one form of church polity. This we believe to be chimerical in the present state of the world. All efforts directed immediately to that end, are sure to issue, so far as successful, in merging those denominations who place doctrine before forms, into those who put the form before the substance; or who, at least, regard a practical external form of organization essential to the being of the church. There are others, however, who while repudiating any such scheme, earnestly desire to see the scriptural principles of Christian and ministerial communion everywhere practically recognized. They desire that all Christians should regard and treat as brethren in the Lord, all who truly love, worship, trust, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ. They desire also that ministers of every denomination, holding the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, should recognize each other as the true ministers of Christ. This we believe to be a high, worthy, and, to some extent at least, even now, a practicable object. We understand this paper to take the ground just indicated, and in this view we earnestly hope for its success. The bond of Chris-

tian and ministerial fellowship, (*i. e.*, of mutual recognition) which it holds up is contained in the following pledge:

"We, the undersigned, believers in the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, do hereby pledge ourselves to secure, under God, an open communion, and the recognition of one evangelical ministry, by the interchange of pulpits, thus to make visible the unity of the Church."

"And we furthermore solemnly pledge ourselves to stand by each other in securing these ends."

Life of Emanuel Swedenborg, together with a brief Synopsis of his Writings, both Philosophical and Theological. By William White. With an Introduction by B. F. Barrett. First American edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

The Divine Attributes, including also the Divine Trinity, a Treatise on the Divine Love, Wisdom and Correspondence. From the "Apocalypse Explained" of Emanuel Swedenborg. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

The beautiful paper, typography, and general style of these volumes, especially the clear-cut lettering and cream-tinted hue of the latter, do great credit to the publishers. So far as we can see, the execution is quite up to that of the famous Riverside Press on similar works.

We are also much indebted to the enterprising publishers for placing what is most significant in the writings of this "most unknown man in the world," within easy reach of divines, philosophers, and scholars. Notwithstanding his enormous errors, on every theory which may be formed of him and his teachings, Swedenborg was an extraordinary man. His writings have always had a strange fascination for a certain class of refined and cultivated minds, and, though his following has been small as to numbers, it has never died out, or failed to comprise men of mark, among whom it is said are now included some eminent civilians. It is therefore desirable to possess the means of knowing what his doctrines really are, so that they may not be blindly applauded or blindly attacked. Probably there is no easier way of becoming acquainted with his views, than through these two volumes. The first presents the great outlines and salient features of his life, the circumstances under which his principal works were written, together with a digest of each of them which brings out its prominent traits. The latter is Swedenborg's great work on the Trinity and Divine Attributes, which is sure to contain the seminal principles he advanced in philosophy, ethics, and religion. We hope that opportunity may arise ere long to unfold and discuss

in our pages the distinctive principles of Swedenborgianism, as developed in the works of its great author.

The Authorship of Shakespeare. By Nathaniel Holmes. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. 1866. Princeton: William W. Smith.

Some years ago Miss Delia Bacon, a gifted writer, published first an article in a magazine, and afterwards in a volume, maintaining that the real author of what are known as Shakespeare's plays, was not Shakespeare himself, but Lord Bacon and some coadjutors. Mr. Holmes has followed up this idea more elaborately, and in a large volume undertakes to prove that Lord Bacon was the sole author of them. Of course the attempt must be a failure, and its serious prosecution betrays something akin to fatuity. Yet it does not follow that the book is in all respects worthless. Most inquiries that advance human knowledge are made under the guidance of tentative hypotheses, many of which turn out to be false. Yet without the lead of these hypotheses, such inquiries would not be pursued. Hence it happens that false, and even absurd hypotheses have sometimes been the means of increasing knowledge. Even so, the groundless theory advocated in this book leads to the observation of analogies, correspondencies, minute shades of thought, and delicate refinements of imagination and feeling, which otherwise had passed unobserved.

The Rise and the Fall; or, The Origin of Moral Evil. In three parts. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. Princeton: William W. Smith. 1866.

The doctrine maintained in this volume is, that the act of Adam which Christendom has taken to be the fall of him and his race, was not such, but the opposite. It was his rise into a state of moral agency in which he was not created. That the author brings all the ingenuity to bear in support of this vagary which any one could, may perhaps be conceded. One might also show ingenuity in maintaining that men are but a species of apes. But in neither case could we attribute much value to the book or its doctrine.

The Life and Times of Martin Luther. By W. Carlos Martyn. Author of the Life and Times of John Milton. Published by the American Tract Society, New York. Princeton: sold by William W. Smith.

This is a very considerable volume in which the biography of Luther is inwoven with the history of the Reformation. We know not where so much of both may be learned at so little cost of time and money. The book is withal readable as well as instructive.

Phil. Kennedy. By H. N. N. Published by the American Tract Society, New York. Princeton: sold by William W. Smith.

Author of the series entitled, "Life Illustrated."

Our Lord's View of the World's Evangelization. An Address before the Synod of New York, by its appointment, delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Newburgh, New York, October 16th, 1866. By the Rev. William Irvin, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Rondout, New York. Published at the request of the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York: Mission House, No. 23 Centre Street. 1866.

This clear, vivid, and earnest presentation of the duty of the church in the work of evangelizing the world, cannot fail to do good wherever it is read. We trust it will be widely circulated.

A History of the Huguenots. By John Carlos Martyn, author of "The Life and Times of John Milton," and "The Life and Times of Martin Luther." Published by the American Tract Society, New York. For sale by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

Mr. Martyn, till recently unknown to us as an author, has issued three works in rapid succession, which evince his fecundity and high respectability as a writer. He has chosen the department of religious history and historic biography. The particular subjects, thus far selected by him, are of the highest interest—none more fascinating and instructive, and outside of the beaten track, than the "History of the Huguenots." Few episodes of church history have so deep and tragic an interest. It abounds in striking instances of Christian heroism. It is the history of a martyr church.

The Freedman's Home. By Rev. O. A. Kingsbury. American Tract Society, New York. For sale by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

An attractive little book, showing "how an humble cottage may be the abode of order, virtue, intelligence, and piety."

Bible Emblems. By the late Rev. Edward E. Seelye, D. D., Schenectady, New York. American Tract Society, New York. Sold by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

This book unfolds the import of many of the scriptural emblems, and points out their beauty in a graphic style, which will "attract devout readers old and young."

Jesus Christ's Alluring Love; or Persuasives drawn from the Titles of Christ to allure hearts unto Him. By John Flavel. American Tract Society, New York. Sold by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

The title of this book and the name of its author are its best passport to all who desire to know the love of Christ.

In the World and out of the World. Thoughts on Christian Casuistry.
By William Adams, D. D. American Tract Society, New York. Sold
by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

This little volume contains a judicious and timely discussion of Christian ethics in regard to actions in themselves indifferent. While it vindicates Christian liberty in such matters, it still more strenuously asserts the necessity of inspiring and guiding this liberty by Christian love. In regard to the whole *questio vexata* respecting fashionable amusements, games, &c., it unfolds the motto of Vinet, "Love is the best casuist."

Charlie Scott; or, There's Time Enough. American Tract Society, New York. Sold by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

Another of the series named "Life Illustrated."

Nuts for Boys to Crack. By John Todd, D. D., Pittsfield, Mass. American Tract Society. Sold by W. W. Smith, Princeton.

Dr. Todd's peculiar gifts for this kind of writing are well known to all who read the youth's columns in our religious weeklies.

The Harmony Society at Economy, Pennsylvania; Founded by George Rapp, A. D. 1805. With an Appendix, by Aaron Williams, D. D. Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven.

A curious book, in every way. It is a brief history of the only communism that ever lasted half a century with any kind of prosperity. The author is a sound and judicious Presbyterian divine, and writes with great skill and in a lucid and beautiful style. It is interesting and instructive to a high degree; but it is too palliative and apologetic. No one could divine from its pages what is the author's own point of view, and this is more than impartiality requires of any historian.

How the *pietism* of Lutheran Germany could be responsible for such an offshoot in American soil; how it came to stifle the individuality of man in a country and age that combine to intensify individual enterprise and individual responsibility; how it could renounce the institution of marriage, years after the society was formed, as the fruit of a revival of religion among them; how it could retain the solemnities of religion in the hands of ministers who are their factors in business, superintending their farms and workshops, railroads and lawsuits; how the hope of holding on to their accumulated wealth, while they are all dying off, without children to succeed them, is identified with the millenarian expectation that our Lord will come in person before the old survivors expire—these curious topics are all touched in this little volume with intelligence and taste; but rather too adroitly varnished for a just animadversion upon the absurdities of such a socialism.

But Once. By the author of "Let Well Alone." Philadelphia: J. P. Skelly & Co., No. 732 Chestnut Street. 1867.

The Story of the Red Velvet Bible. By M. H. Philadelphia: J. P. Skelly & Co., 732 Chestnut Street. 1867.

John Hatherton. By the author of "Effie's Friends." Philadelphia: J. P. Skelly & Co., 732 Chestnut Street.

Brook Silverton. By Emma Marshall. Philadelphia: J. P. Skelly & Co., 732 Chestnut Street.

Weeds and Seeds, and other Tales. Compiled for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

The Arithmetic of Life; or The Nine Digits. By Sister Ruth. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

Kitty Dennison and her Christmas Gifts. By the author of "Madeline, or The Lost Bracelet." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

Annie Lincoln's Lesson; or, A Day in the Life of a Thankful Child. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

Harry and his Dog Fidele. By the author of "Madeline, or, The Lost Bracelet." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

Mary Raymond; or, The Girl who wanted to be a Christian. By Nellie Grahame, author of "The Three Homes," "Diamonds Reset," &c. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut Street.

Bertie and his Best Things. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

A Week in Lilly's Life. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut Street.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

L. Reinke, Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament. Vol. VI. Genuineness of the Prophet Zechariah, with a Translation and Commentary on its non-Messianic portions. 8vo. pp. 472. Vol. VII. The Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions, their errors and discrepant readings corrected and traced to their sources. 8vo. pp. 340.

Buxtorf's Chaldee, Talmudic and Rabbinical Lexicon, edited anew and enlarged by B. Fischer and H. Gelbe. Nos. 1 and 2. 4to. pp. 80.

J. Ley, The Metrical Forms of Hebrew Poetry systematically presented. 8vo. pp. 212.

Fürst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament, translated from the German, by S. Davidson. 8vo. pp. 1200.

F. Hasler, On the Relation of Heathen and Christian Ethics, based on a Comparison of Cicero de Officiis and that of St. Ambrose. 8vo. pp. 48.

T. Benfey, On the Problem of Plato's Cratylus. 4to. pp. 144.

J. Schwane, History of Doctrine in the Patristic Period, A. D. 325—787. In three Numbers. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 328.

A. Ebrard, Handbook of the History of Doctrine and of the Christian Church. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 714.

R. Plehwe, The Persecutions of the Christians in the first three Centuries. 4to. pp. 24.

C. A. Wilkens, Fray Louis de Leon. A Biography from the History of the Spanish Inquisition and Church in the 16th Century. 8vo. pp. 418.

F. Haupt, The Episcopate of the German Reformation. Part 2. Luther and the Episcopate. 8vo. pp. 289.

H. Brugsch, Trip to the Türkis-mines and the Sinaitic Peninsula. 8vo. pp. 96.

Brugsch has prepared, and is about publishing, a Hieroglyphic and Demotic Dictionary. It is estimated that it will occupy about 1200 quarto pages, and is to appear in 12 numbers at intervals of one or two months. A brief hieroglyphic Grammar is to follow in a supplementary volume. The subscription price is \$110 gold.

P. F. Keerl, Man the Image of God. Vol II. Part I. The God-man, the Image of the invisible God. A contribution to Christology. 8vo. pp. 564.

G. K. Mayer, Messianic Prophecies Explained. Vol. II. Part III. Prophecies of Daniel. 8vo. pp. 158.

J. J. Stähelin, The Life of David. 8vo. pp. 116.

O. F. Fritzsche, The Book of Judges, according to the LXX., with a review of the three-fold text, various readings, and fragments of an old Latin version. 8vo. pp. 89.

C. F. Keil, Biblical Commentary on the twelve Minor Prophets. 8vo. pp. 700.

H. Gelbe, Contribution to Introduction to the Old Testament. 8vo. pp. 132.

F. Bleek, Introduction to the New Testament. Second edition. 8vo. pp. 808.

L. Klofutar, Commentarius in Evangelium S. Matthæi concinatus. 8vo. pp. 404.

C. A. Hase, On the Gospel of John. 8vo. pp. 71.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1867.

No. II.

ART. I.—*The Spirit of the Fathers of Western Presbyterianism.*

ON Tuesday, February 12th, of the present year, a centenary convention was held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, composed of representatives of the twenty Presbyteries contained in the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, Wheeling, and Ohio, which was designed to commemorate the visit to that region of the Rev. Charles Beatty and the Rev. George Duffield, by the appointment of the old "Synod of New York and Philadelphia." While the interest in the religious history of that region, so important in itself and in its influence upon the Presbyterian Church, is fresh, it is a favourable time to consider some points in the character and labours of its pioneer ministers.

It may be premised that this is a late hour to hold a "centenary" convention. The visit of Messrs. Beatty and Duffield was made in the summer of 1766; and the commemoration of that event is a year too late. But we cannot grant that to have been the kindling of the light of Presbyterianism in that territory. In the early part of the last century large numbers of the people from the North of Ireland were driven by the

intolerance of Episcopacy, and the hardships of the times, to take refuge in the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1729 alone "there arrived in Pennsylvania from Europe six thousand two hundred and eight persons, for the purpose of settling in that colony," of whom "more than five thousand were from Ireland." (*Foote's Notes on Virginia*, chap. vi.) It was the policy of the *English* powers to push out these brave, free-hearted people, whose religious ideas also they heartily disliked, to be a barrier between them and the Indians. In 1732 we read of a settlement made by Hite and others west of the Blue Ridge. At that time the country west of Laurel Hill was considered by Virginia to be a part of Augusta county in that state. Presbyterian families early pressed further west and northwest. In 1738, "John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia," obtained from the Synod of Philadelphia an appeal to Governor Wm. Gooch of Virginia, soliciting his "countenance and protection," and "the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties," promising to "carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements where their lot may be cast." (*Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia*, for 1738.) And the zealous ministers of that period were not slow to follow their people. Rev. James Anderson, who carried the above-mentioned address to the Governor, and received in reply a promise of favour to the people who should "settle on the western side of our great mountains," went himself and "visited the different colonies of Presbyterians in Virginia." (*Foote*, chap. vi.) And there are hints of others of whom it is also possible that they preached in settlements within the present territories of the four Synods which have joined in keeping this "centenary" occasion. In 1760, the year when Fort Pitt was completed, which established "the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of their lands," from whence they had been driven by the Indians and French, (*Smollet, Hist. England*, vol. iii., p. 410,) the Synod of Philadelphia instructed "Rev. Messrs. Alexander McDowell and Hector Allison to go as chaplains to the Pennsylvania forces, and that Mr. Kirkpatrick go with the New Jersey forces the ensuing campaign." We are slow to believe

that there had not been other repeated visits paid by ministers, of which we have lost the record, long before the year 1766. And we are still more slow to believe that Presbyterian meetings had not been held by godly elders, faithful unto death, along the *burns* and by the *braes* of the Western Alleghenies and their lovely foot-hills; or that the old psalms that had strengthened them and their fathers in the persecutions of "the old country," did not sound amidst the cabins and block-houses where they endured the equal but more hopeful trials of the new. McMillan, the first settled minister of whom we know, seems to have found organized congregations in 1775, at Pigeon Creek and Chartiers, from which he "accepted a call." (*Sprague's Annals*.) A good many such colonies, we doubt not, existed long before Beatty and Duffield's visit. Those will be prepared to believe this who have seen how a few Presbyterian coals have smouldered together for a whole generation, in some of the present western or southern states, before a minister has come along to stir them into open flame.

Such is the Scotch-Irish nature, thinking so much more of a record in heaven than of any memorial among men, that it will never be known when the Presbyterian Church was planted west of the Alleghenies. Yet we greet with joy this convention as one that may bring to light many precious memorials of departed saints, and awaken a new interest in the preservation of present history as it is created by the events of our own important era. With these introductory remarks let us proceed to give some sketches of the men with whom we are acquainted as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in the West.

The original settlers in western Pennsylvania and the regions near to it were almost in a body the Scotch from the north of Ireland. There was a purpose of mercy in it from above.

The Presbyterians of the wild northern coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the Waldenses of the Alps, and the Moravians of the mountains of Central Europe, possess an interest beyond all of the church besides. They, above all others, stood firm to the original and pure faith of Christ and the apostles, through all the ages of bloody persecution by Roman emperors and popes. The Scotch church was planted by Christian refugees at a period beyond history. When the Romans held western

Europe, many of these who escaped martyrdom fled, as Tertulian says, to "regions inaccessible to the Romans."* Among those dreary mountains and storm-racked islets they found freedom to enjoy Christ. In the middle ages church history becomes luminous from that point. It records that thence preachers of a purer faith poured down in zealous missionary excursions to the lowlands, to Britain, and to the nations becoming overwhelmed by the superstitions of Rome. They were the last to sink beneath that filthy deluge. And they were most glad, in their mountain freedom, to emerge from it and hail the Sun of righteousness, and restore the pure doctrines and worship of the primitive church, which they have handed down to their children.†

Within the past two or three centuries the church in the north of Ireland has differed from that of Scotland in this, that many of the boldest and freest of the Scotch, the most unwilling to submit to the unceasing arrogant and tyrannical interference of the half-reformed English church, kept crossing the channel out of its reach. Thus the north of Ireland became again the home of freedom. The energy and intelligence of these Presbyterians made the province of Ulster the garden of the kingdom. It is this type of Scottish blood and of the Presbyterian creed, free, fervent, bold, zealous, which mainly populated the western portion of Pennsylvania, some of its southern counties, the neighbouring portions of Ohio and Virginia, the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, and large portions of North Carolina, South Carolina, and East Tennessee, with those parts to which their descendants have flowed.

* *Brittanorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo tamen subdita.*—TERTUL. *Contra Jud.* c. 7.

† It is the testimony of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his "Tour to the Hebrides," as well as of many other less unwilling witnesses, that a degree of culture and refinement almost unparalleled elsewhere in Europe among the same classes of society, prevails in those remote coasts until the present day. The Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod testifies that "the one little island of Skye has sent forth from her wild shores, since the beginning of the last wars of the French Revolution, twenty-one lieutenant-generals and major-generals, forty-eight lieutenant-colonels, six hundred commissioned officers, ten thousand soldiers, four governors of colonies, one governor-general, one adjutant-general, one chief baron of England, and one judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland." (*Highland Parish*, pp. 170, 171.)

Here, then, is the first element to be considered in forming a conception of the character of the Presbyterianism of the Synods which lie beyond the western slopes of the Allegheny mountains. Here was a race, the first to leap those barriers into the wilderness, and fight the savage Indians, generously longing and hastening the meanwhile to give them the same blessings of the gospel which themselves possessed—the same race which started the ball of the Revolution, and when the war was ended, most largely infused the constitution of the new republic with their principles of government—the same race that, when confused by sophisms, were just as bold in South Carolina to plunge into a new revolution; or that, in East Tennessee, were unconquerable in resisting it to the death.

But we are to consider another element in forming the spirit of this part of the church. God in his infinite providence of goodness and grace so ordered it that the fathers of it were compelled by circumstances to send the gospel to the Indians.

The very first meed of honour is due not to us as a denomination of Christians, but to the more zealous Moravians. This apostolic people claim to be a branch of the primitive and pure Greek church, and to have remained a comparatively pure and missionary people among the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia, when nearly all Europe had fallen under the dominion of the pope. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were among their many martyrs. They early sent missionaries to the North American Indians. Christian Frederick Post, who came from Germany in 1742, was appointed by the government of Pennsylvania “an ambassador to the Delawares, Shawanos, and Mingos, who lived on the Ohio,” to break, if possible, their league with the French; which he did in 1758, and thus rendered an important service, which was one of the steps that led to their abandonment of Fort Duquesne. He, and Heckewelder and Zeisberger soon afterwards, at various times, preached to the Indians as far west as the Muskingum river, where Post built a house. The first visit of the faithful and excellent John Heckewelder was made so soon after General Braddock’s defeat that he says, when he passed that memorable field, “skulls and bones of the unfortunate men lay all around, and the sound of our horses’ hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal

music." These labours met with considerable success, and several villages of Christian Indians were collected in Ohio.

In the year before the close of the Revolutionary war (1782), a great and terrible crime was committed, that filled the frontier with horror. A band of vicious Americans from Pittsburgh, under a colonel David Williamson, who had been made to believe the falsehood that the Moravian Indian converts at their towns of Gnadenhutten and Salem, on the head waters of the Muskingum river, a few miles from the present town of New Philadelphia, in Ohio, were in league with the English, determined to exterminate the whole of them. They went to the towns, and were hospitably and kindly received. But having collected the entire number of the Indians in two houses, the males in one, the females in the other, they tied them in couples, massacred them with hatchets, and scalped all but two half-grown boys, one of whom crept under a plank into a hole beneath, and the other revived sufficiently to get away and be restored to health. Five of the men were faithful missionary assistants; there were besides them fifty-seven other adults, and thirty-four children, making ninety-six Christians in all. To the credit of the better people of Fort Pitt, it should be stated that they tried to prevent the expedition, and Colonel Gibson, the commander, sent timely word to inform the Indians, who, with the feeling of conscious innocence, declined to fly.

The example of these devoted German missionaries, and the calamities which befell their converts, were one of God's means to kindle the feelings of Christian sympathy and missionary zeal in the hearts of our own ministry. How wonderful and gracious is that providence which works thus for good from age to age! The wicked act of a company of desperadoes, at an Indian village in a western wilderness, is fuel to a flame which a hundred years after is pouring an increasing light upon the walled and populous cities of ancient empires on the other side of the globe. The church has this great lesson ever before her, that in every age God glorifies his name, extends the influence of his truth, and blesses mankind, as much through the sufferings, as he does through the acts and labours of his servants. It is cowardice and a crime for people to run from scenes of disappointment and circumstances of trial. It is often a false

interpretation of providence, that they are to surrender such fields, either at home or abroad. We speak here rather of persecutions than of questions of health, as where a man must soon die if he remain in a certain climate, but would be spared to work in another.

We must take into account, further, the influence of the labours of David and John Brainerd and others, in the employ of the Scotch "Correspondents of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," upon the seeds of the western church. The anxious interest of the East in the conversion of the Indians appears often in the minutes of the old Synods. And it should be particularly noted that the mission of 1766 by Messrs. Beatty and Duffield seems to have been largely intended for the preaching of the gospel to the Indians. The following is the entire minute of Synod in regard to it in 1767: "Messrs. Beatty's and Duffield's mission to the Indians and frontiers came under consideration. And they report that they performed their mission to the frontiers and among the Indians. That they found on the frontiers numbers of people earnestly desirous of forming themselves into congregations, and declaring their willingness to exert their utmost in order to have the gospel among them, but in circumstances exceedingly distressing and necessitous, from the late calamities of the war in these parts. And also that they visited the Indians at the chief town of the Delaware nation, on the Muskingum, about one hundred and thirty miles beyond Fort Pitt, and were received much more cheerfully than they could have expected. That a considerable number of them waited on the preaching of the gospel with peculiar attention, many of them appearing solemnly concerned about the great matters of religion; that they expressed an earnest desire of having further opportunities of hearing those things; that they informed them that several other tribes of Indians around them were ready to join with them in receiving the gospel, and earnestly desiring an opportunity. Upon the whole, that there does appear a very agreeable prospect of a door opening for the gospel being spread among these poor benighted savage tribes." (*Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia*, for 1767.) This missionary spirit no doubt enlarged the hearts of those who a few years

afterwards began to go to the West as pastors of the rising settlements, and made them look with sympathy upon those who were even more needy than their own kind.

In considering then the character and spirit of these fathers, the *first* thing that strikes the attention is their activity in the spread of the gospel—their *missionary zeal*. The fervour of this will be proved from the minutes of the first meeting of the Synod, when it was formed by an act of the General Assembly in 1802. It adopted the following as the first article of a report in regard to missionary business: "*The Synod of Pittsburgh shall be styled 'THE WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.'*" This separate name was probably adopted for the sake of the popular impression. It appointed a "Board of Trust," which consisted of seven members of the Synod, whose special duty it was to superintend this business. It declared the great end to be "to diffuse a knowledge of the gospel among the inhabitants of the new settlements, the Indian tribes, and if need be, among some of the interior inhabitants where they are not able to support the gospel." The history of the Synod of Pittsburgh has always been one in character with this remarkable beginning. It has been one of continuous missionary efforts, the last distinctive one being crowned with the honour of being transferred to the General Assembly, and named "The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church," the Rev. Dr. Swift then resigning the charge of it to the Hon. Walter Lowrie, of Butler, Pa., who for thirty years has continued to be its able secretary, in the city of New York. And it was the effort of Congregationalists and others to crush this missionary society, and to compel its being swallowed up in the American Board of Commissioners, which was one of the chief causes of the great rent in the Presbyterian Church in 1836-'37, that remains until this day.

It does not seem strange then that the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia, in writing, after the latter Board was formed, the history of the Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, should render to this Synod so distinguished a tribute of praise, saying more than once, that "of all the Synods, that of Pittsburgh, was the longest and most efficiently engaged in sustaining missions, both

domestic and foreign"—"that it was always the most forward and active Synod of the Presbyterian Church in missionary enterprise and effort." "May such be its ambition and its praise in days to come.

In a sketch like the present, a particular account cannot be given of the labours of individuals, nor extracts from their journals. The most that can be attempted is to convey some general idea of them. Those who went first were most of them pastors of congregations at home, who were sent out by the Presbytery or Synod to spend a few months in missionary work, and return. How great would be the benefits to the ministry, to churches, and to the general missionary cause, were such "commissions" of pastors appointed from time to time by Presbyteries and Synods of the present day. Some such feature as this is the most manifest want of our present system of working through the "Boards" of the church.

Some of the early missionaries to the Indians, and to the remote white settlements, went by land, either singly or two by two. They were accompanied by a hunter and guide, who led the way, and aided them in obtaining, for food by the way, a supply of the meat of the deer, bears, and buffaloes, which abounded in the almost unbroken wilderness, or of fish from the streams. They endured in these journeys dreadful hardships. Their course lay sometimes through gloomy forests, sometimes over great plains or prairies, upon which grew grass so tall as to hide a man riding on horseback, and when it was wet with dew or rain, keep him thoroughly drenched and cold. They plunged through miry swamps and deep streams with difficulty and danger; and groped their way in some places through bewildering thickets by obscure paths, if there were any to be found. There were few white settlers, and these lived at great distances apart, and subsisted by hunting and trade with the Indians. Some of them were renegades more dangerous than the savages, and had little scruple in murdering any white man whom they suspected to be different from themselves, for the few who ventured thither were likely to be traders, or speculators in Indian lands, and so to have money with them.

Their plan upon the field was to seek out the Indian villages, and spend a few days, or weeks if encouraged, at them, preach-

ing the same simple, fundamental, powerful truths of the Scripture, which they found to be the most mighty means to stir, convince, convert, and sanctify souls elsewhere; the truths and only truths that are suited to man's depraved and lost nature, its fears, its cravings, and its hopes; truths as effective in humbling and transforming the polished Hindu or Chinese, as the barbarous Cherokee. Thus some of the heathen were brought to Christ; these pastors became witnesses to the churches as to the wants of the heathen; and thus the way was prepared for the establishment of permanent stations, and the labours of regular missionaries.

The journals of some of these missionaries remain in manuscript, or scattered through various magazines and histories. One of the best exhibitions of their devoted zeal for Christ is to be found in that precious book, which should be in the hands of every minister and candidate for the ministry and Christian family in those Synods, the *Life of the Rev. Elisha McCurdy*.

Besides the earliest missions to the Indians on the Muskingum, and at Sandusky, Maumee, and elsewhere, ministers, teachers, farmers, and others, were sent subsequently to the distant tribes of the West; and aid was given to missionaries from the Eastern churches going to those tribes.

It was a great occasion when these later missionaries started upon their long and perilous voyage down the Ohio and to their fields of labour. The boat, covered with plain lumber, and with a space on each side to afford a walk for the men who pushed it in shallow or difficult places, by means of very long poles shod with iron, would lie for weeks at the wharf at Pittsburgh, receiving the various freight for the distant South and West. Much of this perhaps was whiskey, that would ruin many of the poor savages, while the gospel with it would save but a few. Alas, how inactive are Christians, compared with the devil and his friends! To make the little missionary company comfortable on the voyage, and supply their wants when at their field, sympathizing and tender Christian hearts would bring blankets, and coverlets, and warm clothing, and salted and other provisions, and volumes of the fervent writers *then* (would that we could say, *now*,) the meat that nourished strong souls—Baxter

and Doddridge, and Edwards, and Erskine, and Davies. And to these was added such articles as would aid the missionaries to improve the temporal condition of the Indians, and commend to them the gospel of mercy; such as ploughs, hoes, harness, grindstones, substantial food, and medicines for the sick. These had been gathered up from the congregations in town and country far and wide, by appeals from the pulpit, and were consecrated with many a prayer that the presence of the God of Jacob would go forth with those who were now taking their life in their hands, and going to spend their earthly existence in reclaiming these lost and wretched souls to their Creator and Redeemer.

The missionaries were accustomed to visit the churches, in order to let the people become acquainted with them, to secure a frequent remembrance in their prayers, without which they had little hope of success in preaching the gospel, and to obtain contributions for the cause in which they were engaged. These farewell services were often very affecting. Their kindred parted from them scarce expecting to see them or their children again on earth, or at most only while upon some visit for objects connected with the mission, after years had passed, and death had cut off some of the number.

It was a period favourable to preparation for their pious labours when, after all this excitement and distress, these families floated week after week down the gentle current of the blue and beautiful river, tying up probably at night by an island or occasional settlement on the shore, in the day enjoying the tranquil loveliness of the virgin scenery, which was only ruffled by an occasional chase, by means of the skiff, of a deer or bear on the shore or stream, or by the anxiety with which they watched against surprise from the bands of outlawed white men, far worse than the Indians, who spent lives of desperate and fiendish wickedness at certain places along the shore, some of them in concealed caves within the limestone rocks. Still these weeks were a time of deep soul exercise, of search into the motives that actuated them, and of prayer for sanctification, grace, and faithfulness even to death, unto the Saviour, for whom they had forsaken houses, and brethren and sisters, and father and mother, and lands, and taken up the cross, and per-

seclusion, that they might follow Him. And God so orders it that a similar privilege is allowed to those who now go out to the heathen nations of the East. How precious to the soul of the missionary should be the long months of silent seclusion on the great deep, and of preparation for the giant labours towards the overthrow of those mighty systems of superstition and crime.

It is not within our purpose to speak of the fruits of these labours among the Indians. Some of them are seen till this day. Others were but the Divine training of the church for greater enterprises, and for broader fields which she has gloriously entered, and upon which she has to enter yet.

The *second* great characteristic of the spirit of those fathers was their *childlike, glowing piety*. They kept hold of God's hand, and walked with him, and called to him in their troubles and for their wants, like a little child walking through a dark hall holds to a father's warm and strong hand, and is afraid if it does not hear its father's voice speaking to it. So talked they, and so walked they, with God.

And this was the spirit that excited them to go and preach the gospel of life to the poor, vile, hated, wandering Indians; because JESUS said, "the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." And it was this spirit which sustained them in their labours and the trials growing out of them. We might give one instance which is said by some of those who knew him to have occurred in the life of the Rev. Joseph Patterson, a man who lived in personal communion with his Master like that of Moses, to whom "the Lord spake face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend."

Many of the most striking providences in early days were connected with horses, as might indeed be expected of new and unbroken regions. Dr. James W. Alexander is led to trace the marriage of his father with the daughter of Dr. James Waddell up to the theft of his money from his saddle-bags, and a cold which he caught while travelling in the neighbourhood of her father's residence; which led him to stop there and spend a few days in the family. Dr. Daniel Baker's horse fell down and broke the shaft of his gig near Charlotte Court House, in Virginia; to this apparent accident the Doctor devoutly referred

the occasion of a series of meetings, which resulted in the conversion, as he thought, of about "one thousand persons." The Hon. Elias Boudinot was once greatly affected with gratitude to God for a midnight deliverance, in which his horse walked one beam of a covered bridge from which the planks had been taken, while the wheels of his vehicle were guided upon two parallel beams. Mr. Patterson often recognized the hand of his Father in events of a similar nature which occurred in his missionary expeditions. But one of the most remarkable is that of which we speak. On one of his excursions to the Indian country or to some distant settlement, he and his guide, an American hunter, waked one morning, in their camp in the heart of the wilderness, to behold with dismay their horses gone. It was found that they had slipped their tethers in the night, and wandered off in quest of grass. The guide desired at once to go in search of them. "No," said Mr. Patterson, "it won't do to go without eating. Let us get some breakfast first." The man reluctantly consented. "Now," said he, when they were done eating, "I must be off." "Better wait a little," was again the vexatious answer. "We ought first to look to God for direction and assistance." Then he kneeled down, and poured out his heart with as much trust and thankfulness as though they had been comfortable at home. He commended to God all their interests, and prayed, as if forgetful of time and trials, for those things which related to the spread of true religion and the conversion of souls to Christ. The guide heard with wonder, yet with anger and impatience. The prayer drew towards its close. "And now, O Father, (in some such words he pled) here we are in this wilderness, going forth for thy cause. Thou knowest our circumstances of trial. Hinder us not on our way. Give us these creatures that are necessary for our journey. We pray thee help us in our time of danger and need. And we will render to thee all the praise, through Jesus thy Son." The guide uncovered his eyes. He lifted them up. To his utter amazement there were the horses, in the search of which he had expected to spend weary hours or days, visible upon an open space some distance from them, coming rapidly towards the camp. Oh for a baptism of the church, all its ministry, all its people, with the simple, grand,

faith, that believeth all things revealed by God, hopeth all things promised by God, endureth all things commanded by God, unto his glory, not their own, which inspired such men as Archibald Alexander, Daniel Baker, Elias Boudinot, and Joseph Patterson.

A *third* characteristic of the fathers of the churches of these four Synods was that they believed in revivals, expected revivals, laboured for *revivals of religion*, as periods when God displays his power and his saving mercy, and his glorious grace; when he makes sudden and great advances of the armies of salvation; and when he raises up many to be new and effective instruments in making known his gospel, even where it has not before been known.

The history of some of the earlier revivals in the West has been recently presented in a tract sent to all our ministers and candidates for the ministry by the Board of Education, under the title of "Our Fathers' God; an Account of our First National Revival of Religion." We need not therefore speak particularly of them. But we observe that the churches of that region have from the beginning until the present time continually prayed for revivals, and have been granted revivals of peculiar power, and such as have exerted an influence over the whole land, and even over lands far away.

These revivals have often been preceded by conventions of ministers and elders for special prayer. For they knew well that prayer, and fervent prayer of the spiritual guides of the church, is necessary to obtaining such manifestations of God. The wind that rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks, the earthquake, the voice, on Horeb, were all preceded by the anguish of the prophet in the cave. And how memorable have some of those conventions been! Few scenes are witnessed on earth like that when Elisha McCurdy, then hoary headed, his earthly work all done, and his loins girded, waiting for the chariot that was to transport him to his Lord, came into that convocation of ministers and ruling elders of the Synods of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Ohio, which met in the First church of the city of Pittsburgh in the fall of 1842, to plead with God for a revival of religion. It was as if one of the ancient prophets had appeared again. How solemn his admonitions.

“Forty years ago the piety of the church was of a most vigilant and active kind. Those who were leaders made it a business on all favourable opportunities to converse with those who were yet out of the church. This was not confined to the pastors, but was attended to particularly by the elders. I have in my mind one, who, when brought into the church, could not read the Bible; yet that man did more for the cause of Christ than many ministers. He lay, I think, at the foundation of the great revival which took place forty years ago. He addressed himself to sinners on all occasions. He was a wrestling Jacob, who poured out his soul to God. A hundred times have I knelt with him in a solitary thicket, and implored God to pour out his Spirit upon the whole church. My meaning then, is, that elders and others should do as this man did, if they would have God to pour out his Spirit. *Brethren, wake up! Talk to sinners kindly, affectionately, frequently, and God will pour out his Spirit. I have no doubt but God is ready to pour out his Spirit, if we will do our duty.*” This convention was followed by large outpourings of the Spirit of God.

These earliest fathers have all passed away. But their God still lives! We cannot dismiss this branch of the subject without adverting, for the encouragement of faithful Christians, to the blessings which flowed from that great convention at Pittsburgh in December, 1857. During the preceding summer and autumn there had been all over the land desires expressed and prayers offered for a general revival of religion. One of the first steps to secure this object was the convention. It is possible that such a scene as it presented has never elsewhere been witnessed upon this continent. The ministry and eldership were convened from a radius of two hundred miles. For weeks previously, prayer had been lifted for the special presence of God upon the occasion. They gathered in the large edifice of the First church, in deepest, awful silence. During some of the sessions the whole assemblage was in tears, and strong men trembled under the influence of a mysterious power that filled the place. Old men, accustomed to address public bodies, broke out into sobbing after a few words of prayer, or of remarks, and were forced, with heads bowed to the ground, to totter to their seats. From that “very house of God” the

ministers went forth to speak to their people. That convention was one of the chief occasions, in the ordering of Divine grace, of that mighty revival which overspread this country during the ensuing winter, and through the following year. The Irish General Assembly appointed two of their ablest ministers* to come and examine personally the work in America, and return and rehearse their observations to the churches there. The flame was kindled in the Old World, and while we write this page, a newspaper paragraph before us states that there are regions where it has "been in continuous progress ever since 1858." Its influence has been felt wherever a Christian pulse beats in all the world. The Lodiana Mission in India, having (as they say) been "greatly refreshed by what we have heard of the Lord's dealings in America," in November, 1858, called upon the Christian world to join in a week of universal prayer in January, 1860. And who shall tell where the glorious power of all this prayer shall end, short of that day when the world shall all be filled with the light of a renewed fellowship between God and man, in the accomplishment of the prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"?

One other great characteristic of the fathers of the Presbyterian church west of the Allegheny mountains, was their *interest in the young*, zeal in training them to be useful Christians, and *efforts to furnish* them with opportunities to obtain a *thorough education*.

There was great faithfulness in their care of children. It was generally recognized as one of the most important duties of the faithful pastor of those days to obey Christ's first injunction to Peter, when he restored to him his apostleship, "Feed my lambs." The children were questioned from the Shorter Catechism at the church, and at houses where meetings were appointed for those in each neighbourhood, and in the pastoral visits made to each family. Religious appeals were then made to them, and the most promising were marked in the thought

* One of them was the Rev. Dr. William Gibson, Professor of Christian Ethics in Queen's College, Belfast, and a Moderator of the General Assembly. His work entitled, "The Year of Grace, a History of the Revival in Ireland, A. D., 1859," is one of the very best of books to warm and to instruct an earnest minister.

of the pastor as those who were to be encouraged and prayed for, with the hope that they might become ministers of the gospel.

There were some pastors who, even at that early day, supplied themselves with little religious narratives, such as the well-known "History of Poor Joseph," and some of the tales of Hannah More, or catechisms and sheet hymns, and carried them in their pockets to give to children. In revivals of religion there was sometimes a precious and beautiful exhibition of God's loving recognition of this fidelity to the Saviour's example and commands, in the conversion by the power of the Holy Ghost of many children, some of them of quite tender age.

This tender pastoral care of the young deserves to be held up for imitation in a time when so much of it is committed to Sabbath-school teachers; men and women, some of them pious, intelligent, and devoted to their work, but not a few of them unconverted, or incapable of appreciating the supreme importance of the trust. The present want of missionary labourers at home and abroad would not exist were pastors faithful in visiting and instructing the youth of their charge, in the Sabbath-schools and elsewhere. The great success of the Moravians in obtaining missionaries, their writers state, is to be attributed largely to their establishment of schools for the purpose of educating the young to that end, and inspiring them there with an ardent zeal. Says a Moravian writer, "Above all things the Saviour and his cross were presented to the infant mind, and the pupils were instructed to be diligent in the acquisition of learning for the sake of the Lord, and in imitation of his example." Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, their great patron, was accustomed to visit the schools, and lay his hands on the heads of the boys and tell them that their principal aim ought to be to preach the gospel to the heathen, and pronounce a blessing upon them. Some of their missionaries say they entered into a covenant with the Lord when they were little children, to go and be missionaries to the heathen.

We turn to the prompt and zealous interest which the fathers of the church west of the mountains exhibited in planting institutions of learning, and educating young men for the

ministry of the gospel. There is a beautiful chain of providential preparation for it, which it were unthankful for us as a denomination of Christians not to own. Two Presbyterian colleges have stood there from the period when peace was established after the Revolution, at a distance of only seven miles apart. Many noble men have toiled in them, and for them. At times rivals, they now are harmoniously made one. The man who deserves most notice, as the first Presbyterian minister to make his home beyond the mountains, and one of the first to commence, before either academy was conceived, the work of instructing (to use his own words) "a few who gave evidence of piety," whom he "taught the Latin and Greek languages, some of whom became useful, and others eminent ministers of the gospel," was John McMillan. Let us observe how God prepared the way for this man, and prepared the man for the work.

Among the crowds of thousands of people who followed the feet of that modern apostle Paul, the Rev. George Whitefield, in the month of May, 1739, when he was preaching among the Presbyterian congregations, under the oak groves of Chester county, Pennsylvania, and who were moved to strong outcries and tears by his vehement and pathetic appeals to sinners to "flee from the wrath to come," was a lad of fifteen, named Robert Smith, whose parents had eight years previous to that time emigrated from the north of Ireland. This lad was truly converted to Jesus Christ. Being filled with the spirit of his earthly teacher and model, Whitefield, he became a laborious and successful minister of the gospel, a diligent and eminent preceptor of youth, and a great blessing to the church in his day. He was second Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and his sermon at the opening of the one following was from the words: "And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name." (Isaiah lxii. 2.) These words revealed the soul of the man. It was in full sympathy with Whitefield's aim to carry on (as the words of the latter express it) "the work for which the blessed Jesus came to shed his blood: I mean the renewal of a multitude of souls which no man can number, out of every

nation, kindred, and tongue, by making them partakers of his righteousness, and through the powerful operations of his blessed Spirit bringing them back to, and re-instamping upon them that Divine image in which they were originally created." He was powerfully influenced by the example of Whitefield, who after preaching the royal grace of Christ to the colliers, the rabble, those for whose soul no man cared, in England, seven times visited the far-off wilds of America, and included among others in his labours there the heathen Indians and the degraded negro slaves. And Robert Smith caught Whitefield's zeal for the conversion of young men, and the increase of faithful preachers, as when he cried out in one of his sermons, "Pray, says Christ, pray to 'the Lord of the harvest, that he may send labourers into his harvest.' Pray for students. Pray for those who are tutors to students, that they may be taught of God, that when they come out they may say, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me.' When it is upon them, the whole world will be set on fire of love. But this will never be until the Spirit of God is poured out on the sons of the prophets."

Among the young men who came under the instructions and influence of Dr. Robert Smith, then preaching and teaching at Pequea, in Lancaster county, was John McMillan, a young man born at Fagg's Manor, and at that time, 1772, just twenty years of age. This man was licensed to preach the gospel, October 26, 1774, by the Presbytery of New Castle. The following summer and winter he spent in a missionary tour through the new settlements beyond the mountains. In the year of our Declaration of Independence, on April 23, he accepted a call, brought before his Presbytery, for his labours at Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, and on the 19th of June was ordained at Chambersburg, by the Presbytery of Donegal, to be their pastor. A solemn injunction was laid upon him, when he made up his mind to spend his life in those regions, by his old preceptor and spiritual guide, Dr. Robert Smith. "Look out for some pious young men, and educate them for the ministry; for though some men of piety and talents may go to a new country at first, yet if they are not careful to raise up others, the country will not be well supplied." This injunction

Mr. McMillan obeyed. He soon collected a school of pious young men. This was the origin of the academy which was the foundation of Jefferson College. This was the beginning of various educational influences, emanating from numerous institutions, which have spread their blessings all over this land, over this continent from Puget Sound to Rio Janeiro, to Asia, Europe, and Africa, and to the island groups of the Pacific Ocean—wherever their multitude of students, pursuing different professions, have gone.

Thus we see how the spirit of the father in the genealogy of grace, George Whitefield, is conveyed to the son, Robert Smith, to the grandson, John McMillan, and to a posterity of whom it may well be written, in the terms of the covenant, in them “shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.”

The institutions which the fathers planted in the West were characterized by an extraordinary glow of piety and zeal. An old catalogue before us has the *star*, which implies that they became ministers, before the names of fifty-eight, or nearly *three-fifths* of the first hundred graduates, and before sixty-six, or almost *two-thirds* of the next one hundred and five graduates, of Jefferson College. Whence these frequent revivals, and that Christian spirit? An old farmer, who used to come into the town to market before daylight in the morning, once told that he repeatedly saw the lamp yet burning in the study of the revered Dr. Matthew Brown, and heard thence a voice as of a man still wrestling with God for a blessing. Could the God of Peniel resist such prayer? Out of the first five classes of the Western Theological Seminary nearly *one-sixth*, and out of the first one hundred students more than *one-eighth*, became foreign missionaries; the number of missionaries to home-fields we have not the means of ascertaining.

This then seems to be the great lesson from the labours of those fathers; that they were prompt and ardent friends of education, but only of education as it fitted men for the service of the Lord. They provided means to temper and to sharpen weapons and tools, but they made sure that the weapons were to be in the hands of zealous friends, not traitors to their King; and that the tools should be actively employed to build, not to destroy, the temple of His earthly glory.

The "centenary convention," to which allusion has been made at the beginning of this paper, we hail as a pledge of the awakening of the churches of the West to a larger measure of the spirit of their founders.

What is first needed is a spirit of prayer like that which once wrought results so wondrous. And here it is most apposite to quote an extract from a sermon of the pioneer, Dr. John McMillan, which he preached the spring before his death, in 1833. It may be received as the testimony of his eminent experience.

"The most eminent ministers that ever appeared in the church have been granted to her in answer to prayer. Samuel, a reforming prophet of the Lord, was obtained by the prayers of Hannah, his pious mother. Hereby was more obtained for the church than by all the priests of the age. In the same manner our church has been blessed with some of the most able and faithful of our day. Oh that mothers in this country would hear and learn an important lesson from hence. Believing prayer hath prevailed to obtain the gospel with purity and with power. The women that met at the sea-side for prayer prayed till Paul was sent to them and planted a church in their coasts. Let our pious matrons learn another lesson from hence. Nor was this the last time in which such blessings were procured to the church by such means. I have read of a small select society, who prayed until they obtained one of the most acceptable and successful ministers that has ever been raised up in America. The first year of his settlement with them, the power of God remarkably attended his ministrations, which, like a spreading flame, reached to many places in several States. I might here also observe that this very minister was chiefly raised up for the ministry by prayer, united with pious example and instruction.

"A reverend father once told me, that in early life he knew a man of God, one of the first members of the synod in America, who was greatly devoted to prayer, and promoting praying societies. He encouraged them to prayer and waiting for the coming of Christ's kingdom by saying, 'God will arise to visit his church; I will not live to see it, but you may.' Accordingly they were blessed with the sight before two years

after his decease. 'And I have remarked, (said he,) that sundry branches of those families who readily engaged in this duty, have been noticeable for piety and promoting the cause of Christ in the several States where they have been dispersed until this day.' Some of you, I make no doubt, can remember what a spirit of prayer was poured out upon many in this and the neighbouring congregations, just before and about the time when that remarkable revival of religion took place amongst us in the beginning of the year 1782. How praying societies were set up in every corner, how people flocked to them, and how remarkably the Lord countenanced them with his presence, comforting and refreshing the souls of his own people, and making stubborn sinners to bow to his sceptre, and become the willing subjects of King Jesus.

"Many instances might be given from Scripture and faithful church history of the prevalence of prayer in procuring favours to individuals, to the church in general, and to the states and kingdoms. Never does God bestow a blessing on individuals or societies but he gives his people an heart to pray for them, and thus honours them by giving it as an answer to prayer. Oh how should the consideration of this excite and encourage every one, who has any interest at the throne of grace, to improve that interest, and continue wrestling with God, till he establish, and till he make his church a 'praise in the earth.' "

This is a time when ministers and people are called upon to labour and to pray for the establishment of Christ's power on earth, with a zeal far greater than, we may say in truth, at any other since the first planting of the Christian church. The Rev. Dr. Elisha P. Swift has spread before us the duty of the ministry in language that should wake the dullest soul to anxious and vehement exertion; exertion founded upon love for Jesus Christ, deep conviction of Christ's willingness to advance by the humblest faithful agency his cause, and upon patient submission to him who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

He says: "Oh what a ministry does Christianity need to carry, in defiance of apathy and superstition and ecclesiastical power and perverseness, and moral and mental death, her all-awakening and restoring light to the ends of the earth! Never

truly did the fear of God need to be kept more steadily before the eyes of his servants; the throne of grace to be more earnestly and fervently addressed; faith in his promises to maintain a more vigorous hold; or love to the souls he has made, to be kept burning more intensely in the heart. All the incentives which have at different times urged the gospel ministry on to consecration of life, to constancy of action, and self-denial, and earnestness in the cause of their Master, seem now to have flowed, as it were, into one common torrent, and come down upon us with an urgency and impetuosity never before witnessed. From literary rivalships and immaterial and pointless controversies, and dull inoperative disquisition, we must now turn away; and separating from the researches and stores of the learning of past ages whatever is of sterling excellence, of vital power, and holy majesty, and leaving the politics and projects of this lower world to other men; we must gird up the whole soul, draw near to the fountain of heavenly influence, and speak to the hearts of men of death, and judgment, and eternity, like those who feel that the hour is at hand, when God shall eminently clothe his ministers with salvation, and make every message of his gospel quick and powerful.

“Painful as the fact may be in view of our comparative inactivity and unsuccessfulness, and our deep sense of the want of spirituality, such is the awful crisis to which we have arrived. A solemn appeal to the promises of God has been made. The cry of the watchmen of Zion, *Lo, the day cometh*, has sounded through the widening empire of the Messiah, and new prospects have beamed forth upon the eyes of God’s children; and new zeal at the thought of overthrow has kindled up in the camp of the enemy. Battle must be joined, and issue must be had! What, then, but one feeling of intense desire, one rapid march upward in devotedness and courage and apostolic zeal, or a sad and shameful repulse to the army of the living God, is now before the Christian ministry. Oh then, at such a time as this, how lofty must be the destiny, how dread the accountability, that surrounds those honoured servants of Jesus Christ on whom it devolves to instruct and train for the service of the King of kings a ministry, the measure of whose piety must rise higher and higher, in proportion as success is to attend their efforts,

and as victory after victory, more and more extensive and complete, is to follow the marches of the gospel through the world."

This convention it has been hoped would enable those directly interested in the two colleges, "Washington and Jefferson" and "Wooster University," which are within the boundaries of those four Synods, to lay plans by which liberal endowments, sufficient to place them both upon the list of the first-class institutions of the nation, should be secured. This ought not to be a difficult work. Indeed it is not. The one spirited town of Wooster, it is stated, gave one hundred thousand dollars. This ought to be trebled or quadrupled for the University there. There is abundant means in the possession of the Presbyterian Church in Ohio to do it. And, with the immense wealth in the remaining Synods, the older institution should be speedily placed in a position to give a new power to Presbyterian education, and new respect to the Presbyterian name, there and throughout the land.

Nor should the impulse in the channel of education end here. How many minor institutions, male academies, female seminaries, parochial schools, might be fostered where established, or planted upon new soil, by men whom God has bountifully enriched with the gold and silver, and houses and lands, which are necessary to such ends; to whose memory such monuments would be the noblest that could be reared on earth. How much might be done to give the Theological Seminary of that region edifices, a more complete library, and more abundant means to sustain the students who are preparing themselves for the labours of the ministry. These questions will be decided by the spirit with which the pastors and eldership, sympathizing with the advanced ideas and wants of this age, go forward with the faith and energy of the fathers to meet them. They must point, and lead the way.

We have said nothing of the streams that have flowed to more distant regions from the powerful sources in the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Allegheny, and Ohio; nor of how largely they are affected by the character of their fountains. But wherever there is a heart that loves the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, desires its purity, rejoices in its honour, and labours for its prevalence, in faith that the day is coming

when the sea of its glory shall cleanse the earth of all its pollution, and cover "all the high hills under the whole heaven," that heart will hope that a new era is dawning, of more holy zeal, and of more abundant liberality, and of more numerous consecrations of best-beloved sons to the office of the ministry, within the limits where four hundred and fifty Presbyterian ministers and licentiates preach the gospel, five hundred and fifty churches whiten the fertile hills, and sixty thousand communicants have consecrated themselves and their *all* to the Lord. More than double that number of ministers, and churches, and communicants, would be infused with a new spiritual life, like as when the sun of the spring unseals and warms the floods of the new year, through all the boundless courses where those streams have run, westward and southward, and to far off lands.

It is the purpose to prepare a "memorial volume" from the materials collected at this convention. This is a most important subject. It is to be hoped the volume will be one of a spirit and life to benefit the church. And it is still more to be desired that this occasion will inspire the ministry and literary men of the West with a new anxiety to begin to do themselves and their religious history justice; which, alas, it has never yet received. A few valuable books, it is true, have been published. But how few, compared with what ought to have been sent forth.

There is a criminal carelessness among the various branches of the Presbyterian church, to the character and labours of her own mighty men of the past. Until within a few years, the imperial name of John Calvin was almost as remote from the common knowledge as that of the philosopher Confucius; and many good people could scarcely tell which lived first, and what we had to do with the one more than with the other. Compared with Martin Luther, he seems to differ from him as a great deep quiet river differs from the torrent of the spring which, in a wide-spread inundation, sweeps away old rubbish, and deposits with a great deal of rich soil some that is worse than worthless. Yet Luther's name is mentioned alone five times where Calvin's is mentioned once. And John Wesley's, strange to say, is in the lips of some preachers more than either of them; a man whose influence, much as it is felt in one zealous family of the

Christian church in Great Britain and America, is yet but a noisy brook in a narrow channel, compared with either of them.

The same declaration may be made with regard to men nearer to our own times. So unfaithful have we been to the memories of our own most remarkable and zealous men, that when examples of such are required for illustration, our ministers probably mention William Carey, or Adoniram Judson, or Samuel J. Mills, or Harlan Page. They know far more of their history than of the Scotch Presbyterians, William Milne, or Alexander Duff, or William C. Burns; or than they do of Elias Boudinot, or Robert Finley, or John McMillan, or Joseph Patterson, or Gideon Blackburn, or Walter M. Lowrie. They are better acquainted with the history of the Sandwich Islands than with the as interesting one of the Cherokee Indians. They can tell more about the translations of the Bible into the insignificant dialects of Burmah, than about the grand labours connected with the giving of the word of the living God to the empire of China, beginning with those of Dr. Robert Morrison and ending with the last revisions of our own lamented Culbertson. We have popular biographies of almost every man of considerable usefulness among the Congregationalists, and the Baptists, and the Methodists; and they are continually renewed by a multitude of sprightly writers, zealous for the spread and power of their own branches of the church. But, while we have several large and most valuable works of a general character, and very important collections of a biographical nature, for which we cannot be too grateful to their accomplished authors, how small the number of monographs, of definite, fresh, animating sketches of a ministerial life and its achievements, of the labours of this or that individual equally faithful in other callings—books suitable for us to put in the hands of the parent, the student, the man or the woman in the ordinary walks of life, for their imitation and encouragement! God declares, “the memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot.” Can a “blessing” be upon those who permit the memory of his faithful servants to “rot”?

And yet there is no branch of the church of Christ which has more abundant subjects for every department of history. There are materials for narratives of missionary labour, domestic and

foreign, of an interest that would stir the hearts of generations to come; indeed, belonging to a period in its nature the most full of incidents, and of an influence the most fundamental of all. Biographies might be prepared of men concerning whom the church of coming generations will be more anxious to know than of any possibly that may live when the institutions of religion and the state have received their abiding cast. Histories of religion in important definite sections of country—of successful educational movements—of the commencement and effects of the revivals of the church through the power of the Holy Ghost—afford topics for many volumes. Why should not the great themes of religion, which are in their nature more important than what relate to any acts or events of the outside world—why should not those topics that are dearest to the heart, those that most deeply excite men to emulation, those that kindle the noblest impulses and aims in the soul of the young—evoke books that would equal, yes, excel, the brilliant and stirring pages of Macauley, or Motley, or Bancroft? Oh for men gifted to employ the labour to collect facts, to analyze principles, to kindle with the march of great events, to beautify with the colouring of correct and fervid imagination the grand subjects of the history of the dealings of Christ with his people, and thus infuse into that which is infinitely nobler, the truth to nature, the vivacity and the energy which now so distinguishes the literature of the world! Would that this century, this part of this century, in this era of transition, might inaugurate a new and mighty impulse to Presbyterian church history!

ART. II.—*The Epicurean Philosophy.*

THE Epicurean philosophy was one of the natural developments of an age and condition of political humiliation and moral decay. The public and the private state and relations of Athens were well adapted to suggest and to make popular the system taught for more than thirty-five years in the famous Gardens by Epicurus himself, and on the same attractive spot for successive generations by his enthusiastic disciples. Demetrius Poliorcetes had just become the ruler of Athens, a prince who, in his deep and notorious profligacy, surpassed the mass of Athenian citizens only as greater power and ampler resources increased his facilities for self-gratification. The indulgences of Athens, however, could never be altogether gross and sensual. Literature and science must still be made a means of entertainment. Courtesans as well as statesmen sought recreation, culture, and power of influencing others in such metaphysics as came of and became the age. But as the drama grew wanton and frivolous, so philosophy lost its honesty and dignity.

The conquests of Alexander extended the political supremacy of Greece, and with this her intellectual ascendancy, over the whole eastern world. But the liberties of the true Hellenic states were the price paid for this apparent advancement of her power and influence. During the next two centuries she received a still wider extension of her mission and her opportunity as the world's civilizer, when Magna Græcia and Macedonia and the Achæan League fell before the prowess and the destiny of Rome. But the intellectual activity which was now so vastly diffused, had ceased to be fresh, original, and creative. Moral causes too were working out their slow but sure result. Greek genius could not work in chains, either political or moral; whether the sceptre were visibly wielded by Macedonian or Roman lords, or invisibly by luxury and vice.

And philosophy was in a position of peculiar difficulty. The problems brought and left before it by Plato and Aristotle would have tasked the best powers of the Grecian mind when most free, enthusiastic, and inspired. Now conscious neither of spirit nor of power for such a task, the thinkers of the nation

fell back to more congenial work. They attempted little more than the solution of the practical problem, how the most perfect satisfaction might be attained in life. Epicureans, Stoics, Sceptics, Eclectics, all laboured in their various ways upon this problem. A positive happiness or a negative contentment, often in the midst and even in spite of most untoward circumstances, this, and not the beauty and grandeur of truth and knowledge, the excitement of intellectual grappling with the natural and spiritual wonders of the universe, the joy of intellectual discoveries and achievements, became the inspiration of philosophical inquiry.

The objects of philosophy were with Epicurus wholly practical. Science, as such, he studiously disparaged, as he did also all philosophers except Democritus. Philosophy he defined as an activity which by means of ideas and arguments procures the happiness of life; “ἐνέργεια λόγους καὶ διαλογισμοὺς τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον περιποιῶσα.” Truth and knowledge are of course under such a system not an end, but merely a means of pleasure. Diligence, enthusiasm, vigorous and rigorous investigation, are useless and virtually impossible. “The Epicurean,” says Maurice, “is essentially the unscientific man; it would be more correct to say the hater of science.” The only department of philosophy worthy to be pursued for its own sake is Ethics.

The Epicurean system, in the exposition of which the author wrote more than almost any other ancient philosopher, and which he regarded as perfected by himself, is indeed set forth under scientific forms. But this results rather from a deference to the customs of the people and the age, than from any inner impulse or necessity. The system is commonly exhibited under a threefold division, into *Canonic* (their substitute for Logic), *Physics*, and *Ethics*. Of these the first two were altogether subordinate to the third—appendages to the system, incidental necessities rather than essential and vital parts. The logical discussions of Aristotle, who had died sixteen years before Epicurus entered upon his public career as a teacher of philosophy of the school of Democritus, comprised a full investigation of the methods by which man arrives at knowledge. The *Canonic* of Epicurus was merely the doctrine of the criteria by

which truth may be known. These tests it is important to apply, not because of any inherent dignity and worth of truth, nor because the extension of knowledge is desirable, but because, and so far as, falsehood and error directly, perceptibly and seriously interfere with human happiness. The three criteria of truth are sensation (πάθος), perception (αἴσθησις), and pre-conceptions (προλήψεις), which are the common or general images that we form of objects as the result of repeated sensations or perceptions. The first two correspond necessarily with the objects felt or perceived, and must be true, and constitute our only reliable ground of certainty; the third being reliable only so far as they bear the test of subsequent experiences.

Physics became a distinct and important part of the Epicurean system, not from any desire for knowledge, but because false conceptions of man's own nature and of the world about him had filled all the ages with idle fears, greatly impairing the sum of human happiness. The physical part of the system, moreover, contains nothing original; and its author is so indifferent to it, except as a means to an end, that for the sake of the end he sacrifices symmetry and consistency in his doctrine. He starts with the atomistic theory of Democritus, with whom the doctrine was the result of an honest and earnest endeavour to explain the phenomena of the universe from purely natural causes. Epicurus adopts the system as furnishing the best foundation for his ethical theories. In a few particulars he introduces modifications, the most important of which is fatal to the logical consistency of his system. Lest human happiness should be threatened by the assumption of an absolute necessity in the sequence of cause and effect, he introduces chance as one of the elements determining the movements and combinations of atoms. As he excludes design and an intelligent cause, and chance cannot be included in human reasonings, he makes the explanation of nature an impossibility. But men are saved on the one hand, from the thronging fears and terrors that grow out of any system of nature over which higher force, intelligence, and will preside; and on the other, from the more merciless tyranny of mere physical law.

Creation is an absurdity; providence a device to frighten children with; moral government a terrible power over the

blind, deluded nations, yet the merest phantom. Nevertheless all ages and all lands have believed in the existence of gods, and such beliefs demand the admission of corresponding facts; therefore there must be gods, of human form and more than human excellence, living in the interplanetary spaces, undisturbed by thought or care of earth. The ideal of perfect happiness must have its real counterpart (the *Canonic* of Epicurus being true), and this is found in the blissful satisfaction of the gods.

The *Ethics* is therefore the only part of his system which Epicurus elaborates with any care or enthusiasm. As sensation is the ground of all our knowledge, so it is also the measure of all our action. The most marked characteristic of all our sensations is their relation to our sensibilities, to pleasure and pain. Pleasure is therefore the thing essentially desirable, pain the thing to be shunned. The supreme good is found in happiness, or the happy life. The chief element in happiness, nay, even the supreme good, is pleasure. Pleasures are however to be judged and tested by their relation to the deeper and more permanent happiness of life,—one rejected and another preferred, according to their bearing upon the whole of life—“τοῦ ὅλου βίου μαχαρότης.” Virtue, therefore, while not to be sought as a good in itself, is inseparable from true pleasure, an indispensable means of the happiest life. Bodily pleasures and pains are only for the present; mental states through memory and hope take hold of past and future also, and are therefore of far more account. The pleasurable excitement of the sensibilities is only an element, a factor in the perfect state, which is that of susceptibility for every enjoyment that will promote, or at least not disturb the satisfied rest of the soul, its absolute tranquillity. A fugitive excitement of the sensibilities, however agreeable,—pleasure in motion,—is a less good than pleasure in repose,—calm, equable, and permanent. Temperance, prudence, courage, justice, are necessary conditions of this abiding and satisfying happiness, which may be diversified but cannot be increased by transient enjoyments. The essence of wisdom is prudence, the habit of obeying reason. To this freedom is indispensable. Epicurus, therefore, as he had introduced chance into the sphere of Physics, now again violates the prin-

ciples of the atomistic philosophy by admitting free-will into human action. It were better, he says, to accept the fables of the popular mythology, which allow one to hope for some success from his prayers, than to believe in necessity as controlling human actions, which would be to resign one's self deliberately to despair. And it is worth more to be miserable, acting with reason, than to be happy by chance or in despite of reason.

But in the exercise of this freedom, virtue is to be practised not on account of any independent or abiding power of its own. Justice and right have no existence except on the basis of compacts among men, and do not exist where men have been unable or unwilling to form such agreements. The wise man abstains from injuring others, not from any essential wrong in injustice, nor because of any right by which laws may claim obedience, but for the sake of security and peace. Virtues are therefore only of negative value. Temperance is useful not in its purifying and invigorating power, but because it forestalls the evil effects of violent passion. So of courage, justice, honesty, and other virtues. Weariness and exhaustion follow exertion; therefore the inactive life is the happier. Yet strong natural impulses, like ambition, are to be indulged if, and so far as, the effort to restrain them would cause the greater evil. Above all things avoid pain, and beware of too much activity. Nature requires only things that are easily found. Frugality is therefore an inestimable good, preserving health, quickening our enjoyments, and raising us above the caprices of fortune. The appetites, unregulated, give birth to factitious and superfluous desires, and these to others still more exacting. Experience, if no other teaching, will show that love of riches, of power, of fame, and the like, are only vanity; therefore forego all that does not contribute to that happiness, so simple in its essence, and so fully within the reach of all through nature's bounty, health of body and peace of soul.

There is one apparent inconsistency in this moral system of Epicurus. In one point he permits and even encourages man to look beyond himself for sources of enjoyment, and there limitation and denial are not made indispensable conditions of the desired result. The surest support and sweetest consolation of life are found in friendship; and a friend must be aided

in his distress, consoled in his sorrow, succoured in adversity, although there be no immediate advantage or recompense in sight. Here human sympathies assert themselves, and give to Epicureanism its genial and winning aspect. By precept and by delightful example Epicurus commended friendship, and his followers were renowned for the strength and permanence of their mutual attachments. And yet, says Denis,* from whose attractive pages much of the foregoing sketch has been derived, "I would have preferred in danger the devotion of the Stoic, with all his stern appearance and his rigid impassibility."

If circumstances are untoward, if the wise man is suffering inevitable pain, he turns his thoughts from present ills, and supplies by memory and hope the lack of the passing hour, drawing always copiously upon the inexhaustible stores of his self-complacency. Pain and misery are transient states, almost never both intense and long continued. As for the fear of death, it is not from nature, but is the result of our own error and folly, in imagining that after death the soul still exists, conscious that it has lost the good things of this life. And what are the dishonour and decay of the body to a spirit that has ceased to be? As for the mortal agony, it is but for a moment. So long as we are, death is not, and when death is, we are not. Death is not an evil, and the fear of it is only a folly.

As for fear of the gods, which has constituted a large part of human misery, that cannot concern us hereafter. With regard to the present, it is the felicity of the gods of Epicurus to know as little as possible of human affairs, and men may surely, with perfect propriety, think as little of them.

Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples for ever, on condition of their fidelity to his doctrine, the Garden where so much enjoyment had been found in the most delightful social intercourse, and pleasure so exalted as the end of philosophy and the end of life. And for a long time, as might be expected, the system continued to be popular and practically influential. We think there can be no doubt of the correctness of the judgment of Denis concerning the influence of the system, where its princi-

* *Histoire des Théories et des Idées morales dans l'Antiquité.* Paris, 1856.

ple was received with the explanations and limitations of its founder. In an age whose tendencies were so strong in the direction of luxury, and the grossest self-indulgence, even a cold and utilitarian commendation of temperance as a condition of more abiding happiness, was a check upon universal license. Yet the check was but feeble, for many would cite the name of the philosopher, and quote his leading principle, stripped of its careful limitations, in justification of every indulgence that their debased spirits craved. And on the other hand, sturdy natures, conscious of activities and impulses that Epicureanism ignored or suppressed with as much sternness as such a system was capable of, would turn toward Stoicism or some other philosophy that left them men. And many would revolt at the materialism that robbed them of a soul, of religion, and a future life. While one class of men hailed the philosopher and his system as liberating them from all religious fears and obligations, there were others, not a few, who could not disown their deep and strong religious instincts, and to whom it was a sufficient refutation of Epicureanism that it ignored so real and large a part of their humanity.

The system found warmer adherents and more vehement assailants than perhaps any other of the Greek philosophies. Of the numerous works of Epicurus, very little is preserved beyond the fragments found in Diogenes Laërtius. The philosopher might almost have dispensed with his injunction, that his disciples should receive his doctrine as a completed system: for there was nothing in the system that stimulated to intellectual activity; if, indeed, any more exertion than was required in self-defence would not have been a practical abandonment of their doctrine. Cicero found the school existing in duly organized form at Athens in his day. A century later the apostle Paul encountered its adherents. After another hundred years, when the Antonines attempted to revive the literary glories of Athens, Epicurean philosophers were among their stipendiaries. They seem with the rest to have endured and survived the shock of the Gothic invasion of Greece in the third century, and to have been suppressed with the other schools of philosophy by the edict of Justinian in 529, A. D.

Within a few generations after the death of its founder, the

Epicurean system, with other of the abundant products of Grecian thought, was transferred to Rome. On this soil so uncongenial to some other systems of philosophy that implied more power of abstraction, and involved more acute and subtle reasoning, Epicureanism took root and flourished luxuriantly.

The Roman mind was never predisposed to speculative inquiry. It dealt much more readily with concrete facts and duties. And yet Romans were not without appreciation when this, with other fruits of Greek genius, was brought before them. Rhetoricians and physicians had introduced the science and art of Greece, not without a subtle but potent intermixture of speculation, before the appearance of professed philosophers. And the Grecian drama had been working quite as efficaciously upon the Roman mind; and in this there was a large infusion of the ideas and the spirit of Epicureanism. The stern Roman conceptions of right and rights had begun to melt under these unsuspected influences, before the attention of the people had been invited in any formal way to the doctrines of any of the schools of Athens. The Romans were eager and fascinated listeners. Not a few became, before they were aware of it, adherents of one or another of the schools that were competing for popular favour during the second and third centuries before the Christian era. And here and there one became a more intelligent and earnest advocate of the doctrines to which he had given his adhesion.

Epicureanism had no representative in the famous embassy (A. U. C. 599, B. C. 155) which gave so strong an impulse to Greek studies at Rome in spite of the sturdy resistance of the patriotic and indignant Cato. But the system did not need so much as some others an attractive personal advocacy. The Academy and the Lyceum exacted so much thought that only the most popular teachers could draw away listeners from the Porch and the Garden. Moreover, the circumstances of the state were by no means unlike those which had so prepared the Grecian mind for the teaching of Epicurus. Then the East had just fallen before the genius and prowess of Alexander, and the wealth and the luxury and the vices of the East were terribly avenging the triumphs of arms. Now at Rome, the great conqueror's wish for "more worlds to conquer," might have been

repeated with even greater fitness. And the spoils of the nations were pouring in, to exalt the fame and pride, but sap the virtue of the irresistible Republic. The philosophy which made self-pleasing the great aim and duty of life could not have appeared at Rome more seasonably. And while many elements of the true old Roman nature would respond more promptly and surely to the summons of a Stoic's creed, Rome was rapidly becoming less Roman; and in just that ratio would the easy, comfortable, and plausible system of Epicurus be sure of a wide success. Epicureanism in each successive generation could doubtless muster the largest array of adherents, and could always exhibit on her roll some of Rome's proudest names. Of Cicero's contemporaries it is enough to mention his great rival, Hortensius, his most intimate friend, Atticus, Cassius, the conspirator against the great dictator, and Cæsar himself, the marvel of the world.

During the last half century of the Republic, political considerations undoubtedly contributed to the wider prevalence of this philosophy. In the fierceness of party strife, amidst the desperate and unscrupulous contests of personal ambition, patriotism found its sphere greatly limited. Wearied with vain endeavours, not a few patriotic spirits took refuge in the faith of Epicurus, which justified political inaction on the ground of the vanity of ambitious desires and the impossibility that the wise man should always enjoy the favour of the people, or control their caprices. The only instance in which Cicero speaks of Epicureanism with any other tone than that of aversion and contempt, illustrates the point before us. In the *De Oratore*, (iii. 17,) in his discussion of the place which philosophy should hold in the studies of the orator, after speaking concisely but emphatically of the unfitness of the Epicurean system to develop the spirit or the powers of the orator, he adds, "and yet no wrong will be done by us to that philosophy; for it will not be excluded from a sphere into which it desires to enter, but will remain quiet in its gardens according to its wish, where also reclining daintily and at its ease it calls us away from the *Ros-tra*, from the courts, from the senate-house, perhaps wisely, especially in the present condition of the commonwealth."

In explaining the prevalence and popularity of this philoso-

phy at Rome, Cicero, in another connection, adverts to the fact that it had the advantage of being put before the people in their own language earlier than its competitors. (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 3.) Of Amafinius and Rabirius, the first Latin writers on philosophy, he speaks only disparagingly, both with reference to their style and doctrine. Among a people, however, who were little trained to criticism, either literary or philosophical, priority in time gave Epicureanism the greater advantage. Yet the system never gained control of any large proportion of the thinkers of Rome. The Roman nature was too strong and vigorous, too full of impulse and efficiency, to submit readily to a doctrine so listless and paralyzing as the higher Epicureanism. The grosser and perverted system would of course find favour with the enervated and self-indulgent, especially after the decay of the Republic.

In Roman literature the philosophy of the Garden finds its best exponents in Lucretius and Horace. Reversing the order of time, let us first look at Epicureanism as illustrated and applied in the graceful, polished, and popular poetry of Horace, that perfect epitome of the spirit of the Augustan age. Horace is no professed metaphysician. At Athens he had studied in the schools, and at Rome had reflected upon philosophy, especially in its moral and practical bearings, although not with the intense and consecutive interest of a man of science. From each system he could learn something, and each was open to his keen and discriminating criticism. So far as he assigns himself a place among the schools, it seems to be with Epicurus. And yet his adhesion to the doctrine is general rather than rigid and consistent. The philosophy of self-enjoyment is not always solid and earnest enough to meet his own conscious wants, or to satisfy his deep and manly convictions concerning the rights and obligations of his fellow-men. The gods are at times more truly living, ruling powers, than Epicurus would tolerate. Now and then the poet must recognize a providence over himself, and cannot doubt that it concerns itself actively with his neighbours, his age, his land. Life has deeper meanings, human conduct more important issues than were discerned in the Garden. Still, for the most part, he gives himself up to the enjoyment of the present, and commends to others a like

self-indulgence, with little thought or care for gods or future. As Pierron says, (*Histoire de la Littérature Romaine*, p. 410,) "He is an Epicurean by temperament, and not by system; and on occasion he will make sport of the extreme Epicureans, as he makes sport of the too consistent Stoics. His philosophy, if one may here employ the word, is summed up entirely in the principle, 'Nothing in excess.'" If we may make a distinction among his writings as to their moral tendency and philosophical affinities, we should say that the Odes more frequently make the impression that pleasure is his end, and the philosophy of pleasure his guide, while the Epistles and Satires more generally exhibit his sober and earnest views of life, and his independent judgments. And we think the prevailing impression made upon his contemporaries, like that upon his modern critics, must have classed him with the followers of Epicurus.

Lucretius, on the other hand, was a most enthusiastic adherent of this school in its best type. He was the great interpreter and defender of the Epicurean system to the Romans, and the one most accessible to all later generations. Apart from his doctrine, this poet and his work held no doubtful place in the estimation of scholars of every land, for the first two or three centuries after the revival of learning. The interest in him, which had somewhat declined, but had been restored in Germany by Lachmann, has of late been greatly revived in England by the publication of Prof. Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," nearly one-half of which is devoted to Lucretius, and still more recently by Mr. Munro's edition of the poet's work, (Cambridge, 1864. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 334, 430.) Lord Macaulay had before pronounced his work "the greatest didactic poem in any language." Goethe expressed great admiration for him. He has been by other critics pronounced the most thoroughly Roman of all the Latin poets.

Although a contemporary of Cicero, and a little younger than he, the poet laboured under the double difficulty of being obliged largely to create a philosophic vocabulary, and to adapt it to poetic use. Philosophers before Cicero had done nothing to enrich and extend the language in this direction, and he had written only the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus*, when Lucretius undertook his *De Rerum Natura*. It has always

excited wonder that such a poem should or could have been written in exposition of any metaphysical system. And if one must needs set forth Epicurean doctrine in song, it could be more easily conceived that the ethical system, the commendation of pleasure as the end of life, should move and fill the poet's strain. But how should one feel, how exhibit one poetic impulse in connection with the physical part of the system, the dry, materialistic, atomic theory of the universe? This problem Lucretius has wonderfully solved. To him the system was consistent and complete. And because his fervid spirit was so intensely in earnest, with an aim so practical, he begins at the foundation. Never has modern philanthropist been more absorbed in his work, or more intent upon convincing and persuading men. It is mainly this direct and vigorous grappling with a great subject for a great purpose, that gives the poem its strongly Roman character. What Latin poem besides carries the impression that it was written with a Roman will? To release man from that terror and darkness of the mind which were all-prevalent under false religion and false philosophy, he undertakes to exhibit *The Nature of Things* according to that system which he believes to be alone true and effectual. Epicurus was to him "the true interpreter of nature," whose praise he is never weary of proclaiming. "A god he was, a god, most noble Memmius (we quote from Mr. Munro's close and vigorous version) who first found out that plan of life which is now termed wisdom, and who by trained skill rescued life from such great billows and such thick darkness, and moored it in so perfect a calm and so brilliant a light." (v. 8—12.) "When human life to view lay foully prostrate upon earth, crushed down under the weight of religion, who showed her head from the quarters of heaven with hideous aspect lowering upon mortals, a man of Greece ventured first to lift up his mortal eyes to her face, and first to withstand her to her face. Him neither story of gods, nor thunderbolts, nor heaven with threatening roar could quell, but only stirred up the more the eager courage of his soul, filling him with desire to be the first to burst the fast bars of nature's portals." (i. 62—71.) In the opening of the fifth book he adverts to the alleged services to the human race for which Ceres and Liber and Hercules had

been deified, and pronounces them insignificant if set by the side of Epicurus' service. A quotation here will have additional value as showing the moral type of the poet's Epicureanism, and his estimate of the morality of the founder of his creed. He has just spoken of the monsters from whose ravages Hercules was said to have freed the earth, as after all not able to do much harm if they had been left alive. "But unless the breast is cleared, what battles and dangers must then find their way into us in our own despite? What poignant cares inspired by lust then rend the distressful man, and then also what mighty fears! and pride, filthy lust, and wantonness? What disasters they occasion! and lust and all sorts of sloth? He, therefore, who shall have subdued all these and banished them from the mind by words, not arms, shall he not have a just title to be ranked among the gods? And all the more so that he was wont to deliver many precepts in beautiful and godlike phrase about the immortal gods themselves, and to open up by his writings all the nature of things." (v. 43—54.)

In the fragments from Epicurus which have been preserved, there are no such evidences of depth of nature and earnestness of purpose as abound throughout Lucretius. Even Cicero appears to us to fall decidedly below his contemporary poet-philosopher in deep sincerity and intense earnestness of desire to impress his convictions upon other men. "He seems," says Professor Sellar, "to combine in himself what was greatest in the Greek and in the Roman mind—the Greek ardour of inquiry; the Roman manliness of heart."

In order to dissipate effectually the terror and darkness of the mind, the poet, after a brief and beautiful introduction, lays down as his first principle that "nothing is produced from nothing by Divine power." The first book contains his general exposition of the materialistic doctrine; that nothing exists but space and matter, both infinite in extent. The second book describes atoms, and the modes of their combination and separation in nature's perpetual changes. The third exhibits the nature of the soul, about half the book being given to arguments against the doctrine of immortality. The fourth book treats of the senses, dreams, and some of the other phenomena of life; the fifth sets forth the experiences of the human race

from their first appearance on the earth, the organization of society, the origin of language, and the progress of civilization. The sixth and last book, which is less perfectly elaborated than the rest, although the outline of the projected work appears to have been filled out, discusses various natural phenomena, earthquakes, volcanoes, pestilences, and the like. His theological and ethical views Lucretius introduces incidentally, as his direct argument, or the refutation of contrasted errors gives him opportunity.

“For the nature of the gods,” he says, (ii. 646—651) “must ever in itself of necessity enjoy immortality together with supreme repose, far removed and withdrawn from our concerns; for exempt from every pain, exempt from all dangers, strong in its own resources, not wanting aught of us, it is neither gained by favours nor moved by anger.” Again with reference to creation, (v. 156 sq.) “To say that for the sake of men they have willed to set in order the glorious nature of the world, and therefore it is meet to praise the work of the gods, calling as it does for all praise, and to believe that it will be eternal and immortal, and that it is an unholy thing ever to shake by any force from its fixed seats that which by the forethought of the gods in ancient days has been established on everlasting foundations for mankind, or to assail it by speech and utterly overturn it from top to bottom; and to invent and add other figments of the kind, Memmius, is all sheer folly. For what advantage can our gratitude bestow on immortal and blessed beings that for our sakes they should take in hand to administer aught? And what novel incident could have induced them, hitherto at rest, so long after to desire to change their life?” With reference to belief in providence as controlling natural phenomena or human affairs, (vi. 68 sq.) “Unless you drive from your mind with loathing all these things, and banish far from you all belief in things degrading to the gods, and inconsistent with their peace, then often will the holy deities of the gods, having their majesty lessened by you, do you hurt; not that the supreme power of the gods can be outraged, so as in their wrath to resolve to exact sharp vengeance, but because you will fancy to yourself that they, though they enjoy quiet and calm peace, do roll great billows of wrath; nor

will you be able to approach the sanctuaries of the gods with a calm breast." The popular mythologies call forth the poet's most vehement denunciation. "O hapless race of men, (v. 1194—1203) when they charged the gods with such acts and made them the slaves of angry passions! What groanings did they then beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for our posterity! Nor is it any act of piety to be often seen with veiled head to turn to a stone, and approach every altar and fall prostrate on the ground, and to spread out the palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts, and nail up vow after vow, but rather to be able to look on all things with a mind at peace."

"The mind at peace"—this is with Lucretius, as with Epicurus, the highest attainment of man. His physical theory of the universe has constantly and predominantly this moral object. And when he comes to speak more directly of human relations and duties, he always insists that it is a great thing to live well in such a world as this. The motives to right living are of necessity all drawn from the present. All hopes and fears that take hold of the future are the dream of the ignorant or the inconsistent. He denounces sensuality in every form; he ridicules avarice and ambition, and all the vices and follies of the mind. Tityos is the prey not of a vulture, but of sensual lust; the never-ending toil of Sisyphus is the hopeless striving of ambition. The difficulties and distresses of the present, and dread of the future, are the result of ignorance or disregard of "the nature of things," which the poet sets forth, not with the intellectual enthusiasm of a philosopher, but with a feeling in which Professor Sellar recognizes "a zeal more like religious earnestness than the spirit of any other writer of antiquity."

It is indeed true that with his whole school, the poet overlooks and unconsciously disowns at the start his fundamental principle, that the senses are the foundation of all our knowledge. Atoms and void, from which all things are said to be made, may be inferences from what we see, but surely they are not seen, nor can any sense take direct cognizance of them. The infinite variety and change which co-exist with universal order and all-pervading law in nature, are explained by the

conception that in these atoms, beside the three qualities of simplicity, solidity, and eternity, there is a certain mysterious force, by the recognition of which the philosopher escapes on the one hand from chance, on the other from fatalism. And when the poet passes from the contemplation and exhibition of all this detail, to the representation of nature as a whole, he discerns a life and power and almost a will, which well-nigh constitute nature a god above the gods. When he speaks of creation and denies it as the act of the gods, among other reasonings he puts the question, (v. 181, sq.), "Whence was first implanted in the gods a pattern for begetting things in general as well as the preconception of what men are, so that they knew and saw in mind what they wanted to make; and in what way was the power of first beginnings ever ascertained, and what they could effect by a change in their mutual arrangements, unless nature herself gave the model for making things?"

It is easy to see how this conception of nature aided the poet. Lucretius had chosen the poetic form, partly, no doubt, from consciousness of a poet's calling; but he says, "since the doctrine seems generally somewhat bitter to those by whom it has not been handled, and the multitude shrinks back from it in dismay, I have resolved to set forth our doctrine in sweet-toned Pierian verse, and to overlay it as it were with the pleasant honey of the muses." It is doubtful, however, whether the poem, even by its vigour of thought and poetic merit, gained any considerable influence. The archaic style which the sturdy Roman spirit of the poet led him to adopt, would throw his work out of the current in which Cicero, and afterwards Horace and Virgil, were directing the popular taste. And Epicureanism of a lower type would become prevalent with those who were inclined to live for pleasure. The morality of the *De Rerum Natura* was far above that of the age in and for which it was composed. Notwithstanding the poet's high endeavour, life would continue, we fear, to be "a struggle in the dark." And we wonder whether he who so distinctly recognized a conscience as one of the great disturbers of man's peace, did not himself feel the insufficiency of the remedies he offered in that icy materialism. A century later a doctrine was preached at

Rome, that could ensure "a mind at peace;" but how different was its exhibition of the nature of things!

Epicureanism continued to be practically popular and influential at Rome, although in literature it found no expositors later than the Augustan poets, whose names have been preserved. It has been noted as a remarkable fact that men of every school of philosophy were found among those who engaged in the final struggle for the Republic. And under the Empire all were alike suspected when showing any disposition to meddle with affairs of state; otherwise, from indifference or policy, tolerated. Yet surely the system of Epicurus, so strongly repressing both personal ambition and patriotic devotion, was least obnoxious to suspicion.

Let us now notice briefly the natural and actual working of the Epicurean philosophy in ancient society. What was its place as a modifier of ancient civilization?

Within the sphere of religion it aimed at and contributed to the limitation and overthrow of the old mythologies and superstitions. Even if the gods whom it offered as a substitute for the popular divinities, were gods only in name, whose existence was recognized only because a popular belief so universal, must, according to the *Canonic* of Epicurus, have its counterpart in fact, still assaults so vehement and just upon many of the enormities of the popular belief and practice, could not fail to accelerate the downfall of the ancient faith.

Within the sphere of private morality, the system of the true Epicureans both of Greece and Rome, doubtless protested earnestly against the growing corruption of the old world. Temperance and kindred virtues were commended by every variety of argument that could be drawn from self-interest. But it is the idle struggle of selfishness against sin. A few whose judgments were clear and calm, and their passions less impetuous, would make the required reckoning, and forego many a present indulgence because it cost too much. But even in Greece, much more than in Rome, the passions of men were too turbulent, temptations and facilities too numerous and persuasive, to allow many to become the sages that Epicurus sought to make all men. The rapacity, brutality, and debauchery of Rome, during the last generations of the Republic and the first of the Empire,

we fear were not perceptibly restrained by Lucretius and all his school.

The civil and political influence of the philosophy of the Garden was not so directly intended, or so speedily perceptible, and yet perhaps this was the sphere of its mightiest and most beneficent working. Denis sets forth with great clearness and eloquence its influence in Greece, in opposing that blind and narrow patriotism which was so often the bane of Greek politics, in undermining national pride and exclusiveness, and in ameliorating the rigours of servitude. Epicurus, according to Seneca, would have the slave regarded as a friend of humble condition; and it was a further argument with this school, that it is only in connection with such indulgence, and a mutual good will, that the slave will cease to be a troublesome possession. The old Roman pride was made of even sterner stuff, and the virtues of the earlier Republic struggled long and desperately, but in vain, against the insidious assaults of foreign manners, foreign doctrines, foreign vices. But the fierce conqueror must needs be taken captive before she could be anything but a despot in the earth. That old national pride which made a foreigner an enemy, and which doled out the rights of citizenship with a niggard hand, must be broken or melted before the nations would rejoice in her sway. And this result the Epicurean system, so far as it had power, would only hasten. While Stoicism contributed its invaluable service to perfect the legislation and jurisprudence of Rome, the rival system was liberalizing the state, and making it possible that a world-wide empire should be maintained by law instead of force. So the Roman became a cosmopolite. A mightier power than Epicureanism took up this work after the civil wars and the reigns of the first emperors had done their part. But Christianity need not ignore any good work which had been already done, though it be by a philosophy so defective and false as that of the Garden.

ART. III.—*Life of Emanuel Swedenborg. Together with a Brief Synopsis of his Writings, both Philosophical and Theological.* By WILLIAM WHITE. With an Introduction. By B. F. BARRETT. First American edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

The Divine Attributes, including also the Divine Trinity, a Treatise on the Divine Love, and Wisdom, and Correspondence. From the "Apocalypse Explained" of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

Heaven and its Wonders and Hell. From Things heard and seen. By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. Originally published in Latin at London, A. D. 1758. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

Observations on the Authenticity of the Gospels. By a LAYMAN. Second edition. Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1867.

The New Jerusalem Church. The True Eclecticism. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler. 1866.

Swedenborgianism Examined. By ENOCH POND, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me. Revised Edition. Published by the American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill, Boston. 13 Bible House, New York.

THE above publications, issued in a style most creditable to their respective publishers, are evidences of growing zeal and activity in propagating Swedenborgianism. There are few who have not heard of this eccentric system of religious doctrine, and fewer still who know anything about it or its author. We therefore avail ourselves of the occasion and materials thus afforded, to draw up a succinct account of both. All the foregoing publications are by Swedenborg, or his supporters, except the last, by Dr. Pond. His book is a clear and candid summation of facts and arguments against Swedenborgianism. We know of no better thesaurus of its teachings and principles as seen by its adversaries. This little book, together with the first in the above series, viz., the *Life and Doctrines of Swedenborg*, by Mr. White, presenting the other side of the

case, present a very fair view of the substance of the arguments for and against the system. From this latter work by a friend of the New Church, the material facts and proofs in this article will mostly be taken. We now invite the attention of our readers, first to Swendenborg's life, and next to his system.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born at Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 29, 1688. His father's name was Jesper Swedberg, his mother's Sarah Behm, both belonging to highly respectable Swedish families. His father was a clergyman, and, at the time of Emanuel's birth was chaplain to a regiment of cavalry. After passing through several offices, one of which was a professorship of theology in the University of Upsal, in the year 1719, he became bishop of Skara, in West Gothland. He was not a brilliant, but a learned and industrious man, upright, patriotic, pious. The following extract from his diary indicates that his son's extraordinary fecundity in book-making was an hereditary trait. "I can scarcely believe that anybody in Sweden has written so much as I have done; since I think ten carts could scarcely carry away what I have written and printed at my own expense, and yet there is much, yea, nearly as much, not printed." When Emanuel was forty years old, the father says, "Emanuel, my son's name, signifies God with us, a name which should constantly remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy, and mysterious connection, in which, through faith, we stand with our good and gracious God. And blessed be the Lord's name! God has to this hour been with him, and may God be further with him, until he is eternally united with him in his kingdom." All this gives a favourable impression of Swedenborg's parentage, early training, and character.

Few memoranda of Swedenborg's childhood have been preserved. In a letter to Dr. Beyer, he says, "from my fourth to my tenth year my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflections on God, on salvation, and on the spiritual affections of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith; to whom I often observed, that charity or love is the life of faith; and that vivifying cha-

rity or love is no other than the love of one's neighbour; that God vouchsafes this faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only who practise that charity. I knew of no other faith or belief at that time, than that God is the Creator and Preserver of Nature; that he endues men with understanding, good inclinations, and other gifts derived from these. I knew nothing at that time of the systematic or dogmatic kind of faith, that God the Father imputes the righteousness or merits of his Son to whomsoever, and at whatever time He wills, even to the impenitent. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then as now, perfectly unintelligible to me."

His admiring biographer well says, "this confession very vividly shadows forth the future man." The sequel will show that this contains the germ of his future career, and of the religious system which he gave to the world. He knew no faith but charity or rectitude, no merits as a ground of justification but those of self-righteousness, no Saviour but personal virtue. And he then conceived himself to have intercourse with angels.

Emanuel received the best education which his age and country could afford. At the age of twenty-one he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Upsal. He showed himself an extraordinary Latinist in the dissertation written for his degree, and in a Latin version of the Book of Ecclesiastes, published in the same year in a work of his father. In this tongue all, or nearly all, his voluminous works were written and published. And this year (1710) finished the educational and strictly scholastic period of his life. He now passed to the duties of manhood.

Henceforward he spent much of his time in travelling. In the year 1710 he started for London via Gottenburg, and before reaching his destination narrowly escaped death four times. He passed nearly a year in London and Oxford. Then he visited the chief cities of Holland, and proceeded through Brussels and Valenciennes to Paris. Here and at Versailles he spent a year, when he hastened to Hamburg, and, after other excursions to places of less note, returned home, having been absent four years. During this journey he published an oration and little book of poems, which, however, evinced but feeble poetical power, although a certain kind of speculative

imagination played an important part in his future development.

Being the son of a bishop, his family connections were high and influential. One of his sisters married an archbishop, another the governor of a province, and other members of his family held leading offices in the kingdom. He was thus able to secure a position in life congenial to his tastes. While travelling on the continent, he had closely examined every novelty in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, which came under his observation, and written full accounts of them to scientists at home. On his return he became editor of a new periodical called "*Dædalus Hyperboreus*," to which Christopher Polheim, a celebrated mathematician, called the "*Swedish Archimedes*," contributed. This led to his appointment to the office of Assessor of the Board of Mines, which he held for many years, till he withdrew from secular pursuits, while he was allowed to retain its emoluments through life. The periodical, however, like so many others, soon died for want of support.

The king, Charles XII., who had conferred this office upon him, discerning his high powers, advised Polheim to give the rising young man his daughter in marriage. Swedenborg warmly responded to the proposal, for he tenderly loved the fair Emerentia. She, however, did not reciprocate the affection, and refused to be betrothed to him. This blight on his first love prevented all further attempts in this direction, and made him a celibate all his days, while his mind and imagination were ever exuberant on the subject of "conjugal love."

The king had occasion to call to his aid Swedenborg's high powers, at the siege of Frederickshall. He devised ingenious rolling machines, by which several vessels of war were transported overland a distance of fourteen miles. Under cover of these Charles was able to transport his artillery under the very walls of the town; but without avail, as a fatal cannon-ball struck him in the head.

In 1719 the Swedberg family were ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, and their name changed to Swedenborg. This change of name was about all, however, which the empty honour really conferred. Emanuel Swedenborg was neither Count nor Baron, as he has so generally been called.

Meanwhile he was rapidly acquiring fame as a writer and thinker. In 1717 he published an "Introduction to Algebra," also, "Attempts to find the Longitude of Places by Lunar Observations." In 1719 he published four new works: "A Proposal for a Decimal System of Money and Measures." "A Treatise on the Motion and Position of the Earth and the Planets." "Proofs derived from Appearances, in Sweden, of the Depths of the Sea, and the greater force of the Tides in the Ancient World," and "On Docks, Sluices, and Salt Works." Many of the views advanced in these works were in advance of his age and country. In reference to objections on this account he says, "It is a little discouraging to me to be advised to relinquish my views, as among the novelties the country cannot bear. For my part, I desire all possible novelties; aye, a novelty every day in the year, for in every age there is an abundance of persons who follow the beaten track, and remain in the old way, while there are not more than from six to ten in a century who bring forward innovations founded on argument and reason." While this shows the just recoil of a profound and ingenuous mind from blind and stubborn hostility to salutary innovation, it also betrays a swinging past the even balance of truth to a morbid passion for novelties as such, whether good or evil, right or wrong. This love of novelty appears to have been a ruling passion which will go far to explain the most remarkable phenomena of his subsequent career.

In the spring of 1721 he again visited Holland, and in Amsterdam published the five following works: "Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, comprising new attempts to explain the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics by Geometry;" "New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the Elemental Nature of Fire, together with a new construction of Stoves;" "A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places on Land or at Sea by Lunar Observations;" "A New Mechanical Plan of constructing Docks and Dykes;" and a "Mode of Discovering the Powers of Vessels by the Application of Mechanical Principles." We quote the titles of these works because they afford a considerable clew to the grade and drift

of Swedenborg's mind. They must, in all candour, be conceded to prove that he was no common man.

The chief object of his journey on the continent, however, was to improve his practical knowledge of mining and metallurgy. For this purpose he visited the principal mines and smelting works in his route. At Leipsic, in 1722, he published Parts I. to III. of "Miscellaneous Observations on Physical Sciences." Also at Hamburg, the same year, Part IV. of the same work. His friends claim that in his application of mathematics to chemistry is found the germ of the theory of definite proportions in that science, and of geometrical forms in crystallography, which modern science has elaborated and verified.

Returning to Stockholm in midsummer 1722, thus furnished for his office, he entered fully upon its duties which he quietly fulfilled for eleven years, suspending for the time his publications on Science Pure and Applied. His abilities were recognized in his election to the Professorship of Mathematics in the University of Upsal, in 1724. This honour, however, he declined. The works thus far published by him had been chiefly in pamphlet form. He however improved the long interval between his last and the next publication to prepare a large and laboured treatise, entitled, "*Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*." In order to secure its proper publication, and to gain still further knowledge of mining and metallurgy, he went abroad the third time, in May, 1733. He commenced the publication of his work at Leipsic in October, and finished it in the year 1734, in three handsome folio volumes, enriched with numerous copperplates. The Duke of Brunswick, at whose court he was a visitor, with noble munificence, defrayed the expense of the publication. At the same time he issued a little work called "*A Philosophical Argument for the Infinite, and the Final Cause of Creation; and on the Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*," a sort of supplement to the former. It is claimed that this great work anticipated much that distinguishes later modern science, in astronomy, magnetism, and chemistry. It certainly increased his fame among contemporary philosophers. It was honoured by the Pope with a place on the Index Expurgatorius, in 1739.

It led to his election as corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1734.

In July, 1735, his father died. Shortly after he went abroad "for a sojourn of three or four years to write and publish a certain book," resigning half his salary meanwhile to his substitutes—being the better able to do so, as he had received some patrimony from his father. In Holland he was struck with the great prosperity of the Dutch, and attributed it to their republican government, a kind of civil polity which he warmly extols. He noticed also and denounced the effect of Romanism and of monastic institutions in the countries he visited. In Paris he devoted himself to sight-seeing and amusements, with hearty zest going the round of churches, monasteries, palaces, gardens, museums, and theatres. His temper and life were far enough from asceticism. He went from Paris to Rome, which he left after a sojourn of five months. After various wanderings he at length reached Sweden in 1740. During this and the year following, his "Economy of the Animal Kingdom" was published in Amsterdam; and in 1744—5 the "Animal Kingdom," Parts I. and II. at the Hague, and Part III. in London. These places he visited in the years last named.

One great end of this work was to trace the connection of mind and body, and he was coming more and more to find that "correspondence" between them which his "doctrine of correspondences" enabled him to find every where *ad libitum*, and which led him to look for great results in studying the mind through the body. He made, says his biographer, a "regular study of this ratio between the respiration and the thoughts and emotions; he shows in detail that the two correspond exactly." Swedenborg himself says, "from this summary or plan, the reader may see that the end I propose to myself in the work is a knowledge of the soul, since this knowledge will constitute the crown of my studies. . . . I am, therefore, resolved to allow myself no respite, until I have run through the whole field to the very goal, or until I have traversed the universal animal kingdom to the soul. Thus I hope that by bending my course inward continually, I shall open all the doors that lead to her, and at length contemplate the soul itself by the Divine permission." He again states this design in the fol-

lowing phrase: "I have gone through anatomy with the single end of investigating the soul. It will be a satisfaction to me if my labours be of any use to the anatomical and medical world, but a still greater satisfaction if I afford any light towards the investigation of the soul."

Here we have the key to another false scent in the investigations of this, however great, no less greatly misguided, man. He undertakes to investigate the soul through external observation, zoölogical, physiological, anatomical. Now we undertake to say that this sort of investigation never yet brought to light the first mental fact, or phenomenon. Every such phenomenon is an exercise of consciousness. It can only be learned then by the inspection of consciousness. One might dissect and measure the organs of the body with never so much skill and exactness—what then? This knowledge, however valuable in its own sphere, does not give the first fact of consciousness not otherwise known. It may show that certain corporeal signals accompany these mental phenomena, first and only known through consciousness. This is all it can do. Just here lies the great error of the Phrenologists, in so far as they pretend to construct a science of mind by external observation of bumps, angles, etc. The thing is simply impossible. They cannot learn the first mental exercise which was not already ascertained by the study of consciousness, however they may ascertain any exterior indications which sometimes or usually accompany such phenomena, when otherwise ascertained. It is not inconsistent with the doctrine here laid down, that we gain a knowledge of the mind by the study of history, language, literature, &c. For what are these but the records of those thoughts, and feelings, and actions, which manifest the consciousness of the race? The study of the mind in these is the study of the collective consciousness of mankind. The only rational ground for studying the mind through anatomy and other forms of exterior observation, is the false assumption that the mind and body are in substance one, that either both are body or both mind; in short, that Materialism or Idealism is the true philosophy. This wrong fundamental bias in Swedenborg's thinking and inquiries, will go far to account for the extreme to which he pushed the doctrine of correspondence between the

material and spiritual world, and for the wonderful facility with which he could find any meaning in the phenomena of Nature and the language of Revelation that suited his fancy or taste.

Although at times Swedenborg asserts that body and spirit are radically different from each other, and are separated by discrete degrees so that neither can become the other, yet there is much in the writings of himself and followers which seems to affirm or imply the identification of mind and matter, and to look now towards Idealism, and now towards Materialism. Dr. Pond has fully shown this, as follows, p. 205.

“And what, according to Swedenborg, is the human soul? It is no other than the ‘*nervous or spirituous fluid.*’ ‘This fluid is *the spirit and soul* of its body.’ ‘We may take it for certain, that if this fluid and the soul agree with each other in their predicates, *the fluid must be accepted as the soul.*’* Swedenborg rejects the doctrine ‘of Descartes and others, that *the soul is a substance distinct from the body*, in which it remains as long as the heart beats.’ ‘Every thing of the soul,’ he says, ‘is of the body, and every thing of the body is of the soul.’ ‘The mind is that element of the body which is in first principles,’ &c.†

“These decisions of Swedenborg as to the nature of the soul are accepted by his followers, or at least by some of them. ‘The distinction between mind and matter,’ says Mr. Clissold, ‘lies not *in essence*, but in form.’‡ Mr. Dawson represents it as one of the great uses of Swedenborg’s writings, that ‘they help to break down *the mischievous man-made distinction between spirit and matter.*’§ And Mr. Wilkinson says, ‘We regard body and soul together as *distinctly and inseparably one.*’”||

These works, however, attracted little notice, and soon sank into utter oblivion, from which they have been recently exhumed by his zealous adherents, especially by an admiring

* Economy of the Animal Kingdom, vol. ii., pp. 233, 236.

† See New Church Repository, vol. i., p. 308.

‡ Introduction to Animal Kingdom, p. 54.

§ N. J. Magazine, vol. xx., p. 497.

|| Tracts for the New Times, No. 3, p. 25.

translator and commentator, Mr. Wilkinson. His long series of scientific publications was completed by the publication in 1845, in London, of the "Worship and Love of God." To this, however, his followers attach little value, "as it was probably written as much for an exercise of fancy, as with any serious intent." Here the scientific phase of his life closes. That of an alleged inspired Seer and Revelator begins. Into this let us now look.

In the year 1745, at the age of fifty-seven, at the zenith of his scientific fame and worldly success, an event occurred which gave an entirely new bias to his life. He and his friends appear to have looked upon all his former productions as mere "school-boy exercises," a propædæutic for the august office henceforth assumed by him. And this appears to have been in lieu of far more essential preliminary training. His reading, otherwise extensive, had not touched systematic theology. He had quietly rejected the doctrines of the creeds which go beyond the practice of virtue and piety, as "theoretical and mystical." This by his admirers is set forth as qualifying him for his new office, by leaving his mind unbiassed and impartial. We see in it no higher qualification than so much ignorance and error, disqualifying him to judge between true and pretended or counterfeit communications from heaven. His life, however, and the following rules of life, found in his manuscripts, go to prove him a sincere, upright, and religious man, though they are far from evincing a true knowledge of Christ. These rules were, "1. Often to read and to meditate on the word of the Lord. 2. To submit every thing to the will of Divine providence. 3. To observe in every thing, a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. 4. To discharge with fidelity, the functions of my employment, and the duties of my office, and to render myself, in all things, useful to society."

It deserves mention here, that shortly before the wonderful visions and revelations which Swedenborg supposed to be given him from heaven, and in close connection with the severe mental application involved in the preparation and publication of the works last mentioned, he, while in London, suffered a severe attack of fever, attended with delirium. For this we have not only the testimony of Wesley, but of Hartley, his intimate

friend and follower. If so, it may have left a chronic affection of his nervous system, which will go far to explain the visions of heaven and hell with which his brain appears to have teemed the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. Certainly it will go far, along with a burdened stomach, to explain the following account which he gave of his first vision to a friend who asked him how he knew what was done in heaven and hell.

“I was in London, and one day dined rather late by myself, at a boarding-house, where I kept a room, in which, at pleasure, I could prosecute the study of the natural sciences. I was hungry, and ate with great appetite. At the end of the meal, I remarked that a vapour, as it were, clouded my sight, and the walls of my chamber appeared covered with frightful creeping things, such as serpents, toads, and the like. I was filled with astonishment, but retained the full use of my perception and thoughts. The darkness attained its height, and soon passed away. I then perceived a man sitting in the corner of my chamber. As I thought myself entirely alone, I was greatly terrified; when he spoke and said, ‘Eat not so much.’ The cloud once more came over my sight, and when it passed away, I found myself alone in the chamber. This unexpected event hastened my return home. I did not mention the subject to the people of the house, but reflected upon it much, and believed it to have been the effect of accidental causes, or to have arisen from my physical state at the time. I went home; but in the following night, the same man appeared to me again. He said, ‘I am God, the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to lay before men the spiritual sense of the holy word. I will teach thee what thou art to write.’ On that same night, were opened to my perception the heavens and the hells, where I saw many persons of my acquaintance, of all conditions. From that day forth, I gave up all mere worldly learning, and laboured only in spiritual things, according to what the Lord commanded me to write. Daily he opened the eyes of my spirit to see what was done in the other world, and gave me, in a state of full wakefulness, to converse with angels and spirits.”

“Such,” says Dr. Pond, “is Swedenborg’s account of the manner in which his spiritual senses were opened; of his inter-

views with the Lord Jesus Christ; and of his commission to unfold the hidden sense of the word, and make other important disclosures to men. As to the particular state of his mind while in the spirit, Swedenborg gave no further explanations."

Ever after he proceeds upon the assumption, express or implied, that he is a Prophet or Messenger of God, commissioned and infallibly inspired to reveal his truth and will. He says, "I have been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most graciously manifested himself to me, his servant, in the year 1743 (5?) when he opened my sight to a view of the spiritual world, and granted me the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, which I enjoy to this day. From that time I began to publish and print various arcana that have been seen by me, or revealed to me; as respecting heaven and hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the Word, with many other most important matters conducive to salvation and true wisdom."

Again, in the preface to his "*Arcana Celestia*," he writes, "Of the Lord's divine mercy, it has been granted me now for several years to be constantly and uninterruptedly with spirits and angels, hearing them converse with each other and conversing with them. Hence it has been permitted me to hear and see stupendous things in the other life, which have never before come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered his imagination. I have therefore been instructed concerning different kinds of spirits, and the state of souls after death; concerning hell, or the lamentable state of the unfaithful; concerning heaven, or the most happy state of the faithful; and particularly concerning the doctrine of faith which is acknowledged throughout all heaven."

It is admitted by Swedenborg's adherents that his claim "does appear startling." They must as surely admit that it cannot demand the assent of reasonable and conscientious men, without the most cogent and unanswerable proof, internal or external. As it is not pretended that these claims are supported by miraculous attestation, or by the testimony of other witnesses, (Swedenborg alone having witnessed these visions,) or that his sole testimony would suffice, more than Mahomet's, to vindicate them, unless supported by the internal self-evidence

of his doctrines themselves, it follows that the whole controversy in regard to their truth or falsity is narrowed down to this single question: Do the doctrines propounded by Swedenborg as divine, bear a self-evident divine impress; a stamp of divinity which must be their own attestation to every intelligent and candid mind? And does that mind prove itself perverse and uncandid which cannot, or does not, discern this imprint and self-evident witness of divinity upon them? And to this issue is it reduced by his abettors. They call on us to credit him, "not by any means on account of his own declaration merely, but from *the nature of the truths and statements brought forth by him*, of which our own minds, enlightened, we trust, by reason and God's word, are the judges."* "The Christian has no choice but to acknowledge, or refute Swedenborg's claims on the ground of intrinsic merit."† Here then issue is joined. To this we will soon address ourselves; remarking previously that, in deciding this question, both parties concede the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, except so far as certain books are rejected by the Swedenborgians.

Meanwhile it deserves notice that, after this time, Swedenborg displayed the same fertility in authorship as before, the difference being that afterward his works were occupied with his visions and revelations, the statement and indication of his peculiar religious system. He published what would amount to twenty-seven volumes, octavo, of five hundred pages each. Some twenty of these were occupied in developing his view of the spiritual sense of the Holy Scriptures. He wrote much too without printing, which has obtained a posthumous publication. His most important theological work was his "Arcana Celestia," of which most of his later publications, such as those on "Heaven and Hell," the "Apocalypse," the "New Church," the "Last Judgment," &c., are little more than the fuller development and application. His Diary is also an extended work, illustrating the man and his doctrine. He was simple in his habits of life, almost a vegetarian, wore a garment of reindeer skins in winter, and a study gown in summer. He took snuff, with which many of his manuscripts are soiled. He

* Life and Writings, p 64.

† *Id.*, p. 67.

seldom attended church, finding the worship and doctrines of the existing churches uncongenial. He was seized with apoplexy and partial paralysis on Christmas eve, 1771. He died in London, March 29, 1772, with his mind apparently calm and clear, at the advanced age of eighty-four. His body was deposited in the Swedish church in Prince's Square, according to the rites of the Lutheran church. There it still lies, without visible monument or memorial.

Thus far Swedenborg's life. Next let us consider his doctrines. What are they? And do they bear such an evident Divine impress as to render us inexcusable for not receiving them as the "oracles of God," and their author as his inspired messenger?

1. As underlying all else, let us ascertain Swedenborg's doctrine in regard to the Holy Scriptures. "The assumption then with which Swedenborg starts, is, that the Scripture is in very truth the word of God; that every syllable and expression therein are his; that Moses, David, the prophets and the evangelists, were simply the inspired penmen, who wrote implicitly according to Divine dictation."* This seems indeed to be a sufficiently high and stringent view of the inspiration and plenary authority of the Bible. But it is completely neutralized by other outgivings in the premises. He teaches that the word has "three senses or meanings; first, a celestial sense apprehended by the celestial or highest angels; secondly, a spiritual sense, apprehended by a lower range of angelic minds, the spiritual; and thirdly, a natural sense, with which we are all familiar, written down to the comprehension of the lowest, most worldly and sensual of men, the Jews. These three senses make one by correspondence."† And it is clearly possible by the magic of this alleged "correspondence" to extract whatever meaning one sees fit from the letter of Scripture. Whatever may be the obvious meaning of the words of Scripture, it easily evaporates into some unknown celestial sense by some turn of correspondence. The plain meaning of Scripture is not its highest meaning. This is left in a chameleon-like variableness or incertitude, to be resolved by the *ipse dixit* of a Swedenborg, or whoever else claims to have threaded the

* Life and Writings, p. 80.

† *Id.*, p. 80.

labyrinths of "correspondence," and to have had visions of the celestial world.

It is utterly vain to vindicate this doctrine of "correspondence" on the plea of any supposed analogy to figurative language, or metaphor. Such language, in its legitimate sphere, is just as plain and intelligible as any other, often more vividly accurate than a mere dead, dry literality can be. The human mind is so made as spontaneously to form and to understand such imagery. These Swedenborgian correspondencies, however, are wholly beyond the plane of the normal human faculties, and are quite arbitrary, without rational basis, or intelligible key. How can the Bible be a real message of God to us, if such exegesis as the following be necessary to reach its real meaning. In regard to the account of the ark (1 Samuel v. 6,) Swedenborg says: (See Dr. Pond's book, pp. 66, 67.)

"The Philistines represent those who exalt faith above charity; which was the occasion of their continual wars with the Israelites, who represent those who cherish faith in union with charity. The idol Dagon is the religion of those who are represented by the Philistines. The emerods are symbols of the appetites of the natural man, which, when separated from the spiritual affections, are unclean. The mice, by which the land was devastated, are images of the lust of destroying, by false interpretation, the spiritual nourishment which the church derives from the word of God. The emerods of gold exhibit the natural appetites, as purified and made good. The golden mice signify the healing of the tendency to false interpretation, effected by admitting a regard to goodness. The cows are types of the natural man, in regard to such good qualities as he possesses. Their lowing by the way expresses the repugnance of the natural man to the process of conversion. And the offering them up for a burnt-offering typifies that restoration of order which takes place in the mind, when the natural affections are submitted to the Lord."*

The story of the forty and two children destroyed by bears (2 Kings ii. 24) is thus interpreted. "Elisha represented the Lord, as to the word. Baldness signifies the word, devoid of its literal sense, thus not anything. The number forty-two

* True Christian Religion, § 203.

signifies blasphemy. And bears signify the literal sense of the word, read indeed, but not understood.”* No wonder that the Swedenborgians have found it necessary to publish a “Dictionary of Correspondencies,” which, however, makes confusion worse confounded by its inconsistency with itself and with Swedenborg; that some of their writers maintain that the Bible, in its literal sense is self-contradictory and comparatively useless; and that one of the greatest lights of the New Church, Mr. Tulk, denies that there “has been a single Swedenborgian writer,” who has correctly understood the doctrine of correspondency. Every one, he says, ‘has either dropped all notice of *real* correspondency, and treated it as a system of symbols, or has merely stated the fact of there being an intimate connection between the sign and the thing signified, and left his reader to discover, as well as he could, the reason.’ This same author—who seems to be a leader among the New Church brethren—affirms that *the language of Swedenborg needs to be spiritualized*,—else, he says, we shall be compelled to receive greater mysteries in the New Church theology, than those from which we have escaped in the Old. Pp. 10, 16—37. We honour the frankness of this Mr. Tulk. At the same time, we are anxious to know where this labour of *spiritualizing* is to end. Swedenborg spiritualizes the Scriptures; and Mr. Tulk spiritualizes Swedenborg, and the next improvement will be to spiritualize him.”†

Not only, however, does this process destroy the utility and authority of the Sacred Word as a guide to men; Swedenborg arbitrarily disowns the inspiration of many books of Scripture, and abjures their Divine authority to control our faith and practice. He pronounces the first eleven chapters of Genesis “purely allegorical.” He also excludes the books of Ruth, 1st and 2d Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Epistles of the New Testament from the sphere of inspiration and infallibility. These liberties might just as lawfully be taken with any other books of Scripture. To expunge from the New Testament the Epistles, is to expunge the most doctrinal and didactic part of the Bible, in respect to the distinctive articles of the Christian

* Apocalypse Revealed, § 573.

† Dr. Pond, p. 66.

faith—especially those most unwelcome to Swedenborg. Which comes to us with the brightest radiance of Divinity, Paul, “speaking, not in words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth,” or Swedenborg, telling us that he has not “given them a place in his Arcana Celestia, because they are dogmatic writings merely, and are not written in the style of the Word?” Wherever the writings of the two are compared, ten thousand will recognize a Divine wisdom and truth in the Epistles for one that will see the faintest glimmer of a Divine light in the dark bathos of Swedenborg’s endless discursions. We might safely leave the issue here. Swedenborg abjures the authority of a large part of the Bible, and asserts for himself an infallibility of inspiration, which he denies to Job, Solomon, Paul, Peter, James, and John, in his Epistles. Is not this destroying all foundations? And if the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do? Let us look farther into the particular doctrines of Swedenborg, and we shall see strong reasons why he renounces the authority of those portions of Scripture which most expressly militate against them.

2. We will then consider some of Swedenborg’s teachings concerning the nature and attributes of God. There is much in his utterances that has a pantheistic sound, and looks towards only one life or substance in the universe. Thus he says, “it is evident that the human soul is not life from life, or life in itself, for there is only one single life, and this is God.”*

“The angelic idea concerning the universe created from the Lord, is as follows: that God is the centre, and that he is man, and that unless God was a man, creation would not have been possible, and that the Lord from eternity is that God. Concerning creation, they (the angels) said, that God, by his Divine proceeding, created the universe and all things therein, and since the Divine proceeding is also life itself, that all things were created from life and by life.”† “Life viewed in itself, which is God, cannot create another being who shall be life itself.”‡ “That God is a man, and that the Lord is that

* Divine Attributes, p. 230.

† *Id.* p. 312.

‡ *Id.* p. 43.

man, is manifest from all things which are in the heavens, and which are beneath the heavens.”* Mr. White says, the “treatise on the Divine Love and Wisdom . . . affords a key to the whole philosophy of the New Church, and to a rational understanding of all the writings of Swedenborg . . . The first part sets forth, in the simplest language, the doctrine of the Divine nature. The Lord’s essence is shown to be infinite love, and its manifestation to be infinite wisdom. It is proved that the Divine Love is the only life in the universe, and that in God, ‘all things live, move, and have their being.’ The Lord is also proved to be very and essential man, yet above and independent of all space and time, filling all spaces of the universe without space, and all time without time, and being in the greatest and the least things evermore the same. . . . The end of creation is, that all things may return to their Creator.”† That God is man, and that there is but one life in the universe, and that all things will return to God, this, if not pantheism, is surely pantheistic.

3. Swedenborg denies the Trinity, and insists that the doctrine of three persons means the doctrine of three Gods. This abundantly appears from the chapter on the Trinity, in the work on the “Divine Attributes.” Mr. White thus represents his doctrine: “To conceive of a trinity of Divine *persons* from eternity, is to think of three Gods, and no amount of word-playing and creed-making can prevent the mind from falling into Tritheism, as long as a Trinity of *persons* and not of *essentials* is thought of. A trinity of persons was unknown in the Apostolic Church.” (p. 239). “The doctrine of a trinity of persons in the Divine being, is the keystone of Roman Catholic and Protestant theology. If this doctrine be false, the whole structure totters to its fall. When the faith in three Gods is rejected, then it is possible to receive the true and saving faith, which is, a faith in one God, united with good works.” (*Id.* p. 211). With the Trinity, of course, the whole system of evangelical doctrine and experience falls to the ground, and is accordingly abjured.

4. He claims to have “shown the errors of the existing doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the imputation of

* *Id.* 41.

† Life of Swedenborg, pp. 151—2.

the righteousness or merits of Jesus Christ." (*Id.* p. 204.) "An imputation of the merits and righteousness of Christ is impossible." (p. 251.) "The doctrine of the faith of the present church, ascribes to God human passions and infirmities; as, that he beheld men from anger; that he required to be reconciled; that he is reconciled through the love he bore toward the Son, and by his intercession; that he required to be appeased by the sight of his Son's sufferings, and thus to be brought back to mercy; and that he imputes the righteousness of his Son to an unrighteous man, who supplicates it from faith alone; and that thus from an enemy he makes him a friend, and from a child of wrath a child of grace; all which dogmas are the opposite of truth, and repulsive to every wise man."

"The faith of the present church has produced monstrous births; for instance, instantaneous salvation by an immediate act of mercy; predestination; the notion that God has no respect to the actions of men, but unto faith alone; that there is no connection between charity and faith; that man in conversion is like a stock; with many more heresies of the same kind; likewise concerning the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper, as to the advantages reasonably to be expected from them, when considered according to the doctrine of justification by faith alone; as also with regard to the person of Christ; and that heresies, from the first ages to the present day, have sprung from no other source than from the doctrine founded on the idea of three Divine Persons or Gods." (*Id.* pp. 212—13.)

Although this indignant protest against, and repudiation of, scriptural, evangelical, and catholic truth, is aimed at the caricature which adversaries are wont to make of it, it is none the less an utter abjuration of that truth. The bitterness of Swedenborg's unrelenting antipathy to justification by faith through the merits of Christ is conspicuous throughout his writings. It is none the less pronounced and implacable against regeneration by the immediate agency of the Spirit of God, or even the possibility thereof. He tells us, "if man could be saved by immediate mercy, all would be saved; even the inhabitants of hell, and hell itself would not exist. . . . Man's spirit is substantial; and if formed to evil, to change it would be equivalent to anni-

hilation. . . . Ample experience has taught me that it is impossible to implant the life of heaven in those who have led an opposite life in the world." Is it not enough in answer to all this to point to the conversion of Paul, of the dying thief, the thousands on the day of Pentecost, the myriads who from age to age are born into the kingdom of God? Is any thing too hard for the Lord, and can he not out of the stones raise up children unto Abraham?

5. A cardinal doctrine of Swedenborg was that the last Judgment was already past, having occurred in 1757, when the previous dispensation was terminated by the visions vouchsafed to him, which inaugurated the new and final dispensation. (*Id.* p. 95.) The coming of Christ is not personal. It is in the unveiling of the ideas, the light, the truth of the New Dispensation. The last Judgment separated the good from the evil, the false from the true, the hypocrites who overrun the Reformed churches from sincere Christians. (*Id.* p. 156.)

6. "Angels are men, and live together in society like men on earth, therefore they have garments, houses, and other things similar to those which exist on earth." "In heaven, two married partners are not called two, but one angel." For "there are marriages in heaven as well as on earth." (*Id.* chap. xxii.) Space and Time in heaven are purely subjective. They are without objective reality to the angels. Apparent changes of season and passing of time are only an outward reflex from the changes of the soul within. Greater or less apparent distance in space have no objective reality, they only represent degrees of love. If this be intense, there is nearness to the object loved. If feeble, distance intervenes and increases. (*Life and Writings*, p. 109. *Heaven and Hell*, pp. 104—119.)

7. So Swedenborg himself entered or was present in heaven. "By such changes have I also been conducted by the Lord into the heavens, and likewise to the earths in the universe. I was carried there as to the spirit only, my body meanwhile remaining in the same place. Thus do all the angels journey. Hence they have no distances; and since they have no distances, they have no spaces; but instead of spaces they have states, and their changes, change of place being only change of state, it is evident that approximations are similitudes as to

the state of the interiors, and that removals are dissimilitudes. Hence it is that those are near together who are in a similar state, and those distant who are in a dissimilar state." (*Heaven and Hell*, p. 119.) Here the secret is revealed as to the manner in which Swedenborg passed to and inspected the heavens and "the earths in the universe," and the sources of his strange visions and revelations. What he thinks he saw in all these places, and elsewhere, will go far to decide his assumed infallibility as a seer and revelator.

8. It is a consequence of his doctrine of the impossibility of an immediate transformation of the human soul, that there is an intermediate state between heaven and hell, and between death and glory. He says, "The world of spirits is neither heaven nor hell, but an intermediate place or state between both, into which man enters immediately after death; and then after a certain period, the duration of which is determined by the quality of his life in this world, he is either elevated to heaven or cast into hell. . . . Some only enter it, and are immediately taken up into heaven, or cast down into hell; some remain there a few weeks, and others several years, but none, (since the last Judgment) more than thirty years." (*Life and Doctrines*, p. 122.)

9. As a consequence of renouncing the future judgment and general resurrection, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body evaporates. "Immediately after death, which is only a putting off the natural body never to be resumed, man rises again in a spiritual and substantial body, in which he continues to live to all eternity." (*Liturgy of the New Church in England*.) What sort of a body this is, may appear, if we consider that, in the Swedenborgian theology, heaven is a state and not a place.

10. "The whole Heaven in one complex resembles one divine man," otherwise called the GRAND MAN. "Every society in the heavens resembles one man . . . therefore every angel is a perfect human form." "The angels likewise know in what member one society is, and in what another; and they say, that one society is in the member or some province of the head, another in the member or some province of the breast, another in the member or some province of the loins; and so on. In general,

the highest or third heaven forms the head down to the neck; the middle or second heaven forms the breast down to the loins and knees; the ultimate or first heaven forms the legs and feet down to the soles, and also the arms down to the fingers,—for the arms and hands are ultimates of man, although at the sides. Hence it is further evident why there are three heavens.”* Let who will see a divine impress on this, we confess we only discern in it the offspring of a distempered or phrenzied fancy. Hell also is pronounced to be one man.†

11. Swedenborg is quite as wide of infallible truth in his visions of and intercourse with Paul, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, the Synod of Dort, and the Moravians, in the other world. He represents them as debased and unhappy, either in the intermediate state or in hell. Is it to be expected that the Christian world can see in such representations the stamp of Divine inspiration? Those who wish to look further into Swedenborg’s defamatory accounts of these great lights of the church, may consult Dr. Pond’s book, chap. vii. *Instar omnium*, look at the following account of the Apostle Paul by Swedenborg.

“Paul is among the worst of the apostles, as has been made known to me by ample experience. The love of self, whereby he was ensnared before he preached the gospel, remained with him afterwards. He did all things from the end of being greatest in heaven, and of judging the tribes of Israel. He is such that the rest of the apostles, in the other life, reject him from their company, and no longer recognize him as one of themselves. He associates himself with one of the worst devils, who would fain rule all things, and pledged himself to this spirit to obtain for him his end.” Speaking of Paul in another place, Swedenborg says: “He now associated himself with the worst devils, and wished to form a heaven to himself of spirits, to whom he might give joys from himself. This also he attempted, but he became worse in consequence of it, and was cast down. I then spoke to him that this was not heaven, but hell; for such a heaven is turned into a black hell.”

In a like summary manner, he claims to have seen the departed of all grades, kings, preachers, and others in heaven,

* Heaven and Hell, pp. 42—52.

† Life and Doctrine, p. 127.

hell, or the intermediate state—very much, we apprehend, according to his preconceptions and, especially, his likes and dislikes of their character.

But Swedenborg, so he assures us, saw not only through heaven and hell, but what he calls “earth of the universe,” *i. e.*, the planets of the solar system. He found them inhabited, conversed freely with their inhabitants, and has given the most strange and ridiculous accounts of the occupants of each of them. He, however, greatly compromises his claim to infallible inspiration in some of his dicta concerning them, which are in utter contradiction of the known truths of science. He insists that Saturn is the most distant of the planets from the sun. Moreover, he appears to have found no inhabitants outside of the planets which were then known to science. Says Mr. White, “Swedenborg tells us that lunarians are dwarfs, like boys of seven years old, with robust bodies and pleasant countenances; they do not speak from their lungs, on account of the attenuated state of the atmosphere, but from a quantity of air collected in the abdomen.” (*Life and Writings*, p. 133.) After this, it is scarcely necessary to quote what he says of the inhabitants of other planets, all of which has a verisimilitude and convictive force about equal to this. But it is not out of place to see how his followers parry the objection to Swedenborg’s inspiration, arising from his great and undeniable error in regard to the relative distance of Saturn from the sun. Mr. White says, (*Id.*, p. 134,) “We reply, that it would have been disorderly for him to have become possessed of such knowledge by spiritual means. But how so? Because it would have compelled belief in the spiritual doctrines so taught, without due thought and examination, as soon as science had established the existence of these orbs; because miracles and prophecy are not permitted in these times, for they force and destroy human freedom. . . . Belief so induced would be worthless, because compelled. It may be said that this is mere special pleading, but it is not so.”

Perhaps this is ingenious. But it will hardly serve its purpose. If we were to grant that it shows good reason why Swedenborg’s revelations should not be attested by miracle, it shows no good reason why he should claim, as an inspired seer

and revelator, to see and reveal as true what is now proved and conceded to be false. He is here proved to have been a false witness, either deceived or a deceiver. How then can he demand our assent, on his mere *ipse dixit*, to alleged facts, which there are no means, no possibility of proving or disproving, beyond his own testimony? We do not mean it in any reproachful sense, or as impeaching Swedenborg's honesty or intended veracity, when we apply the legal maxim, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*. We mean simply, that having proved himself an incompetent and unreliable witness here, he is no more entitled to credit elsewhere, his ways and means of knowledge being alike abnormal and preternatural, and incapable of disproof or attestation from other sources.

But it has been said that the Scriptures are in a like predicament. Things are there declared, which modern science has proved false. To this we oppose a categorical denial. The Scriptures may state phenomena in the common language employed by men to denote those phenomena, which may sometimes be figurative or descriptive of appearances, without assuming to enunciate the scientific form of the truth which underlies those phenomena. As we say the shore recedes, to indicate the increasing distance between it and the boat moving away from it, so the Bible may use the common language of our race, and say the sun rises, to indicate the increasing distance between it and the horizon. But the Scriptures assert no falsehood or error. Whatever they declare to be a fact, rightly understood, in the real sense and intended application of the language, is true. Moreover, the Sacred Word does not teach truth in scientific form, although what it teaches is evermore the truth. Not so in regard to this error of Swedenborg. He was a man of science, accustomed to write upon science, and to state things scientifically. He in this case professed to state a truth of science, as related to other truths of science, not to be stating appearances or using metaphors merely, but to be stating a naked scientific truth, reached by the same preternatural vision by which he discovered all else he undertakes to reveal. He was mistaken in the very region and way of knowledge in which he professed to be infallibly inspired. What then becomes of this infallibility?

Nor is the reason here offered, and so often offered by Swedenborg and his followers, against the propriety of miraculous attestation of such revelations, at all more valid, viz., that they compel belief and destroy man's freedom. For,

1. It is not true that they have this effect. Doubtless miracles, in proportion to the greatness of the Divine power manifest in them, do exercise a powerful convictive force. They furnish evidence fitted to extort the outcry, "this is the finger of God." Yet this evidence may be resisted, and ever has been resisted by vast numbers, who evade their convictive power by attributing them to jugglery, evil spirits, to illusions of the senses or the soul; to subjective impressions substituted for objective realities; or to some occult working and unusual freak of the laws of nature themselves. This was so with regard to the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, as well as those wrought by our Saviour and his apostles. Indeed, our Saviour teaches that the same spirit which will resist the self-evidence of divinity in the word, will resist that of miracles. "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one arose from the dead."

2. Not only is this so, but we are abundantly taught in the Scripture, that there are "lying wonders," counterfeit miracles, and charged to beware of false prophets, who shall come with "signs and wonders that would deceive, if possible, the very elect." We are, therefore, required to test the miracle by the doctrine as well as the doctrine by the miracle. As evil spirits may be permitted to simulate Divine miracles, even as they affect to be ministers of righteousness and angels of light, so it is necessary that every criterion of Divine inspiration be furnished by those who claim to speak as they are moved by the Holy Ghost, to distinguish the genuine message of God from its counterfeits. Mere wonders, apparently preternatural, cannot prove immoralities, or the contrary, of the religion given us from heaven. On the other hand, God has seen fit to attest the original delivery of his communications to men, not only by self-evidence of Divine origin, but by God-wrought wonders in the sensible world, such as can be imitated neither by man nor devil. When he gives a new revelation to men, which he commands them to believe, he authenticates it

by both these forms of attestation, external and internal, and makes them, moreover, mutual tests of each other. He requires us to test the miracle-monger, attempting to palm off false doctrine by counterfeit miracles, and to repudiate him if he undertakes to turn us away from the true religion. Deut. xiii. 1—5. Wonders wrought for such a purpose are not from above, but from beneath. It is to be observed further, that when God vouchsafes miraculous attestations of his revelation, they include some, like the drying of the rivers, the stopping of the sun, the resurrection of the dead after putrefaction has begun, which no evil spirit was ever able to simulate, and which show the finger of God beyond a peradventure. Yet even this evidence may be withstood by perverse minds, as the whole Old and New Testament histories abundantly show. It depends on the moral state or disposition of men, how far they accept moral or religious truths, however attested. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness." This moral element upon which faith depends, or which is requisite to the due appreciation of the evidence of moral and religious truth, is what distinguishes faith or belief from apodictic judgments. These are necessary, and must be accepted by every rational mind that apprehends them, and the evidence of them. Man has no option about receiving an axiom or proposition in geometry. He cannot help it. Hence, to speak of *believing* the propositions of geometry, is a solecism. But he has some option about admitting or rejecting moral and religious truths. With this the heart or will has something to do. Hence the acceptance of them is called belief or faith, and is a proper subject of command and penalty. Their rejection is unbelief. To reject the proposition that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, is not unbelief. It is insanity or idiocy.

3. Furthermore, if Swedenborg's argument against miraculous attestations of his own alleged revelations is valid, then they are good against the propriety of the scriptural miracles, and consequently, against the Scriptures themselves. This proves too much. We conclude, therefore, that there is no weight in his attempted vindication of his failure to support his alleged claims by miracles unquestionably God-wrought,

and that this attempt implies an absolute misconception of their nature, objects, and efficacy. We are, however, very ready to let his alleged revelations be judged of in themselves, and aside of all questions about miracles. We are willing to leave it to our readers to judge, whether the doctrines and sayings of his we have brought to view, are "of heaven or of men." The answer must be what all but the merest fragment of men has ever given. Is it credible that God should have superseded the Christian dispensation over a century ago, by a system so destructive and revolutionary, in regard to the received canon and doctrines of Scripture, and left the new revelation with an attestation which, in the whole of the most enlightened and progressive century in history, has been able to gather only a very few organized Associations or New Jerusalem Churches in all christendom, and all the globe?

A great problem here presents itself, which ought not to be passed by in any general estimate of Swedenborg and his system. How are we to account for pretensions to direct intercourse with and revelations from God, to visions of heaven, hell, and of other worlds and their inhabitants; to be the God-commissioned founder of a new dispensation and new church, involving the destruction and passing away of the church founded by Christ and his apostles, the rejection of a large portion of the received Scriptures, and of the great body of Christian doctrine?

Two hypotheses only are possible. One, that he was an impostor, putting forth claims and pretensions which he knew to be groundless—deceiving others, but not deceived himself. The other is, that he was honest and sincere, really believing what he uttered, deceived himself, but not intentionally deceiving others, mistaking his own subjective states, fancies, imaginations, for objective realities. For ourselves, we have no hesitation, with our present light, in rejecting the former and embracing the latter alternative. We consider his whole life as evincing apparent simplicity, probity, and earnestness. Moreover, his scientific eminence, his taste for philosophy and letters, his social position, everything, militates against the idea of his being a conscious impostor. As a matter of taste, aside of higher considerations, the very idea must have

been revolting to him. While this is so, we think all the phenomena in his case can be accounted for on the other hypothesis. We do not doubt that he seemed to himself to behold all that he declares he beheld in heaven, earth, hell, and the planets. But the whole explanation is, that his own inward imaginations, fancies, dreams, became objectized, through abnormal conditions of his nervous system, and of the mutual interaction of mind and body. Such conditions, resulting in such phenomena, and commonly involving a partial, or total, or monomaniac derangement, temporary or permanent, often occur. It is among the most familiar facts of psychology and physiology, that in certain states of the brain, images formed by the imagination appear objective, while most or all the other functions of the mind remain unimpaired and undisturbed. Sometimes the illusion is, and sometimes it is not, understood by the subject of it. Sometimes it is transient as the cause producing it, sometimes persistent and lasting. The books are full of well-attested cases of this kind of hallucination, arising from febrile delirium, from sudden concussion or other lesion of the brain, from excessive anxiety, study, or other drafts upon nervous energy; and especially from protracted and intense application of the mind to some single topic, or line of topics, in which case the apparitions or visions are very apt to be in the same line, or a natural development of it. And it may be due to a combination of these causes. It may exist, too, in all forms, degrees, proportions, combinations, with all degrees of strength, duration, persistency; begetting monomania, or a more extended and pervading derangement of the faculties. The followers of Swedenborg may indeed reluctate against any such hypothesis in regard to a person of his eminent powers and attainments, who showed such intellectual vigor and activity during the whole period when he is supposed to have been subject to this partial eclipse or hallucination. But such minds have no immunity from such visitations; especially if they have long overtaxed themselves in some pet specialty or one-sided theory. We all have a fugitive experience of unrealities of imagination turned into apparent realities, in dreams. And examples enough occur of persons, in every grade or sphere of life, being in a continuous and life-

long dream on one or more subjects. Without repeating the celebrated case of Nicolai, the German bookseller and man of letters, who found himself troubled with apparitions of persons apparently talking together, which he at first knew to be unreal, but at length became scarcely able to distinguish from realities, and of which he was at length relieved by resorting to a periodical blood-letting, which he had that year inadvertently omitted; or others analogous, which abound in works on mental distempers, we will bring before our readers a case comparatively recent, near, and attested by competent witnesses still living. We refer to the Rev. Daniel Haskell, formerly President of the University of Vermont.* While in this office he was attacked with inflammatory rheumatism, on recovering from which, he was wont to say that "everything looked strange." As he recovered from his disease, his mental disturbance developed into decided and incurable derangement. Prof. Hough says that he regards Mr. Haskell as having "possessed a mind characterized by clear and discriminating views, and uncommon depth of reflection and solidity of judgment. . . . My impression has always been, that it (his monomania) was the result of metaphysical investigations, and particularly of an earnest attention to Berkeley's ideal theory." However this may be, his case is thus graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Cox, who was his pastor during several of the last years of his life.

"Of his antecedents I had occasionally and frequently heard, and with ever-increasing interest. That he was a man of great strength and soundness of mind, with a single exception, of which I shall speak presently; that his liberal attainments in science, literature, general reading, and well-digested thought, with correct and extensive theological erudition, were exemplary and distinguished; and that he was a person of deep and genuine piety, consistent and practical, as well as beneficent and useful, in the whole tenor of his life and actions; I may rationally and sincerely affirm, as better witnesses in multitudes could, without me, fully establish. He was a profound mathematician and astronomer; and occupied much of his leisure

* See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. ii., p. 526.

time, in the almost twelve years that I was his pastor, as well as before, in exploring the wonders of that magnificent science; in preparing and manufacturing globes, planetariums, instruments, and learned helps, for its prosecution; and in reading and studying history, chronology, antiquities, and other learned matters; always engaged, and seeming to abhor idleness or a life inane and useless. His manners ever seemed gentle and obliging. His words were few, his conversation rather reserved. He seemed to court solitude rather than society; though he came sometimes steadily to attend public worship, for months and years together; yet now and then with intervals, professing indeed an attachment to the person and the ministry of his pastor. In all this his affectionate family and friends rejoiced, and did what they could to continue the practice. The reason of his absence, sometimes for months, I am now to state.

“He was, like Cowper, whom in several respects I often thought he resembled, a confirmed monomaniac, even to his death. How it seemed to be induced I would not now inquire. I suppose its proximate cause was physical and cerebral derangement; and that its operation became religious, as in the case of Cowper, incidentally; though exasperated often by intense application to study, profound and anxious thought, and perhaps some mistaken views of Christian doctrine; at least in the way of making himself an exceptional monad, in no wise related to the ordinary truths and promises of the gospel. Perhaps some metaphysical perversions of the gospel, modifying his views insidiously, in some degree, induced the malady.

“The form of it, so far as I can now command it, was in effect this. He thought he was dead since some definite epoch gone by; that he was no longer a prisoner of hope or a probationer for eternity; that it was in some other world, not this, he formerly lived; that he was there a rebel, selfish, disobedient, antagonistic to his God; and that hence God had removed him into another state, where he was then remaining, although it was a wonder and a mystery! Hence he would not pray, no, never. It were wickedness and impiety for him to attempt it. This was exactly like Cowper,—as old Mr. Bull, at Newport Pagnell, son to him who was the friend of Cowper and Newton, at

•

Olney, I recollect, graphically told me, in September, 1846. He well remembered Cowper.

“Sometimes Mr. Haskell could be made to forget his mania, when interested in an object or topic of conversation. But one reference to it, or recollection of it by himself, supervened only to restore his melancholy consistency; as the solemn contraction of his countenance always evinced. Once in conversation it suddenly thundered, after a very vivid flash of lightning; interrupting the course of thought and speech. As he was full of cheerful interchange of remark, and so abruptly stopped in it, one of the company inquired of him—if that was not very much like real thunder and lightning. The absurdity struck him, and produced an involuntary smile,—saying, ‘It seems very like what I remember in that world where I once was.’

“His mania was quite incurable. It was indeed the most perfect illustration of monomania, or insanity on one point only, that I ever knew. On all other subjects, especially when he forgot, he was sane, sensible, learned, instructive, and engaging.” •

The main points illustrated and confirmed by this remarkable and melancholy case, bearing on our present inquiry, are, 1. The possibility of a superior mind coming under the illusion that it abides in another world or state, while still in the body here. 2. The possibility of being at the same time free from all other mental derangement, and able to prosecute scientific and literary labours with success, and to prepare important publications for the press. 3. That this illusion, with all the sad religious despair implicated with it, was persistent and incurable, except during transient lucid intervals. While the differences between this case and Swedenborg’s were great in regard to the scope and extent of his illusion, yet as to its reality and persistency, while his high faculties were unimpaired in other respects, in regard to being present in other worlds and states of existence, there is an essential oneness. The differences so far as our present discussion is concerned, are immaterial. We proceed now to state some reasons for the belief, that Swedenborg was under the sort of illusion in question, when he conceived himself soaring through other worlds,

•

and in converse with their inhabitants, as an inspired Seer and Revelator.

1. The circumstances under which, according to Swedenborg's account, these visions commenced, all favour this hypothesis. It will be recollected that his first vision was consequent on a heavy meal taken with a ravenous appetite—a kind of appetite which we know is apt to supervene upon recovery from fever. Be this as it may, his whole account of the occurrence indicates distempered mental action, arising from physical disturbance of the cerebral, nervous, and digestive action. “At the end of the meal, I remarked that a vapor, as it were, clouded my sight, and the walls of my chamber appeared covered with frightful creeping things, such as serpents, toads, and the like. I was filled with astonishment, but retained the full use of my perceptions and thoughts.” As our readers will remember, he then perceived a man in his chamber, and was greatly terrified on hearing him say, “Eat not so much.” “On the following day the same man appeared to me again, and said, “I am the Lord,” &c. We do not think it necessary to argue the fair interpretation of this with any who have observed psychological phenomena in such circumstances, or to ask whether it arose from a morbid state of the brain, or was a divine epiphany. His intense study, for a long time previous, of “anatomy with the single end of investigating the soul,” and of “the origin of the earth, the birth, infancy, and love, of Adam, and of the soul in its state of integrity in the image of God,” in his book entitled the Love and Worship of God, culminating in delirious fever, which involved the brain, all go to support this hypothesis. Dr. Pond collects many opinions of his “contemporaries, that he was a *mentally disordered man*. Such was the opinion of Mr. Wesley; an opinion formed, not from hostility to Swedenborg, nor from any prejudice against him; for originally his prejudices were strong in his favour. “I sat down,” says he, “to day to read, and seriously to consider, some of the writings of Baron Swedenborg. I began with *huge prejudices in his favour*, knowing him to be a pious man, one of a strong understanding, of much learning, and one who thoroughly believed himself. But I could not hold out long. Any one of his visions puts his real

character out of doubt. He is one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining *madmen* that ever sat pen to paper. But his waking dreams are so wild, so far remote both from Scripture and common sense, that one might as easily swallow the stories of Tom Thumb, or of Jack the Giant-killer."

Again, Mr. Wesley says, "In travelling this week, I looked over Baron Swedenborg's account of heaven and hell. He was a man of piety, of a strong understanding, and a most lively imagination. But he had a violent fever when he was about fifty-five years old, *which quite overturned his understanding. Nor did he ever recover it, but it continued 'majestic, though in ruins.'* From that time he was exactly in the state of that man at Argos,

'Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
In vacuo lactus sessor, plausorq; theatro.'"

And this seems to have been the opinion widely entertained in England at that time, by those who knew anything of Swedenborg, and were not the receivers of his doctrines.

The same opinion also prevailed extensively in Swedenborg's own country. At Dr. Beyer's first interview with him at Gottenberg, he entertained, he says, "the same sentiments with many others in that country, with respect to his being a *madman*."

As this is a matter of great moment to the true solution of the problem of Swedenborg's visions and revelations, we give some further proofs drawn by Dr. Pond from Swedenborg's statements regarding himself. One of these is as follows. "I was once seized suddenly with a disease that seemed to threaten my life. My whole head was oppressed with pain. A pestilential smoke was let in from the great city called Sodom and Egypt. Rev. xi. 8. Half dead with severe anguish, I expected every moment to be my last. Thus I lay in my bed for the space of three days and a half. My spirit was reduced to this state, and in consequence thereof, my body. Then I heard about me the voices of persons, saying, 'Lo, he lies dead in the street of our city, who preached repentance for the remission of sins.' And they asked several of the clergy

whether he was worthy of burial, and they answered, 'No; let him lie to be made a spectacle of;' and they passed to and fro and mocked."

He speaks elsewhere of the *changes* in the state of his brain. "Immediately on this, I was made sensible of a remarkable *change* in the brain, and of a powerful operation thence proceeding."

As a fuller confirmation of this view of his distempered psychologico-nervous states, in which subjective impressions are transformed into veritable objective living beings, the manner in which he habitually attributes disease to evil spirits, speaks for itself, and needs no comments. Or, if it be insisted that he was really actuated by evil spirits, this agency will account for his delusions.

"Evil spirits," says he, "have been often, and for a long time, applied to me; and according to their presence, they induced pains, and also diseases." Under the influence of some, "I was seized with heaviness, with pain, with disease, which ceased in a moment, as soon as the spirits were expelled." Other spirits "infuse *unclean colds*, as are those of a cold fever, which also it was given me to know by repeated experience. The same spirits likewise cause *swoonings*." "Other spirits, when allowed to flow into the body, induce pain in *the teeth*; and upon their nearest presence, so severe, that I could not endure it. And so far as they were removed, the pain ceased; which was shown me repeatedly, that no doubt might remain."* Other spirits, when they are present, "induce great pain by weariness, which they inwardly increase even to the highest degree of impatience, inducing such infirmity in the mind, and thence in the body, that the man can scarce raise himself from the bed." "There have been spirits with me, who induced such a heaviness in the stomach, that I seemed to myself scarce able to live. The heaviness was so great, that with others it would have occasioned fainting; but

* Mr. Robsam says in his Memoir, "I once visited Swedenborg, when he complained of a grievous toothache, which he had endured many days. I recommended some common remedy, but he refused to use it, saying, 'My pain proceeds, not from the nerve of the tooth, but from the influx of hypochondritical spirits which beset me, and cause this plague.'" *Hobart's Life*, p. 216.

the spirits were removed, and it then instantly ceased." "On a time, I perceived somewhat of anxiety in the lower part of the stomach, from which it was made manifest to me that such evil spirits were present. I spoke with them, saying, that it was better they should retire." This class of demons seem to have annoyed Swedenborg not a little, as they frequently do other men of studious and sedentary habits. Speaking of them again, he says, "There are certain spirits that are not joined to hell, as being newly departed from the body, which delight in things undigested, such as meat corrupted in the stomach; and they hold their confabulations in such sinks of uncleanness in man, as are suitable to their impure affections."

2. Swedenborg's visions are in the line of his previous studies and speculations, and are but a natural outgrowth from them. As all psychologically distempered persons who think they are lifted up to the heavenly world have visions and give accounts of it, which are essentially the embodiment of their own preconceptions of what that world is, so Swedenborg's visions and revelations are very largely the reproduction and expansion of the views, theories, and doctrines he had previously cherished—even from his childish days. (See *Life and Doctrine*, p. 23, before quoted.) His standards of truth and excellence, before and after his illumination, are essentially the same. Heaven is to him all aglow with the pleasures of 'conjugal' love, a subject on which his own mind was ever excited after his great disappointment. It has often been remarked, as Ralph Waldo Emerson says, "that all the souls with whom Swedenborg held converse, talked Swedenborgese." In reply, says Mr. White, "We would ask, how could they speak in any other way? Swedenborg did not profess to be a mimic; and if Cicero, or anybody else, spoke with him in the spiritual world, and in the spiritual language, Swedenborg, in translating the speech into his own simple diction, would, of course, seize the substance and care nothing for the form. That the language was not Cicero's might be true; but if the ideas were, what matter?" (*Life and Doctrine*, p. 75.) What certainty have we as to the ideas without the language? It is virtually conceded here, that whatever Swedenborg has reported to us, took its form and hue and vesture from his own mind. And this accords with that absolute sub-

jectivity which we have before seen, Swedenborg attributes to the heavenly world, and what pertains to it. Time and space, and objective realities in them, have no place there. Mr. White quotes from Swedenborg a curious instance of the way in which his angels contrive to render the annihilation of space and time subserve the annihilation of other facts. He wrote in an autobiographical letter to a friend, "I was born in the year 1689," when in truth he was born in the year 1688, and said in explanation, "Now, when I put the true year into that letter, an angel present told me to write the year 1689, as much more suitable to myself than the other; 'and you observe,' added the angel, 'that with us time and space are nothing.'" (*Life and Writings*, p. 229.) Indeed we have already seen, that Swedenborg considered his presence in heaven to consist in that congeniality of spirit which makes him at one with it. He himself, as quoted by Dr. Pond, (p. 232) says, "The spirits which attend a man are such as are in agreement with his affections and thoughts. Hence did he openly converse with them, they would only confirm him in his existing state of mind, and add their testimony to the truth of all his falses, and the good of all his evils. Enthusiasts would thus be confirmed in their enthusiasm, and fanatics in their fanaticism." Swedenborg represents his intercourse with the dead as limited by previous acquaintance. Mr. White (p. 90) quotes him as saying, in answer to the question by the Queen of Sweden, "whether he could speak with every one deceased, or only with certain persons?" "I cannot converse with all, but only with such as I have known in this world, with all royal and princely persons, with all renowned heroes, or great and learned men, whom I have well known either personally, or from their actions or writings; consequently with all of whom I could form an idea; for it may be supposed that a person whom I never knew, and of whom I could form no idea, I neither could or would wish to speak with." Just so. Unless divinely inspired, his visions and revelations must be bounded by the horizon of his antecedent ideas and knowledge.

3. Some of Swedenborg's followers recognize an analogy or resemblance between the state he was in, and that abnormal condition known as clairvoyance or mesmerism, also between

the supposed psychological exercises and nervous states involved in each. In regard to his statement, "My respiration has been so formed by the Lord, as to enable me to breathe inwardly for a long period of time, without the aid of external air. . . . I have also been instructed that my breathing was so directed without my being aware of it, in order to enable me to be with spirits, and to speak with them." Mr. White says: "Those who have studied mesmerism and clairvoyance know many facts that confirm and illustrate this position of Swedenborg's with regard to respiration; and it is quite evident that the Hindoo Yogi are capable of a similar state." The difference between the two, however, Mr. White claims, is, that the powers of the former are natural and continuous, of the latter only occasional, and often artificially induced. So Professor Bush said, as quoted by Dr. Pond (p. 215) in reference to an account given by Swedenborg of certain somnambulistic experiences he had suffered: "The state here described is so strikingly analogous to mesmerism, that it can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an actual development of the interior condition brought about by that mysterious agency." But it is due to Swedenborg to say, that he appears to have understood, better than common spirit-rappers, the value to be put upon these real or supposed communications from the spirits of the dead. Its consistency with his general tone in regard to such communications with the spirits of the departed, and with his whole scheme, it does not devolve on us to show. But we know nothing truer than the following. "When spirits begin to speak with man, care should be taken not to believe them; for almost everything they say is made up by them, and they lie; so if it were permitted them to relate what heaven is, and what things are in heaven, they would tell so many falsehoods, and with such strong assertion, that man would be astonished. Wherefore it was not permitted me, when spirits were speaking, to have any faith in what they stated." (*Id.* p. 69.) We think Swedenborg and his followers would have been wiser, if he had more rigidly kept within the permitted limits.

Indeed, this whole matter of intercourse with the spirits of the departed, consulting them, or ghosts or spirits of any sort from the invisible world, save God, the Infinite Spirit, in prayer

and in his word, is utterly forbidden and condemned in Scripture. And not only so, all preternatural operations and visitations not according to God's word are lying wonders of the devil and his angels. "When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? (*i. e.*, why seek unto the dead in behalf of, or concerning the living?) To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." (Isa. viii. 19, 20.) We have no doubt that whatever of modern spiritualism is not accounted for by sleight of hand, distempered nervous and mental states, and other natural causes, are among the lying wonders of Satan, accomplishing their object upon those who are "given over to a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." Nor do we put any higher estimate upon Swedenborg's intercourse with the dead, or any of his really preternatural revelations, if any such there were. The Spiritualists, no less than Swedenborg, claim to have ushered in a New Dispensation, and this by the mouth of eminent judges and scientists, ensnared by the delusion. Says Judge Edmonds: "As under the Mosaic dispensation mankind were taught the existence of God, rather than the thousand gods with mortal attributes then worshipped; and under the Christian dispensation they were taught the immortality of the soul and its existence for ever, so now under this new dispensation it is being revealed to them, for the first time, what that state of existence is, and how in this life they may well and wisely prepare to enter upon it." Dr. Hare exclaims, "Praise be to God that has sent us this new way of religious light."*

4. Some of Swedenborg's personal peculiarities in his private habits strongly indicate mental aberration. Mr. White tells us, "Shearsmith gives the same account of his habits of sleep as his gardener at Stockholm. He had no regard for times and seasons, days or nights, only taking rest as he felt disposed. This was naturally to be expected, considering the peculiarities of his seer-ship. At first, Shearsmith was greatly alarmed by reason of his talking day and night. Sometimes

* Quoted in McDonald's *Spiritualism*, p. 27.

he would be writing, and then he would be, as it were, holding a conversation with several persons. (p. 260.) His house-servants said that their master often spoke aloud when evil spirits were with him, which they could easily hear, their room being adjoining. When asked what caused his disturbance in the night, he answered that it had been permitted evil spirits to blaspheme, and that he had spoken against them zealously. . . . Once it was remarkable, that after such a state, he went to bed and did not rise for several days and nights. This gave his domestics much uneasiness.' At last he awoke, and said he had been very well. Similar authentic accounts are given of his strange ways on shipboard and elsewhere." (p. 180.) Such is our theory of the visions and revelations on which the so-called New Church is founded.

These considerations are not at all neutralized in view of Swedenborg's great intellect. This, as we have already seen, is no security against the greatest eccentricities and abnormities, nor against mania and monomania. "Vanity is the infirmity of noble minds," and no vice is more apt to seize the very citadel of the soul, and make all its faculties, however great, its abject tools. Who has not seen most painful illustrations of this? How are our madhouses tenanted by those who conceive themselves kings, emperors, presidents, prophets, apostles, and in some cases, even Christ himself? Swedenborg seems never to have had a doubt of his high and holy office, as founder of a new dispensation, or of his perfect fitness for it. All his high faculties were not destroyed, but enslaved to this supreme idea and overbearing passion.

But one question remains. Why are the followers of Swedenborg so largely composed of intelligent and cultivated people?

1. Swedenborg's writings, as a whole, are unintelligible—abracadabra—to any other. If received at all, they must be so by the intelligent and educated, and even by these only after long and hard study. If received by others, it must be at second-hand from these, not directly from any personal understanding of these writings. In this respect they differ from the teachings of Him who ordained that, to the "poor the gospel shall be preached," and whom "the common people

heard gladly." It is one criterion of a genuine gospel, and a genuine preaching of it, that it is fitted to take hold of the common mind, not exclusively indeed, but preëminently. Not many mighty, not many noble are called.

2. But an inestimably small fragment of the intelligent portion of religious people have accepted the doctrines of Swedenborg. And there is no guarantee in general intelligence and refinement against the admission of great errors on religious subjects, especially if these errors be congenial to the natural tastes and predilections of the receivers. This must be conceded by religionists of every grade, and on any religious theory whatever.

3. The little volume, by "a Layman," evidently the product of a mind of refined culture, shows how Swedenborg's doctrine of correspondence has a singular fascination for cultivated minds in a certain state. There are many who cannot, and desire not, to evade the evidence of the authenticity, genuineness, and plenary inspiration of some, or all, the books of Scripture, but who disrelish, or find difficulties in the literal or obvious meaning of more or less of their contents. This doctrine of "correspondence" gives an interior spiritual meaning, far more momentous than the literal, and escapes, or offers a way of escaping, all that is perplexing or unwelcome in the latter. Now, whether or not we couple with this Swedenborg's entire rejection of the New Testament Epistles and several books of the Old Testament, in either case the meaning of the Bible can be accommodated to the most fastidious sentimentalism, and the most sturdy rationalism. Says "Layman," "If they (the Scriptures) are to be regarded as the works of God and plenarily inspired, then the errors, inconsistencies, and weaknesses are evidence against their credibility. But if we adopt the theory, that the works are inspired, and contain a deeper meaning than has yet been found; if we suppose that the errors and inconsistencies are apparent rather than real, . . . our doubts will disappear, and we may satisfy the unbeliever himself that his objections are not against the Scriptures, but against the false notions of them entertained by men." (pp. 51—2.) This is the main principle developed with much

ability, taste, and rhetorical skill, in this daintily printed volume—a fit emblem of its neatness of style.

4. We will only add, that, besides providing for the rejection of the great doctrines of Scripture, as accepted by Christendom, this system does not, like common Unitarianism, end in mere negations. It opens, through the medium of "correspondence," a boundless interior spiritual sense, to occupy the intellect and engage the affections. The study of this supposed correspondence, and threading its interior meaning, affords unlimited scope for the play of imagination and the flights of speculation. It may therefore possess an extraordinary fascination for imaginative, speculative, contemplative minds. Says Judge Parsons, the most eminent lay-advocate of Swedenborgianism known to us, in reference to the explanations of the meaning of Scripture thus evolved: "The exceeding beauty of many of these explanations delights the imagination. The profound moral significance thus given to many texts which in the letter 'profit nothing,' touches every heart that has any religious tendency; the emotion of surprise and the charm of entire novelty makes these explanations yet more attractive."* Here we see what, added to its rationalism, gives this system a charm for many imaginative and speculative minds; especially if infected with a disrelish for evangelical truth, and catholic doctrine. This field of "correspondence" between the material and spiritual, the literal and the metaphorical, is boundless and alluring. Here the imagination can roam and luxuriate at pleasure. And what gives it all the greater charm and power, is the substratum of real truth of which it is a lawless exaggeration and distortion. Half-truths perverted and misapplied are the most powerful and seductive forms of error. It is true that there is, within certain limits, a correspondence between the material and spiritual world, whereby the former is typical and emblematic of the latter. This fact underlies not only figurative language, but even language itself, as applied to spiritual phenomena, which is originally borrowed from analogous sensuous phenomena. This is true of the very word, spirit, itself. And it is also true, that the tracing of these types and

* Quoted by "Layman," p. 90.

correspondencies is among the most fascinating occupations of the mind. It has all the charm of poetry. On this the parables, figures, and metaphors of Scripture are founded. But these, except in prophetic imagery, which must receive a part of its interpretation in its fulfilment, readily speak their own meaning, to the plain and sincere reader, more accurately and powerfully than mere naked literality. This is heaven-wide of that correspondence of Swedenborg, which melts away the obvious meaning into some interior angelic significance that requires a new seer and revelator to unfold it. This obliterates all metes and bounds, all articulate sense, in the meaning of Scripture. Such an exaggeration and perversion of a beautiful truth makes it a monstrous error. But still it affords boundless scope for imaginative soarings, ecstasies, and revelries. And therefore to those who are Unitarians, or entertain the repugnance of Unitarians to the faith and practice obviously taught in Scripture and embraced by the church of Christ, while they nauseate the barren negations and dead husks of mere Socinianism, Swedenborgianism has presented an enchanting side.

Further still, the Swedenborgians maintain a more positive, earnest, strict type of practical religion than the Unitarians; thus often satisfying consciences that could not be quiet under the religious indifference and inanity of Socinianism. Eminent integrity, gentleness, charity towards men, with a strict observance of the Sabbath, and a tone of reverence and devoutness in the public worship and services of that day, have drawn towards them many, who, finding the cross a stumbling-block or foolishness, yet crave a more earnest religion than they find among the adherents of liberal Christianity. So they espouse this system which, in its own fashion, is alive with a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge.

Thus we have a partial explanation of the power and prevalence of this system among a select class, in spite of its unscriptural absurdities and enormities. But though an explanation, it is no justification of it, or of adhesion to it. The attitude it assumes in regard to the person and work of Christ, and all the fundamentals of Christianity, stamp it as one form of

Antichrist. "Being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Rom. x. 3, 4.

ART. IV.—*The Position of the Book of Psalms in the Plan of the Old Testament.*

THE Old Testament is in several respects a unit. As it is contemplated in literary history and in diplomatic criticism, it has an external and mechanical unity, inasmuch as it constitutes one volume, its sundry treatises having been collected at a very ancient period, since which time it has had a common history, the record of its preservation, circulation, and interpretation, is the same for all its parts, and the principles and methods by which the state of its text is to be ascertained or its true text restored, are the same throughout. In the question of the canon, or the evidences of a supernatural revelation, or the doctrine of Divine inspiration, we recognize beyond this external unity, and lying at the basis of it, a formal oneness of its several parts, a unity of source, and, in so far as this determines it, of character, the whole being inspired of God and divinely authoritative, constituting the sum of the inspired writings belonging to the former dispensation. Such a unity, however, might be little more than negative, distinguishing the Old Testament Scriptures as a body of writings to be classed by themselves, because diverse in this important particular from all others, but without establishing any positive relation or intimate connection between themselves. Again, systematic theology attributes to the Old Testament a real and essential unity, inasmuch as the whole is occupied with one great theme, the will of God, in regard to man's duty and salvation; and this is consistently treated throughout, so that entire harmony reigns everywhere, and each part agrees perfectly with every other.

But beyond all this, deeper than all, and comprehending all, the Old Testament is possessed of a structural and organic unity, exhibiting not only harmony, but arrangement and skilful disposition. Not only do the revealed teachings contained in it agree perfectly together, but there is a method in their communication. The unity, which we discover, is not that of a tame uniformity. There are endless diversities in detail; yet with all, there is not only no jar or discord, but nothing fortuitous or at random. Everything is designed agreeably to a well-considered, prearranged plan and purpose, so that nothing is superfluous, nothing lacking, and nothing out of place. Above the human agents yet controlling them and operating through them, we trace a Divine scheme unfolding from first to last. Each part has its specific function in the plan of the whole, and contributes in its measure to fill up the general design. And there is a reason and a fitness, which determines not only the aggregate amount and purport of its revelations, but which graduates the proportion of its several parts and fixes their relative position. There is a propriety in each being what it is and standing where it does. So that to alter the disposition of its parts, even if the whole mass were retained in its integrity, would be a dislocation and dismemberment, impair its organism, disturb its well-adjusted relations, and obliterate some of the traces of His wisdom, who arranges all things by number, weight, and measure.

We propose now to take an individual book of the Old Testament, and inquire into its position and meaning in this general scheme. With this design we have selected the book of Psalms, on account of its intrinsic interest and importance, as well as because it will afford a sufficient specimen of the method of study to be pursued in such inquiries, and supply a test of the correctness of the views already indicated.

Looking at the Old Testament in its organic character, three things are necessary to the due appreciation of any book that it contains, viz., a knowledge, first, of the constitution of the book itself; secondly, of the place it holds and the function it fulfils, in that more general division of the Old Testament to which it belongs, that is to say, in the inspired writings of its own class or period; and thirdly, of the relation in which it

stands to the Old Testament as a whole, and the part assigned to it in the work of that entire dispensation or economy.

In regard to the first of the points suggested, the constitution of the book of Psalms, we shall confine ourselves to such a general consideration of its character as will prepare the way for the second and third points which form the main topic before us, its relation to other books of its own period or class in the Old Testament, and its position and value in the scheme of the whole. It would be impossible in the limited space at our disposal, as well as foreign to our more immediate purpose, to characterize the individual psalms or even to discuss the internal structure and divisions of the book and the mutual relations of its several parts. We are, however, concerned to inquire into the formative principle of this book, by which its contents and extent are determined, which gives it its specific character and constitutes it an organic part of the Old Testament revelation.

Each of the books of the prophets represents the work performed by one inspired servant of God, an individual organ employed in the communication of his revelation. The specific task committed to each, by the Divine author of the revelation, defines the function of the book in the economy of the whole. But the Psalms not only consist of one hundred and fifty distinct compositions, varied in their style and subject, each complete in itself and unconnected with any other, but these have besides proceeded from different authors and even belong to different ages. There are psalms from Moses, David, Solomon, Asaph, Ethan, Heman, and the sons of Korah, besides forty-one whose authors are unknown, and even the time when they were written can only be doubtfully conjectured. Some critics have entertained the opinion that there are psalms of as late a date as the period of the Maccabees, which describe the troubles and triumphs of that eventful and glorious epoch. But although this conclusion is at variance with the well-established fact that the canon of the Old Testament was definitively closed before that time, there can be no doubt that some of the psalms were written during and after the Babylonish exile. This book was accordingly prepared at intervals extending over the entire period of the composition of the Old Testament itself.

Shall we then seek to ascertain the organic relations of this book and its function in the revelation of the Old Testament, by sundering the psalms which belong to different periods, and then in each period distinguishing the psalms of each different author, presuming that each psalmist has his specific function to perform, and each successive age of psalmody has its peculiar mission? But whatever advantages may accrue from the adoption of this method, and however it may contribute to a better knowledge of the history of sacred song, and to a fuller acquaintance with the mutual relations of these inspired lyrics, this belongs properly to the study of the inward structure and organization of the book itself. In respect to the general structure and plan of the Old Testament this book must, like the rest, be contemplated as a unit.

For, 1. The form and compass of each book is authoritative as well as its contents. And in this particular instance there must be a reason why all these various compositions from different authors and different ages were included in a single collection instead of being dispersed in several. The principle of unity which presided over the collection and brought it together into one whole, will indicate to us its specific character and its organic relations.

2. It is impracticable to divide the psalms with certainty and accuracy either in respect to their age or authorship, so that we must either seek another mode of fixing their organic relations, or we must content ourselves with the results of a vague approximation and abandon the hope of obtaining anything more. The latest and best results of criticism concede the correctness of the titles to the psalms, to which it was at one time the fashion to refuse all credit, thus turning everything topsy-turvy, and throwing the whole matter open to wild conjecture, with no fixed or reliable criteria on which to base it. Still one-third (50) of the whole number have no titles, or none which afford any hint of the author or of the occasion upon which they were composed. If the absence of titles could be compensated by proofs or evidences of any other sort, this objection might be removed; but the wide divergence in the results of those, who have presumed to speak oracularly on the

subject, only show how fruitless and vain is the attempt, except in a few individual cases.

3. Fortunately it may be added, that such a division of the psalms is unnecessary for the purpose we have in view at present. Whatever minor diversities and individual peculiarities are due to the various authorship of the Psalms and the period of their composition, these are not of sufficient magnitude to mar the essential unity of its character or the general homogeneity of its contents. The fact is, that in spite of all the admitted diversity of age and authorship, a substantial truth is conveyed by the name popularly given to the book and which it has borne for ages, if not from the beginning, the Psalms of David, and there is a just foundation for this appellation. More than half of the entire number, embracing some of the most striking and important of the whole, were written by him. These set the example and gave the key-note for the rest. Those which were written by others, his contemporaries or successors, though far from servile imitations or indolent repetitions, are yet altogether in his vein. They are conceived and written in his spirit. There is such a general sameness as to justify us in saying that those which are not properly David's, are nevertheless Davidic in character. The sweet singer of Israel was the leader of the whole choir of inspired singers; and we would have little difficulty in imagining from the contents of the psalms that they might all be from the pen of David, if it were not for occasional allusions to later events and minor qualities of thought and diction which indicate differences of individual style and manner.

And this affords, as we think, the only satisfactory solution of the fact already adverted to, that many of the psalms are destitute of titles indicating the author and occasion. This circumstance on the one hand tends to confirm the originality and truth of the titles, where we do find them, showing that they are not prefixed by arbitrary and unfounded conjecture. Why should they be confined to a limited number of psalms, when gratuitous conjectures, if they were such, could be multiplied without restraint, and could have been applied with the same ease to all the rest? On the other hand, this fact cannot be accounted for by the assumption that the author and occa-

sion of such psalms were unknown to the collectors of the canon.

For, 1. It is the oldest psalms and those most remote from the time of the collectors which have titles. It is confessed that, with very few exceptions, those only which are later than the time of David, are without them. Some of the psalms were plainly written after the exile, and yet their authors, though contemporaries of the collectors of the canon or but little removed from them, are never named. If the fact were the reverse of what it is, and the earliest psalms were destitute of titles and those of later date were attributed to their respective authors, it might with some show of reason be explained on this hypothesis; but the actual state of the case precludes it.

2. The contents of some of the post-Davidic psalms plainly indicate the occasion on which they were composed; *e. g.* Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down," &c. It is not supposable that there could have been any question in this case as to the circumstances under which the psalm was written. Again, Psalm 83 speaks of a confederacy "of Edom and the Ishmaelites; of Moab and the Hagarenes; Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assur also is joined with them; they have holpen the children of Lot." They had combined with the view of cutting off Israel from being a nation; "that the name of Israel may be no more a remembrance." God is earnestly invoked to persecute them with his tempest and make them as stubble before the wind. All these circumstances point to the invasion by these combined powers in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and their miraculous overthrow recorded 2 Chron. xx., the historian making explicit mention of psalms sung on that eventful day. And yet although the occasion is so directly inferrible from the psalm itself, there is no allusion to it in the title, which merely mentions Asaph as the author. If the collectors had felt at liberty to introduce any titles that they pleased, of whose correctness they were satisfied, and had aimed to include in them all that they could ascertain of the origin of each individual psalm, some of these titles would not have been so meagre and others would not have been wanting.

3. The analogy of the rest of the Old Testament. No

prophecy, however brief, is anonymous. Even Obadiah, though one of the oldest and at the same time the shortest of the books of prophecy, is ascribed to its proper author. On the other hand, the books of history are as a general rule anonymous. The reason of the distinction manifestly lies not in the ignorance of the collectors of the canon. The fact is too uniform to have a casual or contingent origin. It is founded in the nature of these classes of writings respectively. The history is sufficiently authenticated by being a true record of events, of which the people at large were cognizant. Prophecy depends for its authentication on the knowledge of the person of the prophet and that he was a duly authorized and inspired messenger of God. If anything can be inferred from this analogy, it would be that the names of the psalmists have been preserved so far as any important end could be answered by it. And where they are omitted, it is not because they could not be ascertained, all knowledge of them having been lost through lapse of time or accidental causes, but simply because it would serve no valuable purpose to record them.

4. It also deserves to be noted in this connection that the only psalmists, whose names have been preserved to us, with the single exception of Moses, the author of Psalm 90, were David and a series of persons more or less connected with him and dependent upon him, viz., his son Solomon and various Levitical singers appointed by David to conduct and oversee the music of the sanctuary or their descendants. Psalms by others than these great masters of song are inserted in the collection anonymously, for the names of their authors would really have no significance. They introduce no element entirely new; they indicate no fresh stadium in the unfolding of Divine revelation. They but continue the work of those who have gone before them. They have no individuality that it is of consequence to preserve. Their personality is absorbed or lost in that of David and his sacred singers, in whose character they are acting and in whose track they follow.

5. It is further to be observed that the psalms of different writers and of different ages are not kept distinct and arranged in regular order in this book, but are to some extent at least mingled promiscuously together. It is true there is not an

entire absence of arrangement. The remark at the close of Psalm 72, "The prayers" *i. e.*, psalms, "of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," reveals this by calling attention to the fact which is true in a general sense, that the body of those that precede (62 out of 72) were written by David, while comparatively few of his are found in those that follow (17 out of 78). Whether there was any principle of arrangement beyond this general one, by which the deviations from this may be accounted for, and a fixed plan or method can be shown to have been pursued throughout, it does not concern us at present either to deny or affirm. We only remark, without inquiring into the reason of it, or whether it has any reason, that the psalms of David, after being gathered into a solid nucleus at the beginning of the book, continue to be scattered along throughout the remainder to its close. If these, agreeably to the hypothesis of Hengstenberg and Dr. Alexander, form texts upon which other psalms are based, or centres around which they are clustered, our conclusion will be thereby confirmed, though the truth of this hypothesis is not essential to our argument. In other parts of the canon, where the chronological arrangement and the distinction of authors are needed to mark the progress of revelation and preserve its various steps in their integrity, these are not neglected. The minor prophets, for example, in early catalogues of the canon form a single book. They are so named and enumerated. And yet the writings of each prophet are kept distinct, and the arrangement is chronological from first to last. This has, it is true, been disputed, but we believe it to be capable of satisfactory proof, and we may be allowed to assume it here. Now if it had been of similar consequence in the Psalms, the same method would undoubtedly have been observed. That it has not been, fortifies the conclusion before reached by various independent considerations, that the function of the Psalms in the economy of revelation is to be sought in the general character pertaining to the whole book, rather than in the personality of their separate authors and the distinct periods of their composition. They all stand upon essentially the same platform, and represent the same stage in the progress of Divine communication.

What is then the uniting principle or specific character of the

book of Psalms? It is very obvious that they are not a heterogeneous miscellany. The most superficial inspection shows them all to belong to the same species of composition. They are all poetical; and although we know little of Hebrew versification, and this is not the place to develope what we do know of it, we have little difficulty in assigning all to the same species of poetry, the lyrical. It is equally plain, however, that this book does not include all the lyrical compositions of the Hebrews. The one thousand and five songs of Solomon found no place here, and all but three have been suffered to perish. Nor does it contain all their extant lyrics. Not to mention the antediluvian fragment from the mouth of Lamech, David's lament over Saul (2 Sam. i.) though written by the sweet singer of Israel himself, was never inserted. Nor does it embrace all the Hebrew lyrics on sacred subjects, not even such as were inspired and canonical. Witness the numerous poetical compositions in the historical books or passages of the Old Testament from the song of Moses at the Red Sea, to that of Hezekiah upon his recovery from mortal sickness. Witness also the lyrics written by the prophets, as the prayer of Jonah, that of Habakkuk, and the triumphal songs of Isaiah: and besides, the Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which, though purely lyrical are ranked as separate books. These are not included in the book of Psalms, and could not properly have been put there. The Psalms were inspired songs designed for permanent and public use in the worship of the temple.

The two essential qualities of these inspired lyrics, which adapt them to a place in this book are, first, their public, and second, their devotional character. They are, in the first place, not mere private formularies of devotion. However individual the occasion by which many of them were suggested, to wit, such as sprang directly out of the psalmist's personal experience, and though all of them were born of the devout feelings of individual hearts, they are adapted and designed to guide and express the devotions of the people of God. And in the second place, they are not merely meditations on sacred subjects, but worship, the soul speaking to God or before God, of whatever possesses the thoughts or affects the heart. They

were designed for public solemn utterance at the temple, the house of God, in his immediate presence, as an act of devout worship to him.

The combination of these two elements gives to the book its unity or specific character. First, they impart to it the negative unity of segregation or distinction from all other portions of divine revelation.

They form the most marked contrast with the books of the prophets, whose posture is precisely the reverse of that of the psalmists. The latter speak to God in their own name and that of their fellow-worshippers in the attitude of lowly adoration, pouring forth their inward experience in the language of praise and thanksgiving, or struggling after conformity to the will of God or the sensible manifestation of his presence and favour. The prophets, on the contrary, speak to men in the name of God, with Divine authority making known his will and commanding obedience or submission. Correspondent with this difference of attitude, this altered relation to God is the respective difference of the function allotted to each in the work of Divine revelation. The chief function of the prophet is the objective enlargement of this revelation; he is charged with fresh communications on the part of God, sent directly, immediately from him, originated by him without any human agency or intervention. The prime function of the psalmist is subjective appropriation, of what God has already revealed; but with this is connected an expansion of the Divine revelation from this inward or subjective side on the principle announced by our Lord, "To him that hath, shall more be given, and he shall have abundance." As he pours out his heart before God, and struggles into a realizing apprehension of what has before been made known to him, new views are imparted by the Holy Spirit, not in the way of his illuminating energy merely, but by a direct revelation. So, however, that this connects itself uniformly with trains of thought or states of feeling in which his soul had been pouring itself out before God. The Divine supernatural suggestion comes to him in the line of his own wrestling and spiritual struggles. Or to express the distinction in another form, the communication made to the prophet has primary reference to the necessities of others, mostly a national

necessity of fresh Divine guidance. That which is made to the psalmist has direct and primary reference to his own individual needs.

The Psalms are further clearly distinguishable from those books which, though poetical are not lyrical, but aphoristic. These belong not to the sphere of feeling but of reflection. They represent the struggles of the individual man to master the problems of the word and works of God, to comprehend the harmony of the Divine law with the course of the world. They aim to satisfy the reason respecting the conformity of God's revelation with the external facts of human life; while the aim of the psalmists is to realize this conformity as an internal fact in their own hearts and lives.

The Psalms are also distinguished from all the rest of the lyrical poetry of the Old Testament. This is either not the direct language of worship, but simply of elevated feeling awakened by themes drawn from God's truth and his providence, as the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations, and most of the lyrics scattered through other books; or else like the private and individual songs or supplications of Jeremiah, Jonah, and Hezekiah, or the national song of Moses, though the utterance of devout worship, they were not intended to be employed as such on any other occasion than that upon which they were originally used. In either case they did not belong to the public and permanent devotions of the sanctuary.

But in the second place, besides this negative unity of uniqueness, the possession of a marked character peculiar to itself, by which it is sundered from all other books and parts of Scripture, and as the ground of which, it must be contemplated apart and as forming a class by itself, it is also possessed of the more positive unity of a self-contained completeness. It is the religion of the Old Testament pouring itself out before God; it is the devotion which it breathes in the full circle of its utterances in the presence of the great object of its worship. It is the embodiment of the devout spirit of the ancient economy in holy song, in fitting words of roused and elevated feeling. It is that spirit, uttering itself on all sides in every variety of outward situation or inward frame, in the contemplation of God, his attributes, word and works—of man, his origin, condi-

tion, duties, sins, and wants; in fine, of all the great themes which the religion of Israel supplies. It must consequently have the unity and the completeness of that religious spirit, the sum of whose devotional utterances it is.

Having now reached the conception of what the book of Psalms is in itself considered, and found in it a principle of unity which redeems it from the semblance of being an aggregation of disconnected compositions and gives to it organic completeness, we proceed to inquire further respecting its place in the greater organism to which it belongs. What is the precise function of this book in the scheme of Divine revelation? As the Old Testament may be contemplated under two principal aspects as a divinely conducted expansion of the Mosaic law and as a preparation for Christ, we shall have to look at the task assigned to this particular book from both these points of view.

In regard to the former, or the advance made by the Psalms upon the antecedent portions of Divine revelation, we remark,

1. There is a progress in the mode of communicating truth. In estimating God's great scheme of instruction conveyed in the Scriptures, and judging of the relative effectiveness and value of its several parts, we must not leave out of sight the variety of methods employed in the presentation of these heavenly lessons, with their various measures of attractiveness, clearness, force, and vividness. Besides the fact that these are mutually supplementary, one supplying the deficiencies of another, there is a noticeable advance from first to last in the mode of teaching as well as in the teachings themselves. The volume of inspiration opens with the lessons of fact recorded in the stately march of history. Then follows in the Mosaic law the train of sacred rites and symbols, not only transacted once, but publicly repeated again and again in mute pantomime, until they were perfectly familiar. And then these hallowed songs, adding to association with the solemnities and pomp of the temple service the charm and power of national ballads, with their vivid imagery, and glowing thoughts, and spirited language, and harmonious periods, adapted to the melody of music. These have an influence, not like that of the facts of

history gathered from what has been once transacted, nor like that of the ritual, dependent on its public repetition at a single central spot, but extending to all times and every place, reaching every domestic circle and every individual breast.

In the onward progress of revelation, the Psalms were followed by Proverbs embodying the highest practical wisdom in brief sententious sayings, which are easily lodged in the memory and become household words in everybody's mouth, verified by daily observation, and potent guides in the conduct of every-day life. And then to complete the cycle of Old Testament instruction, discourses uttered at important crises by the prophets, to which belong not only the added emphasis and earnestness of public delivery, but all the weight and authority due to these men of God, to whom it was given to survey the future and, as the immediate messengers of God, make known his will for human guidance. While the proverbs merely give general rules for the direction of human conduct, the prophets are the immediate voice of God pointing out the specific duty of each particular occasion.

There is thus a continuous series in the methods of teaching, which become ever more definite and particular, from the lessons wrapped up in the facts of history in their solitary occurrence, through the rites perpetually repeated afresh but only at the sanctuary, and the psalms, which, learned at the sanctuary are repeated and sung in every habitation, and the proverbs more brief and pointed, and hence more familiar and oft repeated, but nevertheless general in their application, to the prophets, whose specific lessons for individual emergencies conclude the whole. Particularity is thus carried to its final term, its farthest possible limit. The lesson is brought to every time, and place, and person, and emergent necessity. And the result is a vast accumulation of details, a storehouse of materials provided ever as the occasion demanded it, a help for each particular need as it was developed, a supply for every want as it was felt. And yet, with all this growing minuteness of specification, the Old Testament as a whole is incomplete, for there is no general summing up of these particulars, no comprehensive glance thrown over the whole, redeeming them from their apparent isolation and incoherence, presenting them all in com-

bination and mutual relation, and constructing with or developing out of this chaos of confused details a harmonious and symmetrical unity. This task is reserved for the New Testament, which is thus in its methods of instruction, as in every thing else, the complement of the Old.

The New Testament opens with a delineation of that all-perfect life in which all the types and prophecies, however apparently conflicting with each other, find full accomplishment, in which every line of the Old Testament, however irregularly drawn and viewed apart from its end in seemingly inextricable confusion, is yet seen to converge in one focus of celestial light. Then this light is traced as it begins to radiate and diffuse itself amongst men in the founding and spread of the early church and the labours of the apostles, after which follow the Epistles. And in them we have, for the first time, what was now first in its proper sense possible, since the needed basis had been given in the actual manifestation of the Son of God and his atoning death, the seal of vision and prophecy, and in itself the sum of all revelation,—in them we have the first formal elaboration of doctrine and the unfolding of a system of ethics in its principles and its applications. And the volume of inspiration closes with a sublime vision of this church, into which the gradual accumulations of former ages have been poured and gathered up, founded on the death of Christ, and instinct with the life of his indwelling Spirit, guarded by his apostles both in doctrine and in practice, itself the consummation of the past as it marches on to its own consummation in the future. The Apocalypse is just a panorama of the divinely conducted course of the church from its incipency through its militant to its triumphant state.

And thus the Bible completes its circuit, ending where it began with a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, with man in the full enjoyment of the communion of God. The blessed place in which he dwells, has its tree of life and its river of the water of life, only the garden which the hands of man were to till is replaced by the strong foundations and the solid walls of that magnificent city, whose builder and maker is God.

2. In addition to this advance in the manner of teaching

there is a progress in the medium by which instruction is conveyed. The revelation of the Bible is not an abstract but a historical revelation. Its doctrines rest upon a basis of fact which at once lends them confirmation and assists to an understanding of them. The Most High makes himself known, not by the way of mere description, but of progressive manifestation. What description could convey such a notion of the supramundane God or of his infinite attributes, as the simple story of the creation, with its products spread out before the eyes? or such a conception of his wrath against sin, as the fact of the flood? or of his forbearance and gracious care, as his dealings with Israel in the desert?

Accordingly in this system of Divine instruction the lessons of history hold the first place, the record of those facts which display the attributes of God, which give intimations of his will and purposes, disclose the principles of his administration, or in which visible and earthly relations are the counterpart of the unseen and the heavenly. But facts are, after all, mute instructors. They may be beheld, and yet the lessons involved in them not be discerned or apprehended. The phenomena of nature have been before the eyes of men from the beginning, and yet the untutored never suspect the laws and principles which underlie them; and science, with all the thoroughness of her investigations, has not yet penetrated to the bottom of them, and never will. And if this is the case with sensible things, how much more with spiritual things. They require an interpreter, that their bearing may be distinctly seen and their hidden meaning be evolved. This function the psalmists perform in relation to antecedent as well as current history. They recite the facts recorded in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, God's wonders of old, not only making these instructive memorials more familiar to the mind and impressing them upon the heart, but they deduce in verbal formulæ the lessons they convey. They do the same with subsequent facts and those of their own day. They do it with individual as well as national experiences, the psalmists' own personal history as well as the history of Israel. They do this with the permanent objects and relations of history as well as with its transient facts; everywhere they detect the spiritual

hid under the veil of the sensible. He who took David from the sheepfolds was himself the Shepherd of Israel, leading Joseph like a flock. The mountain fastnesses that protected him in time of persecution were emblems of the Rock of his salvation, his refuge, and his hiding-place.

The same function of verbal interpretation is performed for the ritual symbols of the law. The worship of the sanctuary was a divine pantomime full of sacred meaning; every object and act was expressive of religious truth. But there was no accompanying explanation. The worshipper was left to penetrate the hidden sense of these mysteries as he was able. Now the psalmists were steeped in the spirit of the Mosaic institutions. The law was their meditation all the day; and their constant prayer was, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may see wondrous things out of thy law." The relation between the Mosaic ceremonial and the Psalms is the most intimate possible. The words of the one are identical with the tangible objects and visible acts of the other. The one uses symbols of speech, the other symbols addressed to the eye, but both are the direct offering of worship, formulating and externizing the same conceptions and relations. Accordingly the language of the Psalms is often borrowed from or moulded by the ceremonial. They do not enter largely into formal expositions, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, but they abound in instructive allusions. They speak of the sanctuary and its holy hill, the privilege of dwelling in the house of the Lord, and being hid in the secret of his tabernacle, of Him who dwelling between the cherubim shines forth, of the multitude keeping holy-day, the clean hands and the pure heart demanded, the purgation with hyssop, the anointing with oil, the table spread in the presence of enemies, the lighting of the candle, the prayer set forth as incense, and the lifting up of hands as the evening sacrifice. They guard against material and gross conceptions. Will God eat the flesh of bulls and drink the blood of goats? The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit. Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; in the volume of the book it is written of me.

And where the allusion is not direct and explicit, still the great ideas of the ritual are those that breathe everywhere in the glowing words of the psalmists. This intimate connection

was expressed by joining the psalms with the ritual in the temple worship, and perhaps even by the outward formal division of the Psalms into five books like those of Moses, so that they form as it were another Pentateuch.

The value of the book of Psalms as an interpreter of the law, both in its history and its ritual, however, is not limited to its positive expositions, whether formally or incidentally given, or by a parallel unfolding of the same ideas and principles in a different form and connection. We must also take into the account its suggestive and stimulating effect. It furnishes starting-points and opens up lines of thought, which can then be followed out, though no authoritative exposition is provided for all the details. It supplies a clue by which the labyrinth can be threaded, gives a key by which doors, which else would have remained closed, may be unlocked. By lifting the veil, though it be only partially, and giving a glimpse of what is hid behind it, it not only imparts new ideas, but excites inquiry, rouses investigation, leads men to ponder what yet remains, and penetrate into what is unexplained with greater or less success.

3. We have seen that the Psalms employ a method of instruction which comes closer to the individual man than preceding methods of Divine teaching, and that they expound to the understanding what had previously been less clearly taught in other ways. It remains to be added in the third place, that they also apply it to the heart. The lessons unfolded in the Psalms are not drawn out in cold didactic statements and formulas of doctrine, but uttered as the language of devotion. The truths of religion are vitalized and exhibited in their due influence on the soul and its inward life. The ritual was a service of external forms, valueless indeed, unless accompanied by the state of heart which it was designed to awaken and express, yet as far as the positive statute was concerned, purely external. The history taught its lessons of God, but it was in fact apart from the personal experience of those who read or heard it. The Psalms are uttered from the depths of the heart, with a sense of God's nearness and a conviction that his favour is the one indispensable necessity. They are filled with expressions of the most solemn awe of God, devout thanks-

givings for his mercies, earnest supplications for his pardon, and fervent breathings after communion with him. He is seen in every experience of life, every trouble wings a petition to him, every joy calls forth accents of praise. The Psalms are just the religion of the Old Testament practically realized in the heart and the life.

We have now seen in what several ways the Psalms are an advance upon the forms of revelation that preceded them. The inquiry next arises, what is the positive increment to the sum of Divine knowledge thus made? To what extent are germs of truth expanded which were previously latent or undeveloped, or what accession is made of truths not before imparted? This is substantially equivalent to the question, which, as has already been stated, we were to consider in the last place, What preparation is made in the Psalms for Messiah's coming?

That this is really the same inquiry stated in a different form, will appear from the consideration that the only development of doctrine to be found in the Old Testament respects the Messiah and such truths as are dependent upon or intimately related to this great central and cardinal doctrine. Every thing else was made known with as much clearness and explicitness in the earliest as in the latest stages of Divine revelation. Thus the unity and spirituality of God, his self-existence, eternity, and infinity, his holiness, his moral government, his claim to the supreme affection of the soul, man's original state and his fall, are taught no more distinctly in any part of the Scriptures than they are in the books of Moses. But the doctrine of a Redeemer and of the redemption which he was to effect was gradually unfolded, beginning with general and vague intimations, and ending with the fulness of gospel disclosure. This naturally involved a similar procedure in respect to all associated doctrines. Hence the same progressive disclosure attaches to the subject of the Trinity on account of the distinct office assigned to each of the sacred persons in the economy of redemption; the future state and the resurrection, since these belong to the completeness and glory of Christ's redemption; the greatness of the love of God, since its highest evidence is the gift of his Son; and the mysteries of Divine providence, since the last elements of the problem could only be furnished

by the cross of Christ. The entire development of doctrine is controlled and conditioned both in measure and manner by the direct revelations made respecting the Messiah. These afford the key to all the rest. It is ever the central figure, without which nothing can be properly understood or duly estimated. As he is lifted into greater prominence or made better known, a corresponding progress follows as of course in the entire system of doctrine concatenated with his person and work. And on the other hand, every fresh step taken in the communication of any of these concatenated doctrines is an indirect advance in the knowledge of Messiah, and is attended by a corresponding progress in the direct revelations respecting him. And as in the onward movement of a circle, where the centre acts on the periphery and the periphery reacts upon the centre, and these cannot be sundered the one from the other, nor their mutual relation disturbed, the true motion of the whole is measured by the centre, whose steady progress invariably sums up the particular velocities of every individual point; so in this grand circle of revealed truth the proper measure of the total advancement is found in the doctrine of the Messiah, which regulates and governs all the rest, and the particular progress of any other individual doctrine must find its explanation in its bearings from this.

The positive accession made to the knowledge of the Messiah in the Psalms, and indeed in all the poetical books taken together, is less considerable than in the prophets. This arises from the general design of these portions of the Old Testament respectively. The leading aim of the poetical books is not so much to make new disclosures of truth never before revealed, as to bring home to the heart and understanding what had already been communicated in God's word and providence. It was to place clearly before the inner consciousness of God's people what had been previously revealed either explicitly or implicitly; nevertheless new elements of truth are not wanting. For this process was conducted not by the human reason or the unaided religious sense, but by the Spirit of God, who inspired the psalmists as truly as the prophets, and fitted each for the precise task in the general scheme of his revelation, which he allotted to them. And even the legitimate unfolding of germs

previously bestowed was not possible without his immediate superintendence and direction, nor without the addition of fresh materials. For this growth, if we may call it so, or expansion of divinely imparted ideas, must not be confounded with a mere logical development of principles, whose last result is in every case implicitly embraced in the original proposition from which it is deduced. The process of which we are speaking proceeds regularly from stage to stage, but there is ever an increment as well as an evolution; and the former is essential to the latter. The forcible and untimely tearing open of the bud will not produce the flower. It requires a continuance of the same process and the same vital agency to convert the bud into the flower, as was concerned in the original production of the bud itself. And so in each successive stage of Divine revelation. The same spirit of truth, who imparted the earliest and most elementary lessons respecting the coming salvation, communicated every succeeding lesson, until the series was complete, each attaching itself nevertheless to that which went before and growing out of it, though not identical with it, since it contains both a fresh deduction from the preceding and an addition of elements and materials entirely new. In the revelation made through the prophets the new predominates; and that which was made through the psalmists and other inspired poets the remodelling of the old; and yet both new and old are found in both, though in varying measure and proportion.

Extreme opinions have been held respecting the Messianic teachings of the Psalms. On the one hand it has been contended that no direct and explicit reference to the Messiah occurs in the entire book. And on the other, that such references are to be found in every individual psalm. The middle ground is here the true one. There are explicit references to the Messiah in this book, and these are limited to particular psalms, not spread over the whole number. And yet there is this element of truth in both the erroneous conceptions of the book above referred to, that those psalms which are in the strict and proper sense Messianic, are not to be sundered entirely from the rest, as though they stood alone by themselves, were totally distinct in character from the others, and had no links of connection with them. The unity, which we have

already seen to belong to the book of Psalms as opposed to the superficial notion of its miscellaneous and unconnected character, asserts itself here also. It is important to a proper understanding of the book as a whole, that this should be seized and rightly apprehended. It consists of a great number of separate productions, but these have their mutual relations and connections, and form together one whole.

This unity, however, does not establish a uniformity. And herein lies the error of the extreme views above cited. It cannot be argued that since some psalms are Messianic, therefore all are Messianic; nor, on the contrary, since some manifestly do not relate to the Messiah, therefore none do. The unity, which prevails, is consistent with diversity. It is that of distinct but intimately related parts, which we have already seen to spring from a common root, and which, as we are about to show, coöperate to a common end.

The Messianic psalms instead of being reduced by forced interpretations and gratuitous assumptions to a level with the rest, or, on the other hand, discriminated from them too sharply and thus entirely isolated, are rather to be regarded as an integral part of a connected system of thought and feeling. These constitute the crowning portion of the pyramid, resting upon and sustained by all that lies beneath it, while the same lines traverse the whole from base to apex, determining its figure and dimensions. They are the foci, to which every ray more or less directly tends, and into which it ultimately falls; luminous points into which the brightness diffused over the whole is gathered up and concentrated. They form not merely the most important portion of all, but that to which the rest in their measure contribute; the advanced lessons to which the rest are preliminary and preparatory, paving the way for them step by step. The teaching regarding the Messiah is not suddenly or spasmodically injected, as it were, without antecedent explanation, or anything to account for its introduction, standing apart from its own context and all its surroundings, and disconnected from all other objects of religious thought and meditation. It is interwoven most intimately with the whole, and forms in fact its centre and heart, the seat of its life, whence vitality is derived to all the rest. And it is by the entire complex system

of Old Testament teaching, not by a few isolated predictions having direct, immediate, and exclusive reference to Christ, that the preparation for his coming is made.

It is here just as it is in the prophets. Their predictions of Messiah are never isolated passages, sundered from the body of their ministry and having no connection with it, sudden glimpses into the distant future, but standing quite apart from the rest of their disclosures. The Messianic revelations are the centre and heart of each prophet's work, bound indissolubly with every fibre of the whole. The mode and manner of his exhibition of Messiah is shaped by the tenor of the entire prophecy in which it is found. While on the other hand the estimate set upon each book of the prophets, and its proper classification and position in the scheme of the Old Testament, is regulated by its Messianic contents. It has been greatly, as we think, to the prejudice of the Christological study of the Old Testament that Christ has been sought and found only in detached parts and passages; that what is directly Messianic has not been viewed in its vital connection with the entire dispensation in which it is found. Hence the failure to see the *whole* Old Testament just in that light in which it chiefly presents itself, and should be principally regarded, as one continuous scheme of preparation for the coming of the Son of God.

It is very easy to trace currents of thought throughout the book of Psalms, which set in the direction of the Messianic idea and finally issue in it, showing us how the whole body of their religious ideas tended to this point, culminated in it and formed a preparation for it. We shall also discover, if we look at the subject from this point of view, a completeness in the Messianic teachings communicated through the inspired poets, which so far from being fragmentary or incoherent, are just the consistent development on all sides of a definite scheme of thought, leaving no aspect of it untouched, and yet never passing beyond it. This, too, will enable us to see the relation which subsists between the Messianic preparation of the Psalms and that of the other poetical books, since each fulfils its own specific part in the scheme of which we have spoken. This is most largely, but yet not fully, unfolded in the book of Psalms. It still needs the others for its complement; and the integrity and

symmetry of the whole is only then ascertained when all are viewed together.

We have already seen that the Psalms are in their fundamental character utterances of worship. The worshipper feels himself to be in the immediate presence of God, and all distracting thoughts are excluded. God and man confront each other: everything else fades out of sight. God's relations to man and man's relations to God are the two domains within which the thoughts are rigidly confined. These domains, though distinct, are correlative. For every aspect under which the one can be contemplated, there is a corresponding aspect belonging to the other. Now man in his relation to God may be regarded passively or actively, that is to say, in his privileges or his duties. In other words, he may be conceived as a creature endowed of God, or as his servant subject to his law. In the latter case he has obstacles to surmount, and foes to contend with. This suggests a twofold aspect, under which, as God's servant, he may be contemplated, viz., in the heat and fury of the conflict, or after he has passed successfully through it, that is to say, as struggling with evil, physical and moral, and as victorious over it. For the man, in the attitude of the psalmist, whose aspirations go forth toward God, and who is striving to realize in his soul what his relations to God involve, there are these three aspects under which he may consider himself. And since the Psalms are not designed for private and individual devotion merely, but for public worship, the psalmists associate with themselves the entire class of those whom they represent and for whom they speak.

1. Man as a creature endowed of God.
2. The righteous man struggling with his foes.
3. The righteous man victorious over his foes.

Now each of these categories suggests a contrast in the correlative sphere of God as related to man. To the first stands opposed God as the creator and benefactor of man. To the double aspect under which the righteous may be contemplated in respect to his contest with his foes, stands opposed a twofold contrast, one lying on either hand. First, the positive contrast of God, who will deliver or has delivered him from the power of his foes. Secondly, the negative contrast of the absence of

God as a deliverer, in which case evil dominates and man is vanquished.

For the sake of greater clearness, although at the risk of tiresome repetition, we will now place these triple correlates together. They are,

1. Man the creature endowed of God, and God the creator and benefactor of man.

2. The righteous beset by foes and God his deliverer.

3. The righteous victorious by God's delivering aid, and he who is without God utterly failing though possessed of every earthly advantage.

This we take to be the foundation structure of all the Messianic teaching communicated through the psalmists and inspired poets. Each of the six ideas represented in this simple scheme of triple contrasts, culminates either positively or negatively in the Messiah, in one or other of the poetical books, and if we are correct in our opinion of the matter, there is not another idea in these books which does. Messiah is not in this portion of the Old Testament represented under any other aspect, nor reached directly or indirectly by any other process of thought.

Messiah, in whom God became man, the Word was made flesh, is thus approached at once from the Divine and from the human side. This was the case likewise with the typical teachings of the antecedent history. There is, on the one hand, a series of human types, men raised up to discharge important functions or accomplish great deliverances, and prefiguring Messiah in some aspect of his work or some feature of his character. Along with these we find another series of works and deliverances wrought by the immediate hand of God, or by his messenger, who is identified with himself, the angel of Jehovah, which also prefigure the ultimate salvation. These two lines converge and meet in him, who is at once God and man.

The factors of the sacred history are thus the very same as the parties to every act of worship, God and man. And the Messianic lesson of the history is so far virtually identical with the lesson of these songs of worship, that both point forward to him who unites the Divine and human natures in his single person.

The Psalms, nevertheless, make a great advance beyond the teachings of the history in both clearness and fulness.

1. They utter in intelligible and unambiguous language, what in the types was expressed more darkly and doubtfully in symbols, whose prospective design and bearings may not have been known and in many cases perhaps not suspected.

2. They explicitly combine what in the types of history stood as yet unconnected side by side, the human and the Divine in the person of the Messiah. The psalmists develop distinctly to their own consciousness and that of others, the deep and pregnant meaning of the prediction by the prophet Nathan concerning a son of David, who was at the same time to be the Son of God. This earliest intimation of the union of the two natures in Messiah is couched in language not wholly free from ambiguity and doubt. But it is corroborated and expanded by the psalmists in such a way as not to leave the shadow of a question how it was understood by them. In rising to the doctrine of the Messiah from the human side they ascribe to him titles, attributes or works, which evidence divinity. And this is in fact the most certain indication that Messiah is in such cases the person intended. A man is described in human relations but with Divine qualities, and the latter are expressed in terms, which could by no exaggeration or flattery be applied to a mere man.

Those psalms which approach the doctrine of Messiah from the Divine side appear to be less certainly Messianic in the consciousness of their writers. They contain undoubted Messianic elements, they form part of the preparation for the full doctrine of the Messiah, part of the process of thought by which the mind of the chosen people was led up to the complete disclosure of the truth upon this subject. But it is not clear that the writers connected them with Messiah in their own minds. They speak of God under those aspects, which, as we learn from the New Testament, belong in the economy of the Trinity distinctively to the Second Person; but they do not exhibit a distinct apprehension that their words apply to the Messiah.

After these suggestions respecting the fulness of teaching in the Psalms on this point, as compared with that of antecedent

Scriptures, we proceed to show that the scheme of thought already presented precisely covers the Messianic contents of the Psalms, and the associated poetical books.

I. Man as a creature endowed of God is lifted into the Messianic sphere by attributing to him gifts or endowments which transcend the measure of what is merely human. When the limitations of our nature are lost sight of, and the bounty conferred is not bounded by the capacity of man to receive, but takes its dimensions only from the power of God to give, then the theme rises above the level of God's grace to ordinary men, and the subject of such an experience must be the Messiah. The eighth psalm affords an example of this. It is a devout meditation upon God's goodness to his creature man, in the midst of which occur the following expressions: "Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put *all things* under his feet." Whether the psalmist had Messiah distinctly in his thoughts as the bearer of universal sovereignty, when he penned these lines, may not be very clear. These universal terms might be so limited by the context as to bring them down to the level of God's bounty to our race at large. But at the least the psalm trembles on the verge of the Messianic idea. It presents a thought which leads directly to it; and which, whether fully developed to the consciousness of the psalmist himself or not, is seized upon and developed into full Messianic dimensions by the apostle Paul, who repeatedly recurs to it in that view. And we are inclined to think that the argument for the direct and conscious Messianic character of this psalm may be made stronger than is commonly allowed by those who view it as an isolated production, by taking into view the three following considerations. 1. The doctrine of Messiah's universal dominion is plainly and repeatedly taught by David elsewhere. 2. His constant method in such cases is the same that is adopted here, to rise from the human to the Divine by simply removing all limitations. And this, it may be remarked by the way, is the very method which we employ in striving after a just conception of the Divine attributes. 3. The first seven psalms form a connected series, dwelling upon the same thought in its different aspects and applications and culminating in the

second psalm, which is an explicit assertion of Messiah's universal dominion. This series is immediately followed by Psalm viii., which describes the honour put upon man and his universal dominion. Now why must the highest possible illustration of this subject, the dignity of Messiah sprung from human race be lost sight of, especially when the very position of the psalm seems to link it directly with the second, where this theme is made prominent?

The correlative idea is that of God the creator and benefactor of man. It has been said already that Messiah as approached from the Divine side does not appear to come as distinctly before the consciousness of the inspired singers, as when arrived at from the human side. We may add here that while the Psalms furnish elements, and so to speak initial points in each of the lines of thought that lead from the contemplation of God to the Messiah, it is distinctively the province of the other poetical books to develope these and carry them out into higher forms and to a more distinctly Messianic character. The Psalms, which are predominantly practical in their nature, come to the doctrine of Messiah chiefly though not exclusively from the human side. The other poetical books, which may be characterized as predominantly speculative, start chiefly from the Divine side.

God considered not as the absolute Godhead, but relatively to his creatures and particularly to man, brings the line of thought within the range of what distinctively belongs to God the Son. An example may be found in Psalm cii., "Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same and thy years shall have no end." And again in Psalm 97, beginning, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice," and proceeding, verse 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols; worship him all ye gods." That these passages offer elements for the development of Messianic thought is plain from the use made of them in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where they are applied to Christ. And this is not merely in the way of

accommodation, as appears from the fact that the claims of Messiah are argumentatively deduced from them.

The Psalms proceed still further in this line of Messianic development, when they distinguish the divine angel of the Lord, or the Word of the Lord, from God himself, and attribute to them a sort of separate agency relative to the creation or to man. The same thing, it may be remarked in passing, is done in respect to the Spirit of the Lord, thus laying the basis for the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The inward distinction in the Godhead, thus cursorily suggested in the Psalms, is however developed into new prominence and at considerable length in the book of Proverbs, which in chap. viii. erects the Wisdom of God into a separate person, and attributes to him an agency which belongs appropriately to God the Son. Able commentators have, from the earliest periods, found here explicit reference to Christ.

II. The next tract of thought, which slopes upward into a Messianic region is that of the righteous beset by foes. The decisive test here again that Messiah is the subject, is the ascription of attributes to the sufferer, or the anticipation of results from his prospective deliverance, which transcend the limit of what is merely human. The freedom from imperfection and removal of limitations are absolute, and extend through the entire psalm in the case of the 22d, beginning "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and which Strauss, of mythical notoriety, pronounced "the programme of the crucifixion." At other times there is only a partial infusion of the supernatural, which is confined to particular expressions, and mingled with others in which confession is made of sin, or the merely human is implied. Thus in Psalm xvi., to expressions that any suffering saint might employ are added the words, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption." The apostle Peter declares that this was fulfilled in its full sense only in the resurrection of Christ. In Psalm xl., "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire . . . then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me," which is so far Messianic that the Epistle to the Hebrews develops from it the intrinsic superiority of Christ's sacrifice. And yet the same psalm con-

tinues, verse 12, "Mine iniquities have taken hold upon me so that I am not able to look up." The same phenomenon recurs Psalm lxix. and cix. Such psalms have mingled reference to Messiah and to the entire class of righteous sufferers, to which he belonged and of which he was the most conspicuous example. They accordingly serve to mediate, as it were, between those psalms which relate exclusively to a merely human subject and those which are exclusively Messianic, linking this entire department of thought in all its applications and modes of expression into one connected whole.

The psalms which portray the Messiah as a sufferer and as an object of hostility to wicked men, set forth mainly his priesthood upon one of its sides, and connected with this his prophetic office. His priesthood, or rather his sacrificial character, is shown in the unparalleled intensity of the sufferings which he endures. But though these are declared to issue in good to others and in the salvation of the whole world, they are not explicitly stated to be vicarious. And even the personal offering which he presents as distinguished from the merely animal sacrifices of the law, is not spoken of as a substitution or expiation, but simply as obedience and submission to his heavenly Father's will. "Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me. I delight to do thy will, O my God." The full doctrine of Messiah's vicarious sufferings for the sins of men is reserved for Isa. liii. His prophetic office is shown in such expressions as "I will declare thy name unto my brethren." Ps. xxii. "I have preached righteousness in the great congregation." Ps. xl., etc.

The correlative idea to that of the suffering righteous is that of a delivering God. The psalmists in their distresses constantly call upon God as their Saviour and Redeemer, an office which belongs specifically to God the Son. But it is in the book of Job that this idea rises most conspicuously into the Messianic region. Job, as the prince of sufferers, was himself a distinguished type of the suffering Son of God. But his triumphant burst of faith, though it may not have been consciously directed to the Messiah, has been recognized in all ages as containing an evident Messianic element. "I know that my

Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth."

.III. The seed of the woman was condemned to struggle with the serpent and his seed, and suffer the bruising of his heel. This struggle would be most intense in the case of the great champion, by whom the final and decisive victory was to be achieved. Messiah was, therefore, identified with the cause of all who steadfastly fought this battle with evil. His estate of humiliation and suffering would be generically the same in its character and results with the persecutions and sorrows endured by the righteous as a body, only of unexampled intensity, free from sin and followed by results of unlimited magnitude and glory. The particular form and drapery of the representation were borrowed chiefly from the experience of David, for the double reason that this was more vividly present to the psalmist's mind, and that the types of history belonging to this specific class for the time culminated in him.

The strife was not to end, however, with the bruised heel of the seed of the woman. It had been promised that it should terminate in the crushing of the serpent's head. This brings us to the third and last phase of thought, which takes on a Messianic colouring, viz., the triumphant righteous together with the converse of the picture, these being the positive and negative poles of the same idea, the issue of the contest with evil, first, as waged by God's help, and secondly, as carried on without him.

The most conspicuous type was here again afforded by the experience of David, to which that of Solomon was added by a natural sequence. The appropriateness of making this the starting point from which to rise by the usual method of removing all limitation and imperfection to the splendour of Messiah's triumph, lies not merely in their individual, but also in their official relations. David was advanced from the midst of sore trials and malignant persecutions to a throne, which in Solomon attained a yet loftier measure of magnificence and renown. But they were besides the divinely constituted heads of God's earthly kingdom at the zenith of both its temporal and spiritual prosperity and power, apt emblems, therefore, of Him in

whom that same kingdom, under a different form, should reach its final consummation.

The kingdom of David, with his successful wars, affords the model, which in Psalm ii. is heightened into an impotent and unavailing combination of all the kingdoms of the world against the King, whom God had set in Zion, and whose hands wielded a sceptre of iron, which could dash to pieces the most formidable opposition as easily and completely as a potter's vessel. In Psalm lxxii. the image is drawn from the peaceful and prosperous sway of Solomon, which is expanded to the full dimensions of the earth and made to endure for all time. But as the subjection of the nations is not merely a forced but a voluntary one, it is represented in Psalm xlv., under the additional emblem of a marriage alliance with a beautiful princess, attended by a retinue of kings' daughters and with bridal presents brought from rich and powerful states. The Song of Solomon is simply an expansion of this same idea to a more extended allegory. In Psalm cx. a new dignity is added to the monarch. Like Melchizedek, who reigned in Jerusalem ages before either David or Solomon, he is not only king but priest; he not only rules a willing people and is victorious over his prostrate foes, but has in addition the sacerdotal privilege of near approach to God, and this too in the most unrestricted and unlimited sense. The high priest himself could only come once in the year into the most holy place, and stand before the symbol of the throne of God; Messiah takes his permanent seat at God's right hand. Other priests were not suffered to continue by reason of death; Messiah is a priest for ever.

We have before seen how Messiah was set forth in his estate of humiliation, together with his prophetic office and his priesthood upon one of its sides. This is now completed by his estate of exaltation, the other side of his priesthood and his office as king.

But the kingdom which has thus far served as a type of Messiah's exaltation and glory, is capable of being considered from a different point of view, as worldly and transitory, and as such fitted to illustrate by contrast what it has hitherto been employed to represent by comparison. This is the aspect under which it is regarded by the remaining two poetical books, which

are therefore negatively Messianic. Ecclesiastes sets forth the unsatisfactory nature of all the splendour even of Solomon, when enjoyed without God. And the book of Lamentations at once completes the series and links this with the lessons of the succeeding period by bewailing its overthrow in consequence of its ungodliness, a result which it required centuries to develope.

To sum up the results at which we have arrived. The Psalms unfold the doctrine of the Messiah for the most part consciously and from the human side. *They portray him as the man raised to sovereignty over the universe, as the righteous sufferer whose unparalleled sorrows result in the salvation of the world, as the triumphant monarch who subdues all opposition, rules peacefully over the whole world and to the end of time, is wedded to his people in holy love (an idea expanded likewise in the Song of Solomon) and who is a priest as well as a king. The other poetical books develope the doctrine of the Messiah for the most part unconsciously and from the Divine side. He is the Wisdom of God celebrated in Proverbs, the Redeemer in whom Job declared his confidence, the founder of an empire which has neither the unsatisfactory nature of worldly grandeur set forth in Ecclesiastes, nor its transitory character as shown in the Lamentations.

ART. V.—*The Philosophy of Mathematics.*

WHILST there are few who have not some knowledge of this science, fewer have ever asked themselves, What is Mathematics? and when the question is proposed a less number still are able to give a satisfactory answer. Unlike most other sciences, the name of this is not distinctive. Mathematics—*τα μαθηματα*—literally means, *things to be learned*. Accordingly, when the Greeks used the expression in a technical sense, they meant all the then known sciences. The subsequent use of the word in the restricted sense in which it is now always employed, is arbitrary, except so far as this usage may

be justified by the fact that the particular science to which it is appropriated lies at the basis of all physical science.

Another reason doubtless why so few have a clear conception of mathematics as a well-defined science is, that the term is a plural. This would seem to imply that it denoted, not a single science, but a number of sciences, analogous yet distinct and independent—in some respects similar yet without any logical connection—rods of the same bundle rather than branches of one vine.

Moreover, the several branches of mathematics do actually differ greatly from each other—so much so that an individual may be thoroughly familiar with one branch and yet entirely ignorant of even the elements of others. A higher division of this science is not always a mere extension of a lower. The distinction between some at least is a difference not merely in degree, but in kind. It is not without meaning, therefore, that the more advanced branches are called, not merely higher, but transcendental. The same mathematical problem may be solved by entirely different methods, each involving ideas and processes peculiar to itself. In the study of different branches of mathematics entirely different faculties of the mind are exercised, so that not unfrequently the same individual may master with ease certain branches, and yet have no aptitude for others.

For the reasons mentioned, not only is the conception which most have of mathematics as a science vague and unsatisfactory, but the fact is, the true idea of the science as a systematic whole and the precise logical relation of the several parts, were not until within our own day, even by the mathematicians themselves, accurately determined.

Comte's great work, his "*Cours de Philosophie Positive*," is alike remarkable for its profundity and its shallowness, its truth and its error, its wisdom and its folly, according as it treats of natural and of spiritual things. In all that relates to the former, there is exhibited a breadth of knowledge as to facts, a depth of penetration as to principles, a subtlety in discrimination, a skill in generalization, and withal a facility in expressing truths the most abstruse and profound in language rigidly accurate yet readily intelligible, that has seldom if ever

been equalled. All that relates to the latter is but a notable illustration of the language, if not the precise idea of the apostle, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Remarkable clearness and extent of vision as to natural things is combined with total blindness in regard to all that pertains to man's spiritual nature and relations.

The classification of the Physical Sciences given in "the Positive Philosophy," has been justly styled by Morell, "a master-piece of scientific inquiry." With the skill of an expert topographer, the author presents a synoptical view—alike remarkable for its comprehensiveness and its minuteness—of the whole domain of Physical Science, the proper limits of each department distinctly traced, its peculiar features graphically sketched, and the true relations of the several departments to each other exhibited so clearly as to be apprehended at a glance.

But it is in his analysis of Mathematics—the science which he justly regards as "holding the first place in the hierarchy of the sciences"—the "*scientia scientiarum*"—that the remarkable powers of his intellect above referred to, are most strikingly illustrated. Strange as it may seem, the task he here undertook to perform was one which previously had scarcely been attempted. The very definition of Mathematics as a distinct science was undetermined, and the accepted classification of its several branches was largely arbitrary and based upon superficial rather than profound logical considerations. The explanation of this fact which Comte himself suggests is, that "the different fundamental conceptions which constitute this great science were not, until the commencement of the last century, sufficiently developed to permit the true spirit of the whole to manifest itself with clearness. Since that epoch the attention of mathematicians has been too exclusively absorbed in the special perfecting of the different branches, and in the application of them to the investigation of the laws of the universe, to allow of due attention to the general system of the science."

Entering upon this almost wholly unexplored field, Comte

has succeeded in giving so complete and accurate a survey that little remains for those who come after him but to follow in his footsteps, or, as in the future the domain of the science may be enlarged, to advance along the paths whose direction he has indicated. So original and exhaustive is the work which Comte has here performed, that the language of Mill is not extravagant when he attributes to him the honour of "having created the philosophy of mathematics."

In availing ourselves of the labours of Comte in our attempt to answer the question proposed at the commencement of this paper, we do not feel at liberty to do so without the distinct avowal that however valuable that portion of "the Positive Philosophy" which relates to physical science, we regard it as but a small compensation for the accompanying error which it is the main design of the work to inculcate and to which the author would make all that is really valuable subservient. Weighing the evil against the good, we have no hesitation in deploring, that "this greatest work of the age," as it has been styled by some of its admirers, should ever have been written. The light which it throws upon science could not have been much longer obscured, whilst under the guidance of its teachings in regard to spiritual things many doubtless will be led into regions of everlasting darkness.

What then is Mathematics?

The answer commonly given to this question—and which is objectionable on account of its incompleteness rather than its incorrectness—is, that it is *the science of quantity*. To arrive at a clear idea of the true and complete definition it may be well to start with this defective definition.

Mathematics then is the science of quantity. And what is *quantity*? The etymology of the word indicates its precise meaning. Derived from the Latin, *quantitas*, and that from *quantus*—*how much*?—the word *quantity* denotes, that which is referred to when we ask with respect to anything, *How much* is there of it? The question does not refer to the form, structure, value, uses, or any other quality or attribute of the thing than its *how-much-ness*, if we may be allowed to coin the synonym. This is the strict and primary meaning of the word *quantity*.

By a very slight metonymy the word is used to denote any *thing*, or any *quality* of any thing, in regard to which the question may be asked, How much is there of it? It is used in this sense when we speak of a quantity or of *quantities*.

The idea expressed by the word *quantity* carries with it the idea of *measurement*. Until a thing is measured it is impossible to give a precise answer to the question, How much is there of it?

And what is meant by *measuring* a quantity? The idea is familiar to all—how may it be defined? It is determining the ratio between the quantity to be measured and some other quantity of the same species, regarded as a unit. The choice of the quantity used as the unit is entirely arbitrary—or rather, conventional. Whatever be its greatness or smallness, if it be of the same species with the quantity to be measured there is between the two a definite ratio, and the determination of this ratio measures the quantity in question. What particular quantity shall be taken as the unit, is a matter of convenience rather than of accuracy.

We are now prepared for a somewhat more precise answer to the question, What is Mathematics? It is that science which has for its object the *measurement* of quantities.

But in many instances measurements may be performed simply by the actual application of the unit of measurement to the quantity to be measured—as, for example, when with a graduated rule we determine that a given line is so many feet and inches in length. This would be the measurement of a quantity, and hence would come within the terms of the above definition, and yet it is evident that such an operation would be purely mechanical—not a scientific, and hence not a mathematical, process. The above answer to the question under consideration needs therefore to be still further amended.

To understand precisely wherein it is defective, and what is the amendment necessary to make it complete, consider, that comparatively few of the almost infinite number and variety of the quantities we may wish to measure admit of measurement by the actual application to them of a unit. Take the simple case of determining the length of a given line—the line may too long or too short to admit of actual measurement; it may

be in an inconvenient position; it may be wholly inaccessible; or it may be a curved line, in which case the exact application to it of the linear unit would be impracticable. So to determine the area of a circle, or even of a triangle, the superficial unit being a square, it would be impossible, however small the unit, to apply it actually to the area to be measured. And further, in regard to many quantities the application or superposition of a unit of the same species, is not only impossible but inconceivable, as, for example, such quantities as time, force, velocity, &c.—quantities the most common, involved in many of the most interesting phenomena of nature, and whose exact measure it is often of the highest importance to know.

Now as to all quantities, except the very few that may be measured by the actual application of a unit, how is measurement to be effected? We answer, it can only be done *indirectly*, and indirectly only in this particular way, by means of some definite relation between the quantity to be measured and some other quantity or quantities that admit of actual measurement. For example, to determine the height of a vertical object—if a straight line be measured from the base of the object to any convenient point in the same horizontal plane, and at that point the angle of elevation of the top of the vertical object be measured, its height may be readily determined by means of the measurements made and the definite relation between the height of the object and the quantities actually measured.

We are now prepared to give the precise and complete answer to the question, What is Mathematics? It is that science which has for its object the *indirect* measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to some other quantity or quantities that admit of actual measurement.

The object of mathematics as here stated, may seem at first sight to be a very simple one, of comparatively little moment, and requiring for its attainment but a moderate exercise of our intellectual faculties. It needs however but little reflection upon the terms of this definition to enable us to appreciate the comprehensiveness of this science, its immense importance, and

the large demand it makes upon the highest powers of the human intellect for its successful prosecution.

As to its comprehensiveness, it has to do with whatever may be called a *quantity*. Its domain therefore is the whole sphere of nature. It includes in its scope the investigation of the form, position, and magnitude of all bodies, their weight, their density, their colour even—for what is colour but the velocity of an undulation? It has to do with the number of every aggregate, the proportions of every chemical combination, the value of every article of commerce, even the pitch of every sound. It is involved in the investigation of all actions of forces, and hence all the phenomena of motion, as well as many of the phenomena of light, of heat, of electricity, of magnetism, of galvanism. It deals with all problems involving the idea of time, for time is but measured duration. In short, it has to do with every thing, and every quality or attribute of every thing, in regard to which the question may be asked, How much is there of it? In the language of the son of Sirach, “God hath made all things by number, weight, and measure.” How comprehensive then is that science which includes in its scope whatever may be numbered, weighed, and measured?

To appreciate the *importance* of this science, we have but to consider that until a quantity is measured we cannot have a distinct knowledge of it. Any conception of it that we may previously have, is necessarily incomplete, vague, and for any scientific purpose, valueless. We may, for example, have the idea that the earth as compared to bodies on its surface is large, but we have no proper knowledge of its size until we are able to say it is a sphere of so many miles in diameter. We may know that a body if unsupported will fall toward the earth, but we have no proper, or at least, scientific, knowledge of gravitation until we are able to say that the attraction of matter for matter varies directly as the mass, and inversely as the square of the distance.

We see at once therefore why it is that mathematics lies at the foundation of all true physical science. Without the exact knowledge which it furnishes, the very material for such science will be wanting. Science is facts systematized, that is generalized, and generalization is impossible if our knowledge of the

facts themselves be indefinite. It is not an accident, therefore, but a necessary logical consequence that physical science in its progress has always followed and never preceded mathematical science. A complete history of mathematics together with its various applications, would contain a history of the progress of the race in the knowledge of the phenomena of nature.

Certain savage tribes have been found unable to count beyond a hundred. No other fact than this is needed to satisfy us as to their utter mental degradation. It of itself indicates the absence of those precise and accurate conceptions, which both as cause and effect ever accompany intellectual development. For the elevation of such savages, it would be a primary and indispensable requisite that their minds be informed with mathematical ideas, and just in proportion as they should make progress in the knowledge of this science would they be elevated in the scale of intelligence.

By a due consideration of the terms of the above definition of mathematics, it will be further abundantly manifest that it demands the exercise of the highest powers of the human intellect for its successful prosecution. The object of the science, as has been stated, is, the measurement of whatever may be called a quantity, and this, *indirectly*—that is, by means of the relation of the quantity to be measured to other dependent quantities which admit of actual measurement. If then we consider the number and variety of quantities, the exact measure of which it is both interesting and important for us to know; if we consider further how manifold and complex the relations of many quantities to other quantities dependent upon them, and that out of these relations those are to be selected that may be made to answer the end in view; if we consider still further that in many cases the dependent quantities themselves can be measured only indirectly, that is, by other quantities depending upon them; and these again, it may be, only in like manner by others, we may begin to appreciate the magnitude of the difficulty of many of the problems which present themselves to the mathematician for solution.

His first difficulty is to obtain a mathematical expression of the relation of the quantity to be measured to other quantities depending upon it which admit of measurement directly or in-

directly. This difficulty having been overcome, another—and in many cases, the greater—difficulty still remains, namely, to reduce the complex expression so that the *precise* mode of dependence of the quantities involved may be exhibited.

The performance of the intellectual task here proposed involves a vigorous exercise of the imagination in the true sense of that oft misused term—the faculty of forming distinct and correct mental images of objects not present to the senses. It requires moreover protracted attention, intense thought, clear conception, and subtle discrimination. Out of all the quantities which are dependent upon, or by the introduction of others, may be brought into relation to, the quantity to be measured, the judgment is exercised in selecting such quantities, and such relations of them, as are suitable to the end in view. The reasoning faculties are exercised in detecting and exhibiting the connection between dependent truths—sometimes the process being synthetic, that is, so *placing together* (*συντιθεῖν*) known truths as to demonstrate a new truth; sometimes analytic, that is unfolding or *unloosing* (*αναλύνω*) the several truths that are involved—wrapped up, as it were—in a general truth or proposition; the former process being analogous to that which is of so much importance in all scientific inquiry—the work of generalization, induction, passing from particulars to generals—the latter, an exercise no less important, that of deduction, or passing from generals to particulars.

It is not strange, therefore, that both in ancient and modern times, men who have been preëminent for superiority of intellect—the master-minds of their age—such men as Pythagoras and Plato, Descartes and Newton—have been attracted to the study of mathematics, and have found therein scope for the exercise of their highest powers. It is not strange that in the progress of the race in intellectual development, the most brilliant achievements—those which most exalt our conception of the capacity and power of the human mind—have been performed on the field of mathematical science. Nor is it strange that a science, the study of which requires the exercise of so many and so important faculties of the mind, and a knowledge of which—to some extent—is indispensable to any intelligent conception of the various phenomena of nature, should occupy

the prominent place it does in the course of study pursued by those who seek mental discipline and a liberal education.

Keeping in view the special object of mathematics, as stated in the above definition, we proceed to exhibit the divisions of the science, the distinctive character of each, and their true relation to each other as parts of a logically connected system.

It may be well at this point to define a term which frequently occurs in the philosophy of mathematics, and in a somewhat technical sense—the term *function*. One quantity is said to be a *function* of another when it depends upon the other for its value. The force of a cannon-ball is a function of the quantity of powder and the length of the cannon. The range of the ball is a function of the quantities just mentioned, the elevation of the cannon, the attraction of gravitation, and the resistance of the air. The sine, cosine, &c., of an arc are functions of the arc. The power, root, logarithm, &c. of any number are functions of that number.

Further, functions are said to be *explicit* when the *precise* mode of dependence is expressed; otherwise they are said to be *implicit*. For example, let $x^2 + y^2 = 25$. It is evident that here the value of y depends upon the value of x , but so long as the equation remains in this form, the *precise* mode of dependence is not expressed—the function is implicit. If, however, by the proper algebraic processes the value of y in terms of x be determined, the *precise* mode of dependence would then be expressed—the function would be explicit.

Using then the term function in the sense just mentioned, the complete definition of mathematics previously given may be put in this form—it is the science which has for its object the *indirect* measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to some function or functions of it which admit of actual measurement.

By reflecting on what is involved in this definition, it will be manifest that the solution of a complete mathematical problem includes two entirely distinct operations or processes. The first is, determining what function or functions of the quantity to be measured are suitable to the end proposed, and then obtaining a mathematical expression of the relation of the quan-

tity to be measured to the function or functions involved. This result will ordinarily be an implicit function. The second process is, reducing this implicit function to an explicit. The precise relation of the quantity to be measured to quantities that admit of actual measurement will thus be exhibited—that is, the measurement in question will be effected.

These two operations are, as has been said, entirely distinct in character. The first has to do with the nature or species of the quantity in question; also, with the nature or species of the functions involved. The second has nothing to do with the nature or species of the quantity in question or of its functions. It is simply an application of the rules for transforming and reducing an implicit mathematical function; in other words, it has to do, solely, with the relations which are peculiar to *numerical* quantities—the rules referred to being determined entirely by these relations. In reducing the implicit function the process will be the same, whether the quantities involved be lines, surfaces, velocities, forces, or quantities of any species whatsoever. For example, whether the problem involve the proportion that the areas of parallelograms of the same altitude are to each other as their bases, or the proportion that the sides of a plane triangle are to each other as the sines of the angles opposite, or the proportion that the squares of the times of revolution of the planets are as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun, in either case, three of the terms of the proportion being known the fourth would be determined by the same mathematical process.

We have here then a basis for a logical division of the science of mathematics into two great branches, differing from each other as to their immediate objects, methods, and the nature of the quantities involved. The distinctive characteristics of each branch are also clearly indicated.

The division to which the latter operation in the solution of a complete mathematical problem belongs—in logical order the *primary* division, in that it has to do with the relations of numerical quantities only—Comte designates, *Abstract Mathematics*. The other division, which has to do with the relations of quantities of any other species whatsoever, he calls, *Concrete Mathematics*.

It may be proper to remark that this principal division of the science into Abstract and Concrete Mathematics, should not be confounded with the common unscientific division of the science, into Pure and Mixed Mathematics. The two branches in the one case do not correspond either in nature or extent to the two branches in the other, the division in the one case and the other being determined by entirely different considerations. For example, Geometry, according to the ordinary division, is a branch of Pure Mathematics—according to the division above-mentioned, it is a branch of Concrete Mathematics. The division of the several branches of the science into Pure and Mixed Mathematics is a kind of mechanical classification, based on superficial considerations. The division into Abstract and Concrete Mathematics is based upon a clear and fundamental distinction between the two branches, as to their elements, methods, and immediate objects.

Before proceeding to specify the *subdivisions* of mathematics, it will be necessary to determine accurately the limitations of the science.

Whilst every conceivable quantity is related to certain other quantities which may be called its functions, it is evident that there are many functions that cannot be used for the object proposed in mathematics, namely, *measurement*. For measurement, as we have already had occasion to remark, being the determination of the ratio of the quantity to be measured to some other quantity of the same species regarded as a unit, the result in every case is a *numerical* quantity. Now this result can never be obtained if the implicit function involve any other relations than those which admit of numerical expression—or expression by means of algebraic symbols of numerical quantities. If other relations than those just mentioned are involved, the processes for transforming and reducing the implicit function—having respect as they have to the relations of numerical quantities only—will be inapplicable. The first limitation therefore to the science of mathematics is, that it is restricted to the use of functions whose mode of dependence admits of numerical expression, or expression by means of algebraic symbols of numerical quantities.

Again, the relations between the quantity to be measured and

its functions may admit of algebraic expression, yet so abstruse in character and complicated in form that the reduction to an explicit function cannot, in the present state of mathematical science, be effected. This gives rise to another limitation—if not in theory, at least in practice. Only such quantities are practically within the scope of the science as have functions whose relations admit of a reducible algebraic expression.

To indicate therefore the limits of the science positively, it will be necessary to determine what are the different relations that may exist between *numerical* quantities—in other words, what are the different ways in which one number may depend upon other numbers for its value. The different forms of *implicit* numerical functions are infinite in number and variety. An implicit function is but a combination of several simple or elementary functions, and there is evidently no limit to the number and variety of such combinations. The number of simple or elementary numerical functions, however, is quite limited. In the present state of mathematical science there are but ten simple, abstract functions—strictly speaking, but five, since the ten referred to are in fact five *pairs* of functions, one of each pair being the inverse of the other. Moreover, the last pair are not purely abstract. In certain respects they are of the nature of abstract functions or may be treated as such; in other respects they are concrete.

The five pairs of simple or elementary abstract functions are: 1st. The Sum and Difference; 2d. The Product and Quotient; 3d. The Power and Root; 4th. Logarithmic and Exponential functions; 5th. Direct and Inverse Trigonometrical—or, as they are frequently called, Circular—functions. All possible relations of numerical quantities—or rather all relations that in the present state of mathematical science admit of algebraic expression—are but combinations more or less complicated of these ten simple functions.

The science of Mathematics is, therefore, for the present at least, limited to the investigation of quantities having functions which are dependent in some one or other of the ten ways just mentioned. Even with this limitation it need scarcely be said, that no other science is to be compared with mathematics, with respect to the extent of the field which it embraces.

We are now prepared to consider the subdivisions into which the two great branches of mathematics is divided.

The *subdivisions* which Comte proposes, are—like his principal divisions—determined by an analysis of the solution of a complete mathematical problem. Fundamental distinctions having respect to the nature and especially to the particular object of the different processes involved, are made the basis of classification. He accordingly divides Abstract Mathematics into two branches, which may be designated as Arithmetic and Algebra, if we are careful not to confound the particular sense in which these terms are here employed, with the indefinite, unscientific sense in which they are ordinarily used.

To present clearly the distinction between these two branches, and the precise nature and object of each, suppose it be required to determine the number which being multiplied by 3 will produce 12. The problem may be solved by writing 12 and dividing it by 3; or we may write $x =$ the number required—then by the hypothesis $3x = 12$, hence $x = 4$. Now according to the ordinary acceptation of the terms the former operation would be called *arithmetical*—the latter, *algebraic*. And yet it is evident that the two operations are essentially the same. They have precisely the same object, and this object is reached by precisely the same mental process in either case. The two operations differ only in form, that is in appearance. The distinction between them is therefore entirely superficial, and does not furnish a sufficient basis for a truly scientific classification.

Suppose, however, that the *general* problem had been given, to find an expression for the number which multiplied by a shall produce b ?— a and b denoting any numbers whatsoever. Here if we denote the required number by x , then by the hypothesis $ax = b$ and therefore $x = b$ divided by a . Now here whilst the *form* of the process is identical with the preceding, the *object* and the *result* are entirely different. The result $x = b$ divided by a , is not a *value* of x , it merely exhibits *the mode of dependence* of x on a and b —in other words, it exhibits *what* function x is of a and b , whatever values be attributed to these latter symbols. If we wish to know the particular value of x , when $b = 12$ and $a = 3$, it may readily

be determined by substituting the given values in the general expression and performing the division indicated. This operation is entirely different from the preceding both as to its nature and its object. In these respects it corresponds exactly with the problem first proposed.

We have here then the distinction between Arithmetic and Algebra, in the strictly scientific sense of those terms, clearly indicated. That part of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object to determine *what precise function* one quantity is of another or of others with which it has the relations expressed in the conditions of the problem, is Algebra. That part of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object to determine *the precise numerical value* of the quantity in question, is Arithmetic. The former has respect only to the *relations* of the quantities involved, the latter has respect to their *values*. It may be remarked that as every purely algebraic problem includes all possible similar arithmetical problems, so every purely arithmetical problem may be regarded as but a particular case of a general algebraic problem.

As the terms Arithmetic and Algebra are ordinarily used in a less strict sense than that above-mentioned, and moreover are not etymologically significant, the two branches of Abstract Mathematics may be more precisely designated as the Calculus of Values, and the Calculus of Functions.

Arithmetic, or the Calculus of Values, from its very nature, does not admit of logical subdivision; not so, however, with Algebra or the Calculus of Functions.

We have seen that the number of simple abstract functions—that is, those which may exist between numerical quantities—is very limited. On the other hand, the number and variety of concrete functions is so great that they may be said to be unlimited. Now, as the ultimate object of mathematics is the *measurement* of quantities of any species whatsoever, and as measurement is the determination of the *ratio* of two quantities of the same species, and, moreover, as every such ratio is a *numerical* quantity, it is evident that only such concrete functions can be employed as have relations which admit of algebraic expression—an expression, moreover, that is reducible to an *explicit* function, and to an explicit function of such a form

that its numerical value for given values of the symbols involved may be obtained by the processes of arithmetic. It follows, therefore, as has been before remarked, that the selection of appropriate concrete functions and the obtaining a suitable expression for their relations, often presents to the mathematician a most formidable difficulty.

It might seem at first sight that this difficulty might be lessened by simply increasing the number of elementary abstract functions. A little reflection will show that this is almost wholly impracticable. The possible relations of numerical quantities is evidently quite limited, and whilst we may not say that in the future progress of mathematical science no new abstract functions will be recognized, it is difficult for us at present to conceive of any others—at least any others available for the end in view—than the ten simple functions above mentioned.

The difficulty in question has however been very ingeniously encountered in another way, namely, not by attempting to increase the number of simple functions, but by making use of certain *functions of these functions*. Theoretically there are several different functions of the simple functions that might be employed, but it is found that practically the most suitable by far for the end in view, are the infinitesimals or differentials of the simple functions. By an *infinitesimal* (according to the theory of Leibnitz, which, though not so rigidly accurate, is more readily intelligible than the theories of Newton and Lagrange,) is meant a portion of a quantity less than any assignable fraction of it—in that sense, *infinitely* small—relatively, though not absolutely, equal to zero. A *differential*—which in the theory of Leibnitz corresponds to what Newton calls a *fluxion*, and Lagrange a *derivative*—is the infinitesimal of a *variable*, or the difference between two successive values of a variable.

It is found that in dealing with many of the most interesting yet otherwise insoluble problems of Concrete Mathematics, these infinitesimals are admirably adapted to overcome the difficulty referred to above. Relations of Concrete Functions, which it would be impossible to express immediately in terms of Abstract Functions, may frequently be readily expressed in terms of the

differentials of Abstract Functions. From the equation thus obtained—that is, an equation which expresses the relation between the *differentials* of Abstract Functions—an equation expressing the relation between the *abstract functions themselves* may, by established rules for such transformation, be readily obtained—thus bringing the quantity in question within the grasp, as it were, of that branch of the science by which alone its measurement can be effected.

As the true scientific conception of the Infinitesimal Calculus is that which has just been presented, it may be well to illustrate the idea by a simple example. Suppose the problem to determine the area of a plane curve. Now, whilst the area of some few curves may be obtained by special processes, different in the case of different curves and always cumbersome in application, no general method—applicable to any and every curve—involving the use of the functions of the curve *directly*, can be given. By using, however, the differentials of the quantities involved, the *differential* of the area may be expressed by a very simple formula, namely, the differential of the area is equal to one rectilinear ordinate of the curve into the differential of the other. By means of this formula an expression for the *differential* of the area of any given curve may be readily obtained. Then by strict mathematical processes this equation in terms of the differentials, may be transformed, and the value of the area itself, in terms of one of its functions exhibited.

It should be remarked that the solution of a number of the most interesting problems of mathematics is immediately effected, whenever an equation expressing the relation of the differentials of the variables involved is obtained. For example, to determine the angle which a given curve at a given point makes with the abscissa or abscissa produced—the ratio of the differential of the ordinate of the point to the differential of the abscissa expresses at once the tangent of the angle required.

From what has been said, the logical division of Algebra, or the Calculus of Functions is evident. It is divided into two branches—one deals with functions themselves and hence involves finite quantities only, the other deals with the differentials of functions and hence involves infinitesimals. The former is ordinary Elementary Algebra, the latter Transcendental

Algebra. To distinguish these branches by designations that shall be significant, the former may be called the Calculus of Direct Functions, the latter, the Calculus of Indirect Functions.

The Calculus of Indirect Functions includes two entirely different mathematical processes, the one the inverse of the other and yet its logical complement in a conception of this branch of mathematical science. These processes are known as differentiation and integration. The relation of two quantities which are functions of each other being given, *differentiation* is determining the relation of the differentials of these quantities. Again, the relations of the differentials of two quantities—functions of each other—being given, *integration* is determining the relation of the quantities themselves.

The Differential *Calculus* in the strict sense of the expression—namely, that branch of Abstract Mathematics which has for its object the differentiation of any given function—is quite limited in its scope, and may be said to have reached its perfection. Convenient rules for the differentiation of all the recognized simple abstract functions have been determined; and any complex function, being but a combination of simple functions, may always be differentiated by applying successively the differentiation of the several simple functions involved. The *application* of the Differential Calculus, however, to the solution of problems in Concrete Mathematics, is unlimited in extent.

The scope of Integral Calculus proper—that is the integration of any given relation of differentials—is much wider, and its development is comparatively quite imperfect. The limits of this branch of the Calculus of Indirect Functions are—and probably must always remain—indefinite. A relation of the differentials of functions may be given such that the relation of the functions themselves will not admit of algebraic expression. Or the immediate result of the differentiation of a complex function may be so transformed by legitimate algebraical processes that the derivation may be entirely obscured.

To complete our synopsis of Abstract Mathematics two Calculi remain to be noticed. First, the Calculus of Variations, invented by Lagrange and largely used by him in his “Analy-

tique Mechanique." This branch of mathematics Comte fitly characterizes as "hyper-transcendental." It is so abstruse in its nature and complicated in its processes that it has received but little attention from mathematicians, and remains in about the same state in which Lagrange left it. The object of the Calculus of Variations, as stated by Comte, is, to determine "what form a certain unknown function of one or more variables ought to have, in order that the value of a given integral within assigned limits shall, for that function, be a maximum or minimum in comparison with the values of the integral for functions of any other form whatsoever." What is meant by this, the reader who has some knowledge of the Differential and Integral Calculus may understand by the following illustration. In an ordinary problem in Maxima and Minima, a function is given, and it is proposed to determine what is that value of the variable which will render the function a maximum or minimum in comparison with either of the values immediately adjacent, that is in comparison with either of the values the function would have if the value of the variable were either increased or diminished. The Differential Calculus furnishes a ready method for the solution of all such problems. Now suppose instead of a function being given, a general expression for the value of the integral of a certain differential expression is given—for example, the area of a plane curve = the integral of ydx —and it is proposed to determine the equation of the curve whose area is a maximum in comparison with the area of any other curve between the same limiting ordinates,—in other words, what must be the relation of the function y to the variable x that the integral of ydx shall be a maximum. This problem is of an entirely different nature from an ordinary problem in Maxima and Minima. Here there is no function given—the very problem is to determine the function, in other words, the equation of the curve whose area is a maximum. Moreover, the maximum referred to in an ordinary Maxima and Minima problem is that value of the function which is a maximum as compared with either of the values the function would have if the value of the variable were either increased or diminished. Here the maximum referred to is a maximum, not as compared with the values which the quantity in question would have if

changes were attributed to the variable, but a maximum as compared with the value which the quantity in question would have if any change should be made in the form of the function. It is with the class of problems of which the one just mentioned is a simple example, that the Calculus of Variations deals.

The remaining branch of Abstract Mathematics above referred to, is the Calculus of Finite Differences, invented by Taylor and exhibited in his "Methodus Incrementorum." This Calculus is but an extension of the fundamental idea—or rather a new application of the *method*—of the Differential and Integral Calculus. This latter has for its primary object to determine the change in any function corresponding to an *infinitely small* change in the variable upon which it depends. The immediate object of the Calculus of Finite Differences is to determine the change in any function corresponding to a particular *finite* change in the variable; or more generally, to determine the successive changes in any function corresponding to successive finite changes attributed to the variable according to a given law—as for example, when the values of the variable increase (as they are ordinarily, in this Calculus, assumed to do) in Arithmetical Progression. Like the Infinitesimal Calculus, the Calculus of Finite Differences has two branches—the Direct and the Inverse—the latter being sometimes called the Integral Calculus of Finite Differences. In its form and notation the Calculus of Finite Differences is analogous to the Calculus of Indirect Functions, yet as it deals entirely with *finite* quantities it is logically a branch of the Calculus of Direct Functions.

Having completed our survey of Abstract Mathematics, it may not be amiss to give a summary of the points that have been presented.

Mathematics is that science which has for its object the indirect measurement of quantities, that is by means of the relations of the quantity to be measured to other dependent quantities—called its functions—which admit of actual measurement.

The science is divided into two branches—Abstract Mathematics which treats of the functions of numerical quantities,

and Concrete Mathematics which treats of functions of any other species. Abstract Mathematics is divided into two branches—Arithmetic or the Calculus of Values, and Algebra or the Calculus of Functions.

The Calculus of Functions is divided into two branches—the Calculus of Direct Functions or ordinary Elementary Algebra, which deals with finite quantities only; and the Calculus of Indirect Functions, which investigates the relations of infinitesimal quantities.

The Calculus of Indirect Functions is divided into two branches—the Differential and Integral Calculus, and the Calculus of Variations.

The Calculus of Finite Differences investigates the relations of corresponding finite increments of functions, by the methods of the Infinitesimal Calculus.

It remains for us to notice—which we can do only in a very summary manner—the Philosophy of Concrete Mathematics. As this branch of the science has to do with functions of any species whatsoever, its scope, in theory at least, is coextensive with the material universe—or rather, with so much of the material universe as lies within the sphere of our knowledge. As the phenomena of nature are infinite—not only in number but in variety—it might seem at first sight that any subdivision of Concrete Mathematics into distinct branches would not—however great their number—be exhaustive. Upon a more profound view however of the functions with which this branch of mathematical science has to deal, it will appear that there are but two really distinct divisions of Concrete Mathematics.

The phenomena of the material universe, however manifold and varied in form and appearance, are all ultimately resolvable into two constituent elements, so to speak, namely, matter and force. Every particular phenomenon is but a particular modification or combination of these elements.

Whilst we know not what *matter* is in its essence, it may nevertheless be defined as that which occupies space—in other words, a distinctive essential property of it is *extension*. Whilst we know not what *force* is in its essence, it may be defined as that which produces, modifies, prevents, or tends to produce modify or prevent, *motion*. It is evident therefore

that Geometry—the science which has for its object the measurement of extension—and Rational Mechanics—the science which has for its object the measurement of the action of forces—include, theoretically, within their scope all the problems of Concrete Mathematics. If the material universe were immovable the only phenomena of nature would be the magnitude, form, and position of bodies—that is, the problems of Natural Philosophy would be exclusively geometrical. As the universe is constituted, however, matter is continually subject to the action of forces—the phenomena therefore actually presented involve mechanical as well as geometrical problems.

Of these two divisions of Concrete Mathematics, the primary—in logical order as well as with respect to the simplicity of its elements—is Geometry. To understand the true spirit of this branch of Mathematics—which has for its object the measurement of extension—and to appreciate the bearing and ultimate destination of all geometrical inquiries, it should be remarked, that extension may be in *one* direction, in *two* directions, or in *three* directions. Geometry accordingly has to deal with three entirely different kinds of quantity, namely, lines, surfaces and—what are popularly called, solids—in the more exact language of science, volumes. The limit of any material body is a surface; the limit of a surface or the intersection of two surfaces is a line; the limit of a line or the intersection of two lines is a point. A point having position only and not magnitude, does not admit of measurement. A more explicit definition therefore of Geometry than that given above would be, it is that branch of Mathematics which has for its object the measurement of lines, surfaces, and volumes.

These quantities are not only different in kind, but the kind of *measurement* of which they are severally susceptible is entirely different. Under favourable circumstances a line may be measured *directly*, that is, by the application to it of a unit of measure. The direct application of a unit of measure to a *surface* is ordinarily impracticable; to a *volume* it is ordinarily—from the very nature of the case—impossible. The measurement of surfaces and volumes therefore is to be effected only *indirectly*, that is, by means of their relations to some quantities that admit of actual measurement. Now the magnitude of

any surface or volume is always dependent upon the magnitude of certain *lines* pertaining to it, for example, the area of an ellipse upon the lengths of its principal axes, the capacity of a cylinder on the diameter of its base and its height. The general object therefore of Geometry as it respects surfaces and volumes, is to determine a definite relation between the quantity in question and some linear function of it.

But further, as to the measurement of *lines*—whilst a *straight* line under favourable circumstances may be measured by the application to it of a unit, if a line be *curved* the exact application to it of a rectilinear unit is impracticable; its measurement accordingly can be effected only indirectly, that is, by means of its relations to some straight line that admits of measurement either directly or indirectly. The general object therefore of Geometry as it respects *curved* lines, is to determine some definite relation between the line in question and some *straight* line.

Once more, but few of the *straight* lines whose measure we may wish to know admit of measurement by the application of a unit. The general object therefore of Geometry with respect to *straight* lines is to determine some definite relation between the line in question and some other straight line that admits of direct measurement. To this precise destination then all geometrical inquiries tend. This ultimate object of the science is the immediate object of that branch of it called Trigonometry. From the relations of the sides and angles of a plane triangle, simple rules are established by means of which any three parts—one being a side—of a plane triangle being known the other three may be determined. Hence to measure indirectly any given straight line, it is only necessary to regard it as a side of a triangle of which three parts admit of actual measurement.

The above definition of Geometry may at first sight seem to be defective, inasmuch as a large part of the actual science is the investigation of the *properties* of lines—not their measurement. By taking, however, a comprehensive view of the whole subject, the important bearing of such investigations on what we have stated to be the true object of Geometry, may readily be traced.

All properties of a line, a surface, or a volume, are not

equally suitable for the purpose of its measurement. Some properties—and it may be those most readily recognized—are wholly unsuitable. Had Archimedes known no other property of the parabola than that it was a section of a cone parallel to the opposite slant side, he would never have been able to effect its quadrature. It is evident, therefore, that just in proportion as the number of known properties of a line is increased, its rectification, quadrature, and the curvature of the volume generated by its revolution, will be facilitated.

Again, the ultimate object of geometrical science is the measurement of material bodies as they exist in nature—that is, the measurement of *concrete* lines, surfaces, and volumes. To effect, however, the measurement of any given concrete line, surface, or volume, its correspondence or similarity to some one or other of the theoretical lines, surfaces, volumes—the abstract types, so to speak—which Geometry has investigated and determined a method for the measurement, must first be recognized. For example, the size of the earth could not possibly have been determined before it was known that the earth was—approximately at least—a sphere. Now the correspondence of any given concrete geometrical quantity to some particular abstract type can be detected only by recognizing the existence of some characteristic property common to both. Sometimes this correspondence is detected by means of one property of the type, sometimes by means of another. It is evident, therefore, that just in proportion as the number of known properties of the several lines and surfaces investigated by Geometry is increased, will the recognition of the similarity of any given concrete quantity to its corresponding abstract type be facilitated; or, as it is expressed by Comte, “the study of the *properties* of lines and surfaces is indispensable to organizing in a rational manner the abstract and the concrete in geometry.”

An interesting illustration of the above is furnished by Kepler’s memorable discovery that the orbits of the planets are elliptical. Had he known no other properties of an ellipse than that it is an oblique section of a cone, or that the sum of the distances of any point on the curve from two fixed points is constant, he would never have been known as “the Legislator

of the Heavens." But observing that the relation of the distance of Mars from the sun to the direction of the planet was the same as the relation of the length of a radius vector of an ellipse to its direction from the focus, the character of the orbit was indicated, and once indicated the suggestion was soon incontrovertibly confirmed.

As to the subdivisions of Concrete Mathematics—Geometry is divided into two branches, Synthetic (or Elementary) Geometry and Analytical Geometry. The characteristic distinction between these two branches, as to their *methods*, is indicated by their respective names. The method of the former is the demonstration of a new geometrical truth by the synthesis or combination of truths previously known. The latter is not simply the application of Algebra to Geometry—algebraic characters may readily be used in strictly synthetic demonstration. Analytical Geometry in the strict and proper sense is that particular use of algebraic symbols which consists in representing a line (or surface) by an algebraic equation expressing the relation between the variable functions of the line (or surface) and then determining the properties of the line (or surface) by an analysis of its equation. Synthetic Geometry always deals *directly* with the line or surface investigated; Analytical Geometry investigates the quantity in question *indirectly*, that is by means of its functions.

There is, however, a still more fundamental distinction between these two branches of mathematical science. Geometry, in theory at least, includes within its scope all imaginable figures, and all the properties of each. In view of the distinction between these two classes of subjects into which the material, so to speak, of the science is divided, it is evident that in the study of Geometry two different plans of procedure may be pursued. One plan would be to study each geometrical *figure* separately and independently—determining all its properties, without any consideration of other figures, even though they might have many analogous properties. The other plan would be to study, separately and independently, each geometrical *property*, determining all the figures which have this property in common, and investigating its peculiarities in each, without any consideration of other properties of the figure in question.

The result, according to the former plan of procedure, would be to exhibit the whole body of geometrical truth as made up of a series of *groups* of facts, having no logical connection with each other. According to the latter plan, the phenomena, so to speak, of the science, would be generalized, and the whole body of truth exhibited in a systematic form. It is scarcely necessary to say which of these two plans of procedure is the more truly scientific. The former was the plan adopted by the ancients, and is a distinctive characteristic of Synthetic Geometry. The latter is that which has been pursued by the moderns since the time of Descartes, and is a distinctive characteristic—and the most fundamental one—of Analytical Geometry. In text-books on Geometry—where the difference between these two branches with respect to *method* is the distinction which should be made most prominent—the ordinary designations are to be preferred. In the Philosophy of Mathematics—where the more fundamental distinction should be made the more prominent—the appropriate designations of the two branches of Geometry are, Special and General Geometry.

The limits of our paper forbid any more extended notice of the philosophical character of the subdivisions of Geometry, as well as any attempt to exhibit the Philosophy of the other principal division of Concrete Mathematics—Rational Mechanics. For a full discussion of Analytical Geometry—that branch of Mathematics, the invention of which marks a new era in the history of physical science, we might say, in the history of the intellectual development of the race—we refer our readers to a very able and interesting Article from the pen of the late Professor Dod, published in the October number of this journal for the year 1841. We would also commend to the notice of such of our readers as are especially interested in mathematical studies, an admirable translation of so much of Comte's "*Cours de Philosophie Positive*" as relates to the Philosophy of Mathematics, by Professor Gillespie, of Union College, published by the Harpers.

SHORT NOTICES.

Discourses of Redemption, as revealed at "Sundry Times and in Divers Manners," designed both as Biblical Expositions for the People and Hints to Theological Students of a popular method of exhibiting the divers Revelations through Patriarchs, Prophets, Jesus, and his Apostles. By Rev. Stuart Robinson, Pastor of the Second Church, Louisville, and late Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology at Danville, Kentucky. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston. Louisville, Ky.: A. Davidson. Toronto: Rollo & Adams. 1866. Pp. 488.

The organic union of the Old and New Testament, or the regular development of the same scheme of redemption, as gradually unfolded in the Scriptures from Genesis to the Apocalypse, is a familiar and most important truth. This is the idea on which these discourses are founded, as is set forth in the extended title-page to the volume before us. To this subject great attention has of late been given by many distinguished German writers, and it forms an important topic of instruction in most of our theological seminaries. The subject is handled with clearness and force by Dr. Robinson, and we doubt not his book will be read with interest, and with much profit. The volume contains so much important truth as to give it a permanent value. Dr. Robinson, however, writes too much in the tone of one who alone possessed the truth. He seems to assume that no one before him or beside himself saw what he sees. And with this there is an overwhelming confidence of statement, on all subjects, great and small. He does not appear to admit that there can be any room for doubt, when he has decided. The greatest blemish of the book, however, we think, is its tone of exaggeration and overstatement. Thus, for example, he makes the kingly office of Christ overshadow his office as prophet and priest. On p. 152, he says, "The doctrine of Jesus as King, and the Founder of a government, constitutes the last and highest development of the Mediatorship of Messiah, and the chief burden of all the prophets concerning him from the time of the covenant with David and forward." We should not much object to this if it be understood in the spirit of our standards, which teach "that Christ executeth the office of a king, in subduing us to himself, in ruling and defending us, in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies." But Dr. Robinson applies what is said of Christ's

functions as king to the establishment of a commonwealth, a government, with officers, laws, rules of proceeding, &c.; that is, to the visible church. He directs his arguments against the "unchurchly" principles of the present age. The spiritual commonwealth, founded by Christ, is declared to be the last and highest organization of the covenant of grace. It is completed, organized. Everything in it and about it is determined by divine authority.

"The no-churchism," he says, "which recognizes no divinely appointed church government with its laws and ordinances, is scarcely less fatal to the truth of Christ, than the High-churchism which makes the authority of the church and obedience to the church, the sum and substance of Christian faith and practice."

It is indeed true that Christ did establish a spiritual commonwealth, or kingdom, or church, with its organization, laws, and officers. But it is greatly to exaggerate this truth to make this organization and earthly appointments the highest development of the covenant of grace, the great subject of the prophetic Scriptures. And it is no less an exaggeration to claim divine authority for everything pertaining to the organization and modes of operation of the church. Christ has laid down certain principles which the church is bound to observe, and within which it is required to confine all that it ordains or does. But within the limits of those principles, it has by divine right great liberty of action, to adapt itself to the varying circumstances in which it is called upon to exist and act. The doctrine that as Moses was obliged to follow, not his taste or sense of convenience, but the divine directions, as to every cord, loop, and tassel of the tabernacle, so Christians are shut up to the specific commands of God as to everything connected with the organization and operations of the church, has ever wrought incalculable evil. It inevitably leads to the neglect of some parts of Scripture, and to the perversion of others. The apostolic churches had some things no modern church now has, and men, holding the principle in question, arbitrarily refuse to apply it in such cases. That is, they, according to their theory, refuse to obey Christ the King of the church. Again, churches in our day have and must have many things which the early church did not need; for these arrangements the Scriptures must be perverted to give special support. But a much more serious evil is, that this principle affords such facility for giving divine authority to every man's peculiar notions. If he understands a passage or fact of Scripture in a certain way, then he claims that God has commanded what he supposes to be thus

indicated. We have all seen men who insist upon their opinions being enacted into laws to bind all other men. Some of our brethren thought that presbyteries were the seat of all church power, and therefore that they alone had the right to conduct missionary operations. The adoption of any other plan was denounced as treason against the Head of the Church. It was afterwards discovered that a board of deacons was the proper organ for such operations; and then all were traitors to their King who did come into that view. Then it was found out that the Scriptures allowed the Assembly to appoint committees of missions, church extension, &c., but Boards were denounced as open rebellion. The only difference between what was at first called "the Committee of Church Extension" and the Board of Education or Missions, was that the one consisted of some thirty members, and the other of perhaps double that number. It is no slight evil, this teaching for doctrine the commandments of men. It is only one way in which men put themselves in the place of God, claiming his prerogatives. This is the spirit of Antichrist, which has ever been in the world and in the church; and which all Christians are bound to resist. There is another evil of a different kind flowing from this principle. Our Lord tells us that the Pharisees who were so zealous in tithing mint, anise, and cummin, neglected, as a thing of course, the weightier matters of the law.

Dr. Robinson, as was to be expected, brings out his peculiar views of the spirituality of the church; which are only another illustration of the habit of his mind to exaggerate truth, and thus turn it into error. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, we regard the volume before us as highly creditable to the talents of its author, and a valuable accession to our theological literature.

Remarks on Classical and Utilitarian Studies. Read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, December 20, 1866. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1867. Pp. 57.

Dr. Bigelow belongs to a large, and, we presume, an increasing class of cultivated men, who are convinced that in our present ordinary course of liberal education a disproportionate amount of time and labour is devoted to the acquisition of a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. He is not however an extremist. He admits the intrinsic value of those languages; their importance as a means of mental culture; the value of the literary treasures which they contain; the necessity of the knowledge of the classic languages and literature, in order to a due understanding of the history of our race in some of its most interesting phases; and the aid to be derived from

those languages in the study of our own, and of other modern languages of Europe. He admits also that the terminology of modern science must be unintelligible to those who know nothing of Greek and Latin. These are important concessions; and they of themselves furnish a solid foundation for an argument in favour of the propriety of insisting on the study of the classics in our academies and colleges. The question becomes one of proportion. What relative portion of time should be given to classical, as distinguished from what are called, utilitarian studies? This is a question obviously hard to answer in general terms. It may be admitted, that in England, and perhaps in some instances in this country, an undue portion of time is given up to the ancient languages. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that for those who intend to enter upon a professional life, whether as lawyers, doctors, or ministers, the knowledge of Greek and Latin is a necessity. To them it is not merely a means of culture, but the key to indispensable knowledge. As this class of students constitute the great majority of those who frequent our seats of learning, even were it admitted that for commercial and scientific men the modern languages might be advantageously substituted for Greek and Latin, the curriculum of our academies and colleges must remain substantially unaltered. We do not think, therefore, that such men as Dr. Bigelow, with all their zeal for "utilitarian" studies would counsel the neglect of the classics in our higher institutions of learning. The mere fact that one half the Bible is written in Greek, makes Greek to educated Christians what Arabic is to the Mussulman, or Hebrew to the children of Abraham. It is a sacred language, and to those who would read the word of God for themselves, or expound it with authority to others, it is indispensable.

Dr. Bigelow seems to think that experience is against the assumed value of classical learning. "The first three centuries," he says, "of the Christian era had before their eyes the light of the classics and the wisdom of the ancients; but they went steadily from bad to worse. The last three centuries have had modern literature and the useful sciences and arts, and have gone steadily from good to better." P. 14. We presume that at least four times as much time and labour have been devoted to the study of the classics during the last three hundred years, as were given to those writings during the first three centuries of our era. It was not devotion to the classics which hindered the progress of utilitarian knowledge in the early ages. It was the general state of the world and the condition of human knowledge. The causes which determine such

results are too numerous and complicated to be easily altered or enumerated. But sure we are that the study of Greek and Latin was not the cause why the printing-press and steam-engine were not invented a thousand years before they were actually brought into use. It was England devoted in her seats of learning so exclusively to classical learning, which produced a Bacon, a Newton, a Watts, a Stephenson, and a host of men who, in the departments of science and the arts, have contributed so much to the progress of modern civilization. England's greatest statesmen have been preëminent as classical scholars. The familiar names of Pitt, Brougham, Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone and others, will recur to every reader. We have more to fear from one-sided culture, than from the study of subjects not immediately connected with practical utility. A man trained in exclusive devotion to science, (as distinguished from philosophy, languages, and literature,) becomes a very unsafe guide even in matters of science. His mind is open to conviction by only one kind of evidence, and therefore his conclusions are often erroneous. The true plan is, as we think, to give every young man as varied a culture as possible. And as our institutions must have a general system adapted to the majority of students, it is wise that all departments, the classical, the philosophical, the scientific, history and belles-lettres, should be not only provided for and open to the option of the student, but made obligatory upon all; and then each be allowed to pay special attention to subjects which his tastes or interests in life may render of special value to him.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D. D. Vol. ii. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great, A. D. 311—600. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., No. 654 Broadway. Volumes ii. and iii. Pp. 1037.

This great work of Dr. Schaff promises to become the standard history of the church, in the English language. We sincerely hope that his life and health may be spared to bring it to a conclusion worthy of these early volumes. His learning, his fidelity, his zeal for truth, his love for the gospel, his talent for ordering, grouping, and portraying, his theological and philosophical discrimination, are gifts and endowments which preëminently fit him for the task which he has undertaken. The period embraced in these two volumes is one of the most important in the history of the church. During this period occurred those protracted discussions of the great doctrines of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, of sin and grace, which determined the creed of the church for all ages. We are glad to see that Dr. Schaff while acknowledging the great

merits of the modern church historians of Germany, does not undervalue the great men of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. We hope in our next number to give a more extended account of these interesting volumes.

Sermons by the late Alexander McClelland, D. D. Edited by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1867. Pp. 424.

Dr. McClelland was many years one of the most popular preachers in the country. He was settled in the Rutger's Street Church, New York, from 1815 to 1852, during which period his reputation as a preacher remained unabated. He was then called to a professorship in the college at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and thence was removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey; first professor in Rutger's College, and afterwards in the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church. Although these academic appointments removed him from the pulpit, he still, as an occasional preacher, continued to be sought after and admired. He has left nothing in print commensurate with his fame while living. This volume of sermons although characteristic of the man, and a valuable memorial for his friends, will give no adequate idea of his peculiar powers.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, with notes by James Hamilton, D. D., F.L.S., and illustrations by Henry Courtenay Selous. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 196.

This is an elegant volume, in binding, letter-press, and illustrations. The name of Dr. Hamilton is a sufficient guarantee for its intrinsic value. It is one of those numerous publications for which the Christian public in this country are under such lasting obligations to the Messrs. Carters. Another handsome volume from the same house, is

Hymns of Faith and Hope. By Horatius Bonar, D. D. New edition. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 375.

Few of the pieces contained in this volume are hymns in the ordinary sense of the word. They are not songs of adoration and praise adapted for the worship of God. Most of them are devout meditations in metre. The volume has great attractions for the lovers of religious poetry.

Sequel to "Ministering Children." By Maria Louisa Charlesworth. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 428.

The great popularity of the "Ministering Children," by the same gifted writer, will prepare the public to receive this new volume with favour.

The Story of Martin Luther. By Miss Whately. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 356.

Such is the importance of the Reformation, and such the interest which attaches to Luther, the prominent leader in that great movement, that numerous as are the works devoted to the events and persons of that turning period in the world's history, that this volume is not out of place. It is adapted to a large class of readers who have not the time or ability to consult more extended works. It is designed to awaken a deeper sense of the value "of gospel teaching, an open Bible."

The Great Pilot and His Lessons. By the Rev. Richard Newton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867. Pp. 308.

This is a series of ten short sermons, designed to bring out the directions of Christ to those who desire to attain heaven.

Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Book of Genesis. From the Covenant to the close. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1866. Pp. 266.

The book of Genesis as giving the Divine account of the origin of our race, of the primitive state, probation, and fall of man, the first promises of redemption, the outlines of the ethnological history of the world, the formal institution of the church, and constituting as it does the introduction to the Bible, is one of the most important parts of the Scriptures. All works devoted in a right spirit to the elucidation of this interesting portion of the word of God, are deserving of special attention. These notes by Dr. Jacobus, of which the first volume has been some time before the public, contain a great deal of valuable matter in a very condensed form. The work has already secured for itself a high reputation, which the present volume will contribute to sustain.

The Character of Jesus portrayed. A Biblical Essay, with an Appendix. By Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Professor of Theology, Heidelberg. Translated from the third German edition, with Introduction and Notes. By W. H. Furness, D. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Vol. i., pp. 279, vol. ii., pp. 359.

Dr. Furness, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman, in his introduction to these volumes, makes many concessions, which, coming from such a source, have no little interest to those who are sincere worshippers of Christ. He admits that "the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the Christian world is at this hour determined by the thoughts which men have of Jesus." P. 4. He admits that Jesus, by what he *was*, won the hearts of his disciples, that by the admiration, reverence, and love which his personal character commanded, he took posses-

sion of the very centre of their being, and reinforced that with new life, with extraordinary power." "Thus did he become to them wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." P. 6. He admits that such is the legitimate effect of the character of Christ, and our only hope for the future of the church depends on right views on that subject. He maintains however that "Jesus is not yet known." P. 8. The common church doctrine concerning him, he pronounces irrational, impossible, and most pernicious in its influence." "The great majority of the foremost communities on the face of the globe are accustomed to regard the young man of Nazareth as nothing less than Almighty God himself." This to him is utterly irrational and abhorrent. Yet liberal Christianity he admits to be a failure. It affirms nothing. It amounts to only "a triumphant denial." P. 4. What is the use "in erecting a costly trellis when there is no vine springing to grow over it, and cover it with its clusters"? "The deep-seated want of a positive life-giving faith is not met." This can only be attained by arriving at a correct idea of Jesus, and for this the first and primary necessity is "the historical truth concerning" him. Here is the difficulty. How are we to get at the real historical facts concerning Christ? We have indeed the Gospels, and these are the only trustworthy sources of information. But 1. The Gospels are not inspired. They are merely human compositions. 2. They were written many decades after the occurrence of the events to which they relate. 3. They are filled with errors, misrepresentations, and mythical legends. Strauss is right in his principles. But he carries them too far. He turns every thing into myths, and leaves no historical basis on which we can stand. Christianity is resolved into air, *i. e.*, into nothing; and Christ into an idea. He thus, as Dr. Furness admits, destroys his own theory. There is a historical substratum to the Gospels. Christ did live. "I could sooner question," says our author, "the existence of any other man, or all other men, than his. We—what are we? We live on the surface, bubbles hurried swiftly away on the rushing tide of time. But he! He lived. He turned the whole mighty current of human history. He planted himself deep in the inmost soul of things, and this great Christendom is throbbing with the breath of this man to this hour." Such language as this recalls the words of our Lord to the Jewish scribe, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

"The question of questions," however, according to Dr. Furness, is how to separate the nucleus or germ of historical truth from the erroneous and legendary accounts contained in the Gos-

pels. The key to the solution of this question he finds in the personal character of Jesus. What suits his character is to be retained as genuine; what conflicts with it, is to be rejected. But the character of Jesus is to be determined from the historical facts. It cannot be determined beforehand. After all, every man will make his preconceived idea of the character of Christ the criterion, and the result must be, that there can be no agreement as to what is historical, and what is erroneous or legendary. We do not see any help for men who occupy the position of Dr. Furness. They must content themselves with an ideal Christ, and an ideal salvation. He cannot admit anything supernatural. Wonderful as he acknowledges Christ to be in his character and influence, he was only a man; and wonderful as were his works, even those deemed miraculous, still they are to be referred to some occult power of nature. Dr. Schenkel is substantially on the same ground, although Dr. Furness differs in many matters of detail from the work which he translates.

Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. American Edition, revised and edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D. D., with the coöperation of Mr. Ezra Abbot, A. M. Part I. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Whatever our wants heretofore, the American public is not likely to remain unsupplied with Bible Dictionaries. Of Dr. Smith's work we have now the opportunity of purchasing, at a very moderate price, three different English editions—the large work in three volumes, the "Concise Bible Dictionary," in one volume (pp. 1050), and the smaller "Bible Dictionary" (crown 8vo., pp. 622.) Messrs. Hurd & Houghton have just issued in handsome style Part I. of an American revision and reprint of the larger work, under the able editorship of Prof. Hackett, of Newton, Mass., and Mr. Abbot, the accomplished assistant librarian of Harvard University. Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. announce "A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Bible, mainly abridged from Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, with important Additions and Improvements, &c." This edition, issued in semi-monthly numbers, will make a volume about equal in size to the second work in Smith's series. The editor is Rev. S. W. Barnum, A. M., of New Haven, and the work is to be shaped with reference to the wants of those not acquainted with the learned languages.

The new edition of Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," of which Rev. Dr. Wm. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, has had the supervision, is also introduced to the American public, with the imprint of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Phila-

delphia. This edition appears in three large and handsome volumes, and is a great improvement upon its predecessor. As its name purports, it is less exclusively a Bible Dictionary, and as a Cyclopædia admits much valuable material that would be out of place in either of Dr. Smith's works. To a certain extent it answers the purpose, in its new form, of a Biographical Dictionary of Authors, Jewish and Christian, who have contributed to Biblical Literature.

Dr. Fairbairn's "Imperial Bible Dictionary, Historical, Biographical, Geographical, and Doctrinal," (in two volumes imperial 8vo.) has not yet appeared here under an American imprint.

The American reprint, whose title stands at the head of our notice, appears under most favourable auspices. Nearly twenty of our most prominent and competent Professors in Theological Seminaries, clergymen, and missionaries, are pledged contributors. The articles in the two Appendices of the English work (numbering perhaps 125) are inserted in their proper place. The new articles contained in the part before us are but few, and these mainly additional cross-references. Some seventy articles have been enlarged by paragraphs distinctly credited to the American editors. In this part, of 112 pages, about 10 pages are wholly new, and these additions are often of decided value, especially in Biblical Archæology, Exegesis, and Bibliography. Much of the labour bestowed upon the new edition does not appear in any such survey and estimate. The collation of names, and their incidental interpretation, their careful and consistent accentuation, the verification of references, and many other such things, involve an amount of labour known only to the conscientious and painstaking editors, but adding greatly to the value of the work.

We think that a "Bible Dictionary" cannot be expected for many years to come that shall exceed in solid merits this American reprint of a work which was already most favourably known. Notwithstanding the very tempting price at which the English edition is offered, we hope that the American editors and publishers will be encouraged to complete their promising but arduous work.

To illustrate the difference between this Dictionary and the new Kitto we will give the result of a little comparison of corresponding sections (articles A to Antichrist.) Kitto contains about 130 articles not found in Smith, at least in the same form and place. More than 50 of these are biographical notices, interesting and valuable, but not coming within the scope of Smith's Dictionary. The others are quite miscellaneous in their nature. The Dictionary contains at least 150 articles

not in Kitto, these being to a great extent brief articles, many of them nothing more than cross-references, yet all in keeping with the plan of constructing the most perfect Dictionary that is possible. We congratulate those who can buy all the good Dictionaries and Cyclopædias.

Studies in English; or, Glimpses of the Inner Life of our Language. By M. Schele de Vere, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 365. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

It is not the mere fact that English is our mother tongue that prompts us to welcome all earnest and vigorous "Studies in English," and the presentation to an intelligent public, in a popular form, of the results of such studies. We modestly accept the tribute paid by Jacob Grimm, in his essay "on the Origin of Language," to the preëminent merits of our good English speech. "The English language is fully entitled to be called a world-language, and seems chosen, like the English people, to rule hereafter more widely in all the ends of the earth. For in richness, rational power, (*vernunft*) and compactness, no living language can be compared with it."

The accomplished Swede, who for nearly a quarter of a century has filled the chair of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia, introduced himself to the public as a diligent and successful student in his "Comparative Philology," published in 1853. In that work he brought out in brief outlines some of the results then reached in that science, to which so little attention had been directed in this country. Other works, original and reprinted, have appeared more recently, greatly surpassing this in scientific value, although this was timely and useful. The volume now before us shows greatly enlarged resources, both in knowledge and the power of communication. We regard it as a valuable contribution to the material needed by all students and teachers of English, while it is full of instruction to all who would be intelligent readers of English, past or present.

It discusses, not phrases and idioms of the language, like Dean Alford, but its component elements with their various influence, its inflections, but more especially its etymology. Trench and Swinton have more nearly the same scope, while this work takes up separately and with considerable fulness many points not there discussed. The chapters on "English Sounds," and "English Orthography and English Accent," and "Shifting Letters," may be taken as representing its more elementary discussions. "How nouns are made," "How nouns are used," "How nouns are abused," "Living Words," will suggest the object if not the method of the author in other

chapters. We find incidentally discussed questions in regard to the philosophy of language, and the philosophy of grammar, all illustrating the variety and richness of the author's resources. Our oldest literature contributes copious illustration of the growth and decay of words and forms.

We are occasionally reminded of the author's foreign birth by expressions like this: "whether he be capable to produce and form it, etc." P. 8. Again, "we would err grievously, however, if we were to conclude, etc." P. 17. We are sorry to see even this faint suggestion of a purpose to do wrong. Our author, we think, should be a little more conservative in regard to additions to our language, such as he makes, *e. g.*, in the clause, (p. 8) "while some admit without doubt or *gainsay* the simple statement of Holy Writ, &c." We should credit to the great writers of Greece and Rome something more than "intimate contact with the graces of style and diction." P. 42. We detect occasionally a slip in matters of fact, as for example when he speaks (p. 64) of the Emperor Claudius as having desired to add an *x* to the Roman alphabet, a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the letter *x* occurs in Latin inscriptions made hundreds of years before the reign of Claudius.

Notwithstanding little blemishes, which we might not notice except in a work on language, we regard the work, we repeat it, as a valuable addition to our apparatus for "Studies in English." American scholars are gaining an honourable place among those who in various lands are labouring in this rich field of linguistic science. We cannot close without expressing our gratification at seeing announced for speedy publication by Messrs. Trübner & Co., Professor Whitney's "Language and the Study of Language," an expansion of the course of lectures delivered by him before the Smithsonian Institute in 1864.

The Æneid of Virgil. Translated into English verse. By John Conington, M. A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. New York: W. J. Middleton. 1867.

Translations of the Iliad have been made, we know not how many, nor in how many different metres, within a few years past. The challenge given by the more or less complete success of each new version, seems to have stimulated other scholars to repeat and vary the attempt. No metrical version of the Æneid since Dryden's has become generally known. When it was announced some months ago that Professor Conington had undertaken such a work, not merely interest but strong confidence of success was excited. The high official position of the Oxford Professor of Latin, the thorough mastery of Virgil displayed in the two volumes which had already appeared of his

edition of the poet's works published in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, and the poetical talent evinced in his translation of the Odes of Horace, which was issued in 1863, conspired to increase this confidence.

In his Preface, Professor Conington states clearly the reasons why he chose the ballad metre for his translation, in spite of its perceived difficulties. His success we think justifies his choice. The reasons which lead Mr. Arnold to pronounce so decidedly against the ballad metre for versions of the Iliad, he would not himself urge so strongly in the case of the *Æneid*. Homer is "rapid," is "plain," is "simple," is "noble," and at one or more points, usually the last, he argues, the ballad metre has failed and must fail to do him justice.

We cannot now discuss the bearings of this question in its special relations to Virgil. We select two or three passages to illustrate the fitness of this instrumentality in the hands of Professor Conington.

Book iv. 522—532, is thus exquisitely rendered:

"'Tis night: earth's tired ones taste the balm,
The precious balm of sleep,
And in the forest there is calm,
And on the savage deep:
The stars are in their middle flight:
The fields are hushed: each bird or beast
That dwells beside the silver lake
Or haunts the tangles of the brake
In placid slumber lies, released
From trouble by the touch of night:
All but the hapless queen: to rest
She yields not, nor with eye or breast
The gentle night receives:
Her cares redouble blow on blow:
Love storms and tossing to and fro,
With billowy passion heaves."

From the description of the storm (i. 84—91) we bring an illustration of another kind.

"Then lighting heavily on the main,
East, South, and West with storms in train
Heave from its depth the watery floor,
And rolls great billows to the shore.
Then come the clamor and the shriek,
The sailors shout, the main-ropes creak:
All in a moment sun and skies
Are blotted from the Trojan's eyes:
Black night is brooding o'er the deep,
Sharp thunder peals, live lightnings leap:
The stoutest warrior holds his breath,
And looks as on the face of death."

Turning from nature to the delineation of human passion, we select two from among many passages which we had noted for their beauty and power.

(iv. 589—597.)

“She smites her breast all snowy fair
And rends her golden length of hair:
‘Great Jove! and shall he go?’ she cries,
And leave our realm a wanderer’s mock?
Quick, snatch your arms and chase the prize,
And drag the vessels from the dock!
Fetch flames, bring darts, ply oars! yet why?
What words are these or where am I?
Why rave I thus? Those impious deeds—
Poor Dido! now your torn heart bleeds.
Too late! it should have bled that day
When at his feet your sceptre lay.”

(iv. 622—629.)

And, Tyrians, you through time to come
His seed with deathless hatred chase:
Be that your gift to Dido’s tomb:
No love, no league ’twixt race and race.
Rise from my ashes, scourge of crime,
Born to pursue the Dardan horde
To-day, to-morrow, through all time,
Oft as our hands can wield the sword:
Fight shore with shore, fight sea with sea,
Fight all that are or e’er shall be!”

We cannot anticipate for this translation anything less than wide and permanent popularity. The work of the American publisher furnishes an attractive setting for a beautiful gem.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey State Normal School, and accompanying Documents to the Legislature, for the year 1866.

Regarding, as we do, the cause of general education as next in importance and largely auxiliary to the cause of religion, we have read this Report on the condition of our state Educational Institutions—the Normal and Model Schools at Trenton and the Preparatory School at Beverly—with much interest and satisfaction. The importance of having properly qualified teachers for our common schools cannot be too highly appreciated. That the demand can be adequately supplied only by State Institutions, which have for their special object the professional training of teachers, is no longer an open question. We feel, therefore, that the people of New Jersey owe a large debt of gratitude to the public-spirited men by whose efforts the institutions above-mentioned were founded, and by whose fostering care they have been nurtured until they are now not inferior in

their appointments and efficiency to any similar institutions in the land.

We are gratified to notice a large increase in the number of Normal School pupils. The number in attendance during the past year was 165; during the year preceding, 125—an increase of 33 per cent. During the past year 67 new pupils were admitted—a larger number than during any previous year in the history of the institution.

The very large proportion of females attending the Normal School is noticeable, as one of “the signs of the times.” Of the 165 pupils, 151—eleven-twelfths of the whole number—are young ladies. It is evident that the business of teaching our common schools is rapidly passing into the hands of females. So far as the younger children are concerned we have no doubt this change will be an advantage; whether the instruction and government of the older children—especially the older boys—can be safely entrusted to females is more questionable. The propriety of excluding from our public schools all corporeal punishments—a subject which has lately excited so much discussion in Massachusetts—is likely to be put to the test of actual experiment in many of our schools, from the very necessities of the case.

Another item of interest in the Report is the signal success of the Female Boarding-House for Normal School pupils, which has been in operation during the past year. In this establishment the expense of each pupil for boarding, lodging, washing, fuel, lights, and incidentals, is but \$3.50 a-week. In these days of high prices, when to most who are seeking an education higher than that furnished by the common school, the expense is a serious, and to many an insuperable obstacle: the fact just mentioned is one of general interest, and deserving the attention of all who have charge of our public institutions, as showing to how low a figure the expenses may be reduced, even at the present time, by economy and prudent management.

We would only add the expression of our gratification that our State Educational Institutions are in the charge of a scholar of varied and thorough culture, an experienced teacher, eminent alike for his knowledge of the science and his skill in the art of education, and withal, a Christian gentleman.

Walks and Homes of Jesus. By the Rev. Daniel March, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut street. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 770 Broadway. Pp. 339.

Sceptics have been convinced of the historical verity of the Gospels by travelling over Palestine. The exact coincidence between the evangelical narratives and the topography of the coun-

try, renders obviously irrational the idea that these accounts are not true history. The Christian's faith may be strengthened by the same knowledge even when obtained by trustworthy descriptions. Besides this, our knowledge of events becomes more definite and vivid by a knowledge of the localities in which they occurred. Apart, therefore, from the sacred interest which must ever attach to places consecrated by the presence of our Lord while on earth, there is a substantial value belonging to such books as the one before us. Dr. March describes clearly, and under the guidance of a devout spirit, all the scenes of our Saviour's earthly life. The work is elegantly printed on tinted paper, and illustrated by nineteen handsome wood engravings, which render the descriptions more intelligible.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1866 and 1867. Exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in mechanics, useful arts, natural philosophy, chemistry, &c., &c., &c., together with notes on the progress of science during the years 1865 and 1866, a list of recent scientific publications, obituaries of eminent scientific men, &c. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, A. M., M. D., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Banchar & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867. Pp. 364.

This extended title-page gives the reader a full account of the contents of this volume. It is one of general interest and established reputation.

The Last Days of our Saviour. The Life of our Lord, from the Supper in Bethany to his Ascension into Heaven, in chronological order, and in the words of the Evangelists. For Passion Week. Arranged by Charles D. Cooper, Rector of St. Philip's Church. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867. Pp. 105.

This is an attempt "to condense into one consecutive narrative the history as written by the four Evangelists." "The reader will not meet with all the words of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but the substance of each of their Gospel histories will be found in the language of one or the other of them, and arranged in the order in which the words and acts of the Lord Jesus were most probably spoken or performed. By such a disposition of the inspired text, nearly all repetition is obviated, and the reading of the narrative rendered easy and natural." Of course there is no division into chapters and verses, which, with all its advantages for the purpose of reference, has many disadvantages attending it. The history in these pages assumes a more ordinary form, and makes, by the union of all the accounts, a clearer impression, while the familiar words of the

sacred text are retained. We think this a very happy idea, successfully carried out.

New America. By William Hepworth Dixon, editor of the "Athenæum," and author of "the Holy Land," "William Penn," etc. With illustrations from original photographs. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

Mr. Dixon has already achieved for himself an honourable reputation among English authors. The volume now before us will not detract from it. It gives sketches of what to him appeared most worthy of special note in the observations he made during a tour across this continent, and through important sections of our country. He tells us that he "went out in search of an old world and found a new one. East, West, North, and South, I met with new ideas, new purposes, new methods; in short, with a New America."

"The men who planted these free States—doing the noblest work that England has achieved in history—were spurred into their course by two great passions: a large love of liberty, a deep sense of religion, and, in our Great Plantation, liberty and religion exercise a power over the forms of social and domestic life unknown at home. In the heart of solid societies and conservative churches we find the most singular doctrines, the most audacious experiments; and it is only after seeing what kind of forces are at work within them, that we can adequately admire the strength of these societies and churches. What I saw of the changes now being wrought in the actual life of man and woman on the American soil, under the power of these master passions, is pictured in these pages."

We quote this from the preface, not only as the most succinct way of giving our readers an idea of the origin and scope of the book, but for the candid and hearty testimony it bears to the power of religion and liberty in this country, not as mere abstract ideas, but in moulding social and domestic life. This of itself is a sufficient refutation of a thousand calumnies upon the American churches that are current in the Old World.

And yet, we think that, quite unintentionally, the author's book will convey to transatlantic readers an impression, that, as to religion, morals, civilization, we are a much ruder, looser, wilder people than he gives us credit for being, when speaking directly to this point. In showing the workings and effects of liberty in connection with religion in this country, he dwells chiefly on its ultra, anomalous, and exceptional manifestations. This was natural, because he aimed to set forth what struck him as novel and peculiar here. After some introductory descriptions of the western prairies, mountains, and Indians,

he describes the Mormon communities and institutions at Salt Lake at great length, and in full details, for more than a hundred pages. He then passes to Women's Rights, the Shakers, the Resurrection order, Spiritualists, Female Seers, the Tunkers, the Oneida Creek and Putney Perfectionists, ending with Politics, Colour, Reconstruction, Union.

All this is instructive and entertaining. We know not where an account of so many religious abnormities resulting from the abuse of Christian and civil liberty can be found in a single volume. Some of them, however, are embraced by numbers too insignificant to deserve the importance here given them. They are not "New America," but only morbid excrescences upon it—mere warts and wens. The largest and most formidable of these strange bodies, the Mormons, has been mainly built up by recruits from the Old World. The information given in regard to them and other anomalous sects is valuable and interesting. But they are not the New America so handsomely portrayed in the sentences we have taken from the preface.

Essays on Art. By Francis Turner Palgrave, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. 1867. For sale in Princeton by W. S. Smith.

We attribute to this work a high value in the department of high art. Every page of it betrays strong critical, whatever may be the author's executive power. If not an artist, he is an authority in art. The subjects discussed are such as necessitate ignominious failure or eminent capacity in the author. They are, The Royal Academy of 1863—4—5, Mulready, Herbert, Holman Hunt; Poetry, Prose, and Sensationalism in Art; Sculpture in England, The Albert Cross, &c. The essays all show culture, learning, and esthetic insight. We were especially struck with the justness and freshness of the chapter on Sensationalism in Art. These essays are not only instructive in regard to the general principles of art, but also in regard to its present state in Britain.

Woodburn Grange; A Story of English Country Life. By William Howitt. Three English volumes complete in one. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Mr. Howitt displays his usual qualities as a writer in this volume. These have given him a recognized place in English literature. In the present case he depicts scenes in English life, not only in a moral and Christian aspect, but with a certain reference to society and manners as they appear among the Quakers. Of the scenes described in it, perhaps none is more striking than a Quaker wedding. We think however that the

author's style as a whole, would be improved by greater condensation and vivacity.

Elements of Logic, comprising the Doctrine of the Laws and Products of Thought, and the Doctrine of Method, together with a Logical Praxis. Designed for Classes and Private Study. By Henry N. Day, author of the "Art of Rhetoric," "Rhetorical Praxis," etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

This book has two paramount aims. First, to make a new contribution to the science of logic itself, establishing several doctrines or principles hitherto unrecognized or denied by logicians. These are enumerated in the preface. The second object of the author is stated in the title-page—to prepare a new text-book for classes—being thus another effort to supply a great and acknowledged desideratum. The former feature of the work is of necessity so prominent and controlling as to determine its character. We have not been able to examine the new principles advanced thoroughly. They evince the author's acute, vigorous, and enterprising intellect. We think, however, that his two principal new doctrines—"the rigid reduction of thought to the single principle of identity," and of induction to the "relationship of part to complementary part," will not establish themselves without controversy. Be this as it may, the production is creditable to the author's acumen, and its novelties will doubtless stimulate important discussions and inquiries.

Faith; What it is and What it does. By S. M. Houghton.

Thy Day; A Word to All.

The Day Dawn.

The foregoing are published by the American Tract Society and may be had of W. W. Smith, Princeton.

Evangelical Alliance. Report of the Annual Conferences of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, held in Bath, October, 1866, containing Addresses by Captain Edward Marsh, J. P., Rev. Prebendary Kemble, M. A., Rev. Octavius Winslow, D. D., Rev. John Hall, D. D., Rev. S. Minton, M. A., Rev. F. J. Jobson, D. D., Rev. Professor McCosh, LL.D., D. D., Pasteur G. Monod, Pastor Cohen Stuart, Pastor Adrian Van Andel, Rev. J. Jackson, Natal, Rev. A. Murray, Capetown, Alfred Rooker, Esq., Plymouth, Rev. A. Morton Brown, LL.D., Rev. W. Pennefather, M. A., Rev. I. Prime, D. D., New York, Rev. James Fleming, B. D., and others. London: 7 Adam street, Strand.

It needs no words from us to show that a document like this must be valuable and interesting. Many of the speeches reported are vivid and powerful, all glow with Christian knowledge, love, and unity. That of Dr. Prime, the representative of American Christians in the Alliance, is in his usual felicitous

vein. The most note-worthy speech in the collection, however, is that of Dr. McCosh, which is mainly a graphic report of what he saw during his recent visit to America. As such it is intensely interesting to American Christians and people. Every topic is presented with that freshness and geniality, that general accuracy and justness, which are so characteristic of him. His observations on religion, morality, education, slavery, the black and red races in this country, our political and social tendencies, with various kindred subjects, are quite timely and pithy. While every part of the speech contains passages which would well bear reprinting here, there is one which presents in a strong light what ought to be urged upon the attention of our churches until effective remedial measures are provided. He says:

"As to the religious denominations, I found them exhibiting everywhere the American energy, and marching on with the population over their extensive country. I regretted, however, to find that the stipends paid to the ministers had not risen with the wealth and prosperity of the country, and in proportion to the increased expense of living, which has doubled since the war. The people who were giving their workmen skilled in manual labour one thousand dollars a-year, were, as a general rule, in the country districts, giving their pastors a like sum, or, more commonly, a less sum."

This affords scope for endless comment, and yet needs no comment. The process of starving the ministry cannot go on without degrading and enfeebling it, until a corresponding spiritual leanness blights the churches. Unless arrested, religion must wither, if it do not even die out. We wish we could believe the author equally beyond mistake, when he tells us, that "very effective steps are taken to keep down exclusive High-Churchism wherever it appears."

Venetian Life. By W. D. Howells. Second Edition. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Sold in Princeton, by W. S. Smith. 1867.

The minute sketches of *Venetian Life* given in this volume by a competent observer, who resided there some time for this very purpose, present aspects of it with which we have not elsewhere met.

Classical Baptism. An Inquiry into the meaning of the word βαπτίζω, as determined by the usage of Classical Greek writers. By James W. Dale, Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Pennsylvania. Boston: Draper & Halliday. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs. 1867. Pp. 354.

This is an elaborate and extended investigation into the meaning of the words βαπτω and βαπτίζω, as found in classic

Greek writers. This is not only a question of philological interest, but one of some consequence in its bearings upon the rite of baptism; and it is with this latter view chiefly that Dr. Dale discusses it. Of course we cannot go to classic authorities to learn either the mode or the meaning of a Christian ordinance. Whatever the primary signification of the word may be, and whatever its usage in the mouth of native Greeks, baptism is to us what it was to the apostles and the writers of the New Testament. Nevertheless the prominence which has been given in Baptist controversial writings, to the meaning of this word in ordinary Greek, and the extraordinary and unsustained assertions which have been made respecting it, not only justify but imperatively demand a searching review of the whole matter.

The allegation that βαπτίζω has but one meaning in the whole history of the Greek language, that mode is essentially denoted by it, that it always signifies *to dip* is most effectually disposed of. It is shown that Baptist writers are at war with one another upon this subject which, according to their mode of viewing it, is so important. It is shown still further by an actual exhibition and analysis of the passages in classic authors in which the words in question occur, that it is quite impossible to attribute to them any such sense in a multitude of cases. We might not agree with our author in every particular of his discussion, but we do not hesitate to say that he has rendered a valuable service to the cause of truth.

We shall look with interest for the remaining volumes of the series, in which the author promises to examine the usage of these words in Jewish writings, viz., Josephus, Philo, and the Greek Old Testament, and also to investigate the character of the baptism of John.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in punishing the Wicked. Revised edition, with notes by Professors H. B. Hackett and W. S. Tyler. New York. 1867. 12mo., pp. 171.

We are pleased to see this neat and satisfactory edition of an admirable treatise. The earnest and well-conducted defence of Divine providence which it contains, is particularly interesting as exhibiting the views entertained upon this difficult subject by those who had not the Scriptures, and showing how far the better and more thoughtful class of heathen philosophers were able to advance in its elucidation. The excellence of the matter and the completeness of the apparatus, with which it is accompanied, offer tempting inducements to readers of Greek. For theological students, who desire to maintain and extend their acquaintance with the classics, it has special adaptations, both

on account of the affinity between the later Greek and the dialect of the New Testament, and on account of the opportunity it affords of comparing one of the noblest productions of unaided reason with the clearer revelations of the gospel.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The following article from the Philadelphia "*Press*" has been sent to us by T. B. Peterson & Co., and we presume it is a trustworthy statement of

DICKENS'S DEALINGS WITH AMERICANS. Mr. Charles Dickens has always been loud in his complaints against what he calls the "piracy" of American publishers. We see it announced in the *New York Tribune* that, when Ticknor & Fields issued the first number of their Diamond edition of Dickens, they sent him two hundred pounds, in order that he should share the profits, and that Mr. Dickens wrote back, saying, "I think you know how high and far beyond the money's worth. I esteem this act of manhood, delicacy, and honour. I have never derived greater pleasure from the receipt of money in all my life." No doubt he was surprised as well as pleased at receiving £200, which he had not bargained for, but the above statement, and particularly the quotation from the letter, might convey the idea that it was an unusual thing for Mr. Dickens to receive money from the United States on account of his writings.

Such an impression would be entirely erroneous, for Mr. Dickens has derived a considerable part of his income from moneys paid him for advance sheets of his various works. From the very first—that is, as far back as the great hit he made with the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," nearly thirty years ago—Harper Brothers of New York, desirous of securing and retaining in their own hands the exclusive sale of his works, have paid him large sums for each as it appeared. Since the first issue of *Harpers' Magazine*, and, subsequently, of *Harpers' Weekly*, each new work by Dickens has been published in these periodicals, by special arrangement with the author, almost simultaneously with their appearance in London. Impressions of the illustrations, chiefly on steel, were sent over here, with the advance sheets, and put in the hands of good

artists, who copied and reproduced them on wood. In the instance of "A Tale of Two Cities," which appeared in London without any illustrations, Harper and Brothers had sixty-four original designs made for that work and engraved on wood, at a cost of \$2000. Yet, in recent notices of a new edition of that story, the newspaper critics of New York and Boston rarely said more than it had "some cuts." New designs were also made by Mr. McLennan for "Great Expectations," and paid for on the same liberal scale.

After Harper & Brothers had got their money's worth out of Mr. Dickens's successive works, by issuing them in the manner above-mentioned, they transferred the engravings and their interest in the works to T. B. Peterson & Brothers, of this city, who shared their payments to Mr. Dickens, and the cost of engraving the illustrations. It is well known that in this manner Messrs. Peterson have acquired a possession, which was generally accepted, until lately, as equivalent to a copyright of Dickens, and under this they have published various editions.

Mr. Dickens, who is overcome with the "greater pleasure" of a £200 gift, knew how to drive a pretty hard bargain with Harper & Brothers, and (through them) with T. B. Peterson. He has received many thousand pounds in gold for advance-sheets. Not having access to Messrs. Harpers' books, we cannot name the exact amount, but happen to know that, for his last three books alone, he was paid £3250 in gold. The sums he received were £1000 for "A Tale of Two Cities," £1250 for "Great Expectations," and £1000 for "Our Mutual Friend." At the average price of gold while these three works were paid for, and at the rate of exchange, the sum disbursed to Mr. Dickens for these alone was over \$24,000 in greenbacks, and we dare say the various sums remitted to him for advance-sheets only by Harpers and Petersons, from first to last, will be found, when added up, to make a total of over \$60,000. But any one reading his letter would naturally fancy that the £200 sent him from Boston was *all* that he had ever received from American publishers. The sum of £3250, in hard cash, for advance-sheets of his three latest works, tells a very different story.

A NEW METHOD OF LEARNING ORIENTAL LANGUAGES has been recently introduced by Mr. Prendergast, an Indian civilian, in his "Mastery of Languages." It is founded upon an analysis of that universal process, which is followed by children, eight or ten years old, many of whom learn two foreign languages at once, without even the aid of an interpreter! He expounds a method, *underlying* that process, which every

person who speaks a foreign tongue idiomatically, has necessarily pursued, although no one has explained the precise cause of his success. The principles of the scheme are these:—The memory is never to be charged with more than it can reproduce with perfect facility. The learner must neither see nor hear one word more. It is impossible for a beginner to make a grammatical and idiomatic sentence. He must, therefore, learn such sentences by rote, one by one, from the lips of a native. He is not to see the words on paper until he can pronounce them intelligibly. Imitation and repetition are the only means to be used at first. The memory acts mechanically. The work is not done by reasoning, and therefore it is useless to *study*. The lessons should be taken three or four times a day, varying from five to ten minutes in each sitting; and the whole should be recapitulated in each lesson. To obviate the defects of the memory, the teacher is to *begin* every lesson by repeating what has previously been learned. The learner echoes his voice to gain the true pronunciation, and then proceeds, *under his guidance*, to exercise himself with the variations of the sentences. This baffles the treachery of the memory in relation to the foreign *sounds*. The author shows that children owe their success to their imitation and repetition of *sentences*, and to their interchanging of the words; and he exhibits a formula, by means of which the daily results of a beginner's efforts may be increased in geometrical progression.—*Trübner's American and Oriental Record*.

HAWAIIAN LITERATURE.—The Rev. Mr. Andrews of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, has recently completed a Dictionary of the Hawaiian language. This Dictionary contains a few words over 15,500. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that Mr. Andrews should have gathered and defined about the same number of words as are to be found in the great folio edition of Johnson's English Dictionary. It contains 15,784 words derived from thirty different languages, as follows: From Latin, 6732; French, 4812; Saxon, 1665; Greek, 1148; Dutch, 661; Italian, 211; German, 106; Welsh, 95; Danish, 75; Spanish, 56; and from twenty other languages, sufficient to make up the numbered specified above, 15,784.—*Ibid*.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1867.

No. III.

ART. I.—*The Hebrew word יָשַׁב Yashabh.*

LANGUAGE is not a merely arbitrary invention, but partakes of the character of thought, whose vehicle it is. Consequently, its phenomena, its words and forms and constructions, are in no case purely dependent upon accident or caprice, but have arisen under the operation of fixed causes, and contain in themselves indications more or less clear of the sources from which they sprung. The language of any people is the mind of that people made external and tangible. It exhibits their inner life in its affinities with, and specific differences from that of other peoples, reveals the compass and range of their ideas, the extent of their knowledge, the character of their sentiments and feelings, their conceptions, whether of objects of thought or objects of sense, the impressions made upon them by surrounding nature, and even shows traces of the historical experiences through which they have passed. Recent scientific investigations and popular treatises have made us all familiar with the fact, that a careful study of the words of any language in their structure, usage, history and relations, not only reveals much that was unsuspected by superficial smatterers, but much also that had escaped those who were intimately and familiarly acquainted

with it as a vehicle of thought, but who had never directed attention to it as a depository of ancient relics, the symbols of a former life, some of which put us in connection with a period of which we have no other authentic record than that which is here supplied.

We propose in this paper, by way of experiment, to examine a single word in Hebrew, and to learn from it what we can. And for this purpose, we have selected almost at random the verb *ישב* *to sit*. It has the advantage of having been in familiar use in all periods of the language, with which we are acquainted, and of possessing a plain and obvious signification, denoting, as it does, a palpable outward act, respecting which there can be no vagueness nor obscurity. While, therefore, it will have none of the interest attaching to the settlement of controverted points, or the resolution of acknowledged difficulties, we shall feel at least that we are treading upon solid ground; and enough, we may hope, will be disclosed by the investigation to redeem it from being merely common-place.

The first question which it is natural to ask respecting this word, relates to the connections in which we find it employed. The passages in which mention is made of the act of sitting will disclose to us the usages of the time and of the people in regard to it; will show us when and how the Hebrews sat. We shall thus learn the archæology of the subject.

Sitting was the ordinary posture of wakeful repose, as distinguished on the one hand from lying down, as in sleep, or standing up, the attitude of activity and exertion. Accordingly, when the lawgiver would enjoin it upon the people, that they should be continually instructing their children, he bids them do so when they sit in the house and when they walk by the way, and when they lie down and when they rise up. Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19. He means by this enumeration to include the whole of their daily life. Downsitting is (Psalm cxxxix. 2, Lam. iii. 63), combined with uprising, and (2 Kings xix. 27, Isaiah xxxvii. 28), with going out and coming in, to denote the entire period of wakefulness, its repose and its activity. It is a departure from oriental usages and modes of thought to render Psalm cxxvii. 2, as in the common English version, "It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late"—meaning it is of no

avail to toil early and late without the Divine blessing. The Psalmist intended to say, "It is vain to rise up early, to *sit down* late." The man, who was at work, was on his feet, when he sat, he rested. The older English translations more accurately represent the original in this place; thus, the Psalter of the Prayer Book somewhat paraphrastically, "It is but lost labour that ye haste to rise up early, and so late take rest."

Orientalists usually sit, not on chairs, but on mats or carpets spread upon the floor, or on cushions laid upon divans, on the low platforms which border one or both ends of their apartments. Chairs were used in ancient Egypt, particularly by the wealthy, as is shown by frequent representations upon the monuments. (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, ch. 6). But if they had been common among the Hebrews, they would doubtless have been mentioned in Lev. ch. xv., where the law of uncleanness communicated by the act of sitting is given with minute particularity. They are not, however, once alluded to. The general expressions which are employed, "whatsoever the unclean person sitteth upon," ver. 26, or, "the thing (Heb. כִּי) whereon he sitteth," refer to the mat or cloth, or whatever it might be which was spread for this purpose. The rich are described, Judges v. 10, as sitting upon "cloths" or "carpets," where our version erroneously has "sit in judgment." The nobles riding forth on white asses, the rich sitting in luxurious ease at home, and the poor, who walk by the way, as they go to their accustomed toil, are summoned to celebrate in unison the deliverance which the Lord has wrought by the hand of Deborah and of Barak. The witch of Endor had nothing to offer King Saul to sit upon but her bed, 1 Sam. xxviii. 23, probably a mattress spread upon the divan, which thus served as a seat by day as well as a couch by night.

The only word in Hebrew for an elevated seat is כִּסֵּא, from כָּסָה to *cover*, which means, therefore, according to its etymology, a *covered chair*, either one surmounted by a canopy, or over which a drapery has been spread. It accordingly denotes, not an ordinary seat, but a chair of state, a seat of honour or distinction, a throne, such as was occupied only by persons in high station or of exalted dignity. And even in the few passages in which our version renders it differently, it would have

been better if the word *throne* had been retained. Thus, where Eli is said, 1 Sam. i. 9, to have "sat upon a seat by a post of the temple," he was, as the Hebrew suggests, seated "upon the throne," the high priest's throne or cathedra, at the entrance to the temple; and the blessing thence pronounced upon Hannah is thus rendered more solemn and authoritative. So too, "the seat," 1 Sam. iv. 13, on which Eli sat trembling for the ark, and from which, ver. 18, he fell when he died, was his throne, which in his anxiety he had caused to be placed by the wayside at the gate of Shiloh. The seat from which the king of Moab rose to receive the dagger of Ehud, Judg. iii. 20, is in Hebrew a throne. The seat which Solomon caused to be set at his right hand for his mother, was a throne, 1 King ii. 19; so was the seat, to which Haman was promoted by Ahasuerus, Esth. iii. 1, the monarch being enthroned in the midst of his princes, as in the sublime imagery of the Revelation, the four and twenty elders with their crowns of gold sit on thrones surrounding the throne of the infinite Majesty, who is thus represented as the King of kings. Rev. iv. 4.

In Prov. ix. 14, likewise *שֵׁב* is not "a seat" merely, but a *throne*. Folly is represented as not only sitting at the door of her own house, but enthroned in the high places of the city. It is not only in private life that she practises her deadly arts; she is found also in conspicuous stations, high rank and lofty official positions, and prostitutes them to her own detestable ends.

2 Kings iv. 10 is by high authorities regarded as presenting an exception to this constant usage. A *שֵׁב* in our version, a *stool* together with a bed, a table and a candlestick constitute the furniture of the chamber built for Elisha by the Shunamite woman. Yet even here it is possible that an elevated seat or throne was placed in the prophet's room in recognition of his sacred and exalted dignity.

Thrones were preëminently for kings, who sat upon them not only when exercising regal functions, in the palace or in other public places, as the gates of the city, 1 Kings xxii. 10, but also in retirement, Judges iii. 20. Princes and other attendants stood before the monarch, Jer. xxxvi. 21, 22, 1 Kings x. 8, in an attitude of readiness to execute his will. In like manner, Isaiah

vi. 2, saw the seraphim standing beside the throne of the Lord, and the apostle John saw, Rev. viii. 2, the seven angels which stood before God, and all the angels standing round about the throne. Rev. vii. 11, comp. 1 Kings xxii. 19. And Elijah announces himself as the servant of the same great King, 1 Kings xvii. 1, when he says, "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand."

To be seated with a king, or at his right hand, was not only a mark of honour, as in the case of Solomon's mother, 1 Kings ii. 19, and the queen of Artaxerxes, Neh. ii. 6, but of association in dignity and power, as Messiah at God's right hand, Ps. cx. 1, and the position solicited for James and John, that they might sit at the right hand of Jesus, and at his left hand in his kingdom, Matt. xx. 21; comp. Rev. iii. 21.

The throne was thus the symbol of royalty, Gen. xli. 40, and "to sit upon the throne" is the constant phrase for succeeding to the kingdom, 1 Kings i. 20, 35, ii. 12. And "to sit," in this eminent sense, is to be enthroned. So God is described as "sitting in the heavens," Ps. ii. 4, or "sitting on the circle of the earth," Isaiah xl. 22, or "upon the flood," Ps. xxix. 10; or is said to be enthroned in his earthly temple, as Ps. xcix. 1, "The LORD reigneth, let the people tremble; *he sitteth between the cherubims*, let the earth be moved." This phrase elsewhere translated, "dwelleth between the cherubims," 2 Kings xix. 15, denotes not simply residence, but sitting enthroned as king. In Hebrew, the word for *temple*, *הֵיכָל*, is identical with that for *palace*. It is not only God's dwelling-place, but his royal abode, the place of his throne, where he sits the monarch of Israel to give audience to his people, and the Lord of hosts attended by the cherubim, symbolical representatives of the heavenly host. Hence we find these titles repeatedly combined, "the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth," or sitteth "between the cherubims," 1 Sam. iv. 4, 2 Sam. vi. 2, Isa. xxxvii. 16, or rather as the prayer-book version has it, Ps. lxxx. 1, and as the LXX and Vulgate uniformly translate it, "sitteth *upon* the cherubim." "Between" is not in the original, and is erroneously supplied. The ark with its golden cover was not itself the throne, but only the visible base of an invisible throne. The invisible monarch was seated not between, but above the

cherubim, as is distinctly shown in Ezekiel's vision, i. 26, x. 1, and as is implied in the language of the psalmist, xviii. 10, "He rode upon a cherub and did fly."

There is more frequent allusion to the kingship of Jehovah under this figure in the Old Testament than the English reader would suppose, as it is often obscured in our common translation. Thus, Ps. ix. 7, "The Lord shall endure for ever," means rather, "the Lord shall sit for ever;" verse 11, "The Lord which dwelleth in Zion," should be, "which sitteth in Zion;" and Ps. xxii. 3, "Thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel," converted in the LXX and Vulgate by a change of construction into "Thou inhabitest a holy place, O thou praise of Israel," means rather, "thou that art enthroned amidst or upon the praises of Israel."

Similar language is used of monarchs aspiring to be gods. The prince of Tyre says, Ezek. xxviii. 2, "I sit in the seat of God." And the king of Babylon, Isa. xiv. 13, "I will sit upon the mount of the congregation," *i. e.*, I will be enthroned upon the sacred temple mount, as some understand it, or, according to others, upon some fabled mountain of the gods. Imperial cities are also personified as reigning. Jerusalem is bidden, Isa. lii. 2, to shake herself from the dust, to arise and sit, *i. e.*, upon her queenly throne. So Babylon, Rev. xviii. 7, "I sit a queen."

This usage further illustrates two striking incidents in Old Testament history. When Moses was on the hill during the battle with Amalek, Ex. xvii. 12, the stone on which he sat was a rude throne, and the rod in his hand was a sceptre extended to command victory for Israel. The posture is not that of supplication, which his outstretched hands have often been understood to signify. Again, when Elijah sat on the top of the hill, 2 Kings i. 9, and bid fire come down from heaven upon those who were sent to take him, he was on his throne as the representative of God, bidding defiance to the impotent hostility of a human sovereign.

Thrones or chairs of state were also used by governors, Neh. iii. 7; princes, 1 Sam. ii. 8; generals, Jer. i. 15, xxxix. 3; and judges, Ps. cxxii. 5. Moses sat to judge the people, while the litigants stood, Exod. xviii. 13, 14. "I stand," said Paul,

"at Cesar's judgment-seat," Acts xxv. 10. Hence, *to sit*, and especially "to sit in the gate" of a city, 2 Sam. xix. 8, Jer. xxxviii. 7, where judicial business was commonly transacted, is sometimes equivalent to acting as judge. In this sense Deborah *sat* (LXX and Vulgate), not *dwelt* (E. V.) under the palm-tree of Deborah, Judges iv. 5. Perhaps, also, Mal. iii. 3, Messiah "shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver," *i. e.*, shall exercise the office of a judge with a view to refine and purify.

The rabbins were mistaken, however, in inferring from Gen. xix. 1, "Lot sat in the gate of Sodom," that he was promoted to the office of judge, or, as they affirm, of chief-justice in that wicked city; since the phrase is also used of those who frequented that place of public concourse for other purposes, Ruth iv. 1, Ps. lxix. 12, Prov. xxxi. 23. We learn from the case of Naboth, 1 Kings xxi. 9-13, that in criminal trials the accused was placed in a conspicuous seat, and the witnesses were seated opposite to him.

Those who consulted a prophet, sat before him, Ezek. iii. 15, viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1, xxxiii. 31; 2 Kings iv. 38, vi. 32, awaiting the communication to be made to them. And as he was upon a higher seat, and thus elevated above them, they sat at his feet; so the healed demoniac, Luke viii. 35, and Mary, x. 39, at the feet of Jesus, and Paul at the feet of Gamaliel, Acts xxii. 3. Our Lord was accustomed to sit when teaching; so in the synagogue at Nazareth, Luke iv. 20; on the mount, Matt. v. 1; in the ship, Luke v. 3, and in the temple, John viii. 2, Matt. xxvi. 55. This, too, as is well known, was the usage of the synagogue, Matt. xxiii. 2, and of the early Christian preachers, whose hearers sometimes, though not invariably, stood.

In contrast both with this official sitting on an elevated throne, and the ordinary sitting upon mats or carpets laid upon the floor, mourners sat upon the ground in the inactivity and negligence of grief, Job ii. 13, Isa. iii. 26, Lam. ii. 10, Judges xx. 26, Ezra ix. 3-5, Neh. i. 4, Ps. cxxxvii. 1, Ezek. viii. 14; or in ashes, Job ii. 8, and sackcloth, Jonah iii. 6; in solitude, Lam. iii. 28; in darkness and silence, Isa. xlvii. 5, Mic. vii. 8, Lam. iii. 6, Ps. cxliii. 3. Degradation is expressed by being obliged to leave the throne, and sit upon the ground, Isa.

xlvi. 1, Jer. xiii. 18, xlviii. 18, Ezek. xxvi. 16, comp. Eccles. x. 6, and exaltation by the reverse, rising from the dust to sit upon a throne, Isa. lii. 2.

Sitting is the attitude of inactivity, as an erect position is for motion or labour. Those sit who have nothing to do, or are in fact doing nothing, Num. xxxii. 6, 2 Sam. ii. 13, 2 Kings vii. 3, Jer. viii. 14, Zech. i. 11, or are waiting to see what will happen, Gen. xxi. 16, Exod. ii. 15, Judges xix. 15, or to meet with some one, Ruth iv. 1, Jer. iii. 2, it may be with evil intent, in ambush (comp. Lat. *insidiæ* from *sedeo*), Ps. x. 8, xvii. 12, or awaiting orders from a superior, as Mordecai sitting in the king's gate, Esth. ii. 19, 21, v. 13, vi. 10, or as soldiers guarding the wall of a besieged city, 2 Kings xviii. 27, Isa. xxxvi. 12. Whence the phrases, "to sit under one's own vine and fig-tree," 1 Kings iv. 25, Mic. iv. 4, denoting the enjoyment of undisturbed repose and peaceful security; "to sit under any one's shadow," Cant. ii. 3, Hos. xiv. 7, Ezek. xxxi. 17, to share his protection or the refreshment he affords; "to sit in darkness," Ps. cvii. 10, Isa. xlii. 7, to be confined in a prison or a dungeon.

Sitting was the ordinary posture of the Hebrews in eating from the days of the patriarchs to the end of the Old Testament, as appears from numerous allusions to the subject, Gen. xxvii. 19, xxxvii. 25, Ex. xxxii. 6, Judges xix. 6, Ruth ii. 14, 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24, Prov. xxiii. 1, 1 Kings xiii. 20, Jer. xvi. 8, Ezek. xlv. 3. The use of beds or couches for sitting or for reclining at meals is spoken of by Amos iii. 12, vi. 4, and by Ezekiel, xxiii. 41, as belonging to the luxury and effeminacy of a degenerate period. This latter had, as is well known, become the uniform custom in the times of the New Testament, where we never read, except in our version, of sitting at meat; the original invariably speaks of reclining.

In Egypt they sat, as we learn not only from native sources, ancient and modern, but from the brethren of Joseph when feasted at his house, Gen. xliii. 33, and from the children of Israel beside the flesh-pots, Exod. xvi. 3. But in Persia, at the grand festival of Ahasuerus, Esth. i. 6, and at the more private entertainment of queen Esther, the guests reclined, Esth. vii. 8.

The table of shew-bread was a cubit and a half in height, or about 2 feet 4 inches, which is nearly as high as our dining-tables. This was, of course, much higher than those in ordinary use, as it represented the table of the great King. The table in the temple of Herod was not much above a foot in height, as it is represented on the arch of Titus in Rome. King Saul at table sat upon his seat by the wall, 1 Sam. xx. 25, that is, upon the raised divan at the side or end of the apartment, which would admit of his having a higher table than those required who sat upon the floor. Lane thus describes the tables in use in modern Egypt, vol. i. p. 24. "For meals a round tray is brought in and placed upon a low stool, and the company sit round it on the ground." Dr. Robinson found the same in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 635. A simpler affair still is in use among the Arabs; a round leather or mat is laid upon the floor, provided with rings on its outer edge, so that after the meal is finished it can be drawn together like a bag, and suspended on a nail. Winer *Realw.* ii. p. 48, (note 10). Rædiger finds in this an illustration of Psalm lxix. 22: "Let their table become a snare before them." If the psalmist had such a table as this in mind, the figure of the feet becoming entangled in it, would not be a violent one.

Sitting was further customary in such acts as required no exertion, and could therefore be as easily performed in this as in any other posture. Thus men sat to talk, Psalm i. 1, l. 20, cxix. 23, Jer. xv. 17, to consult together, Jer. xxxvi. 12, 2 Kings ix. 5, to read, Jer. xxxvi. 15, to warm themselves at a fire, Isaiah xlvii. 14, Jer. xxxvi. 22, &c.

We have now reviewed with, we fear, a wearisome particularity the various connections in which the word *יָשָׁב* *to sit* occurs in the Old Testament; and have ascertained as far as possible the usages of the Hebrews in this respect, the various modes in which different classes of the people sat, and the occasions upon which they sat. We may next inquire into the different meanings of this word *יָשָׁב*. We shall learn something about Hebrew association of ideas by discovering the bond which connects its secondary or derived senses with its primary signification. Language is not an incoherent mass of individual words, each of which is arbitrarily linked to its own separate

and distinct idea. Kindred ideas are attached to the same word, or to the several primary words which spring alike directly from one common root, or to the derivatives formed from the same primary. And thus the whole body of ideas expressed in any given language is grouped and arranged in a way peculiarly its own, affording often welcome glimpses into the habits of thought of the particular people by which it was spoken, or the character of the associations which they formed.

The word יָשַׁב has three clearly distinguishable meanings, *to sit*, *to remain*, and *to dwell*. Thus, when it is said that Joseph's brethren *sat* before him at the table, Gen. xliii. 33, and when Judah asked that he might be suffered *to remain* as a bondman instead of Benjamin, Gen. xlv. 33, and when Joseph gave his father and brethren permission *to dwell* in the land of Goshen, Gen. xlv. 10, the original word is the same in each case. He who sat down, indicated a purpose to remain, and he who dwelt in any place remained there continuously.

In this association of ideas there lurks, if we mistake not, a reminiscence of the early nomadic condition of the Hebrews. Their forefathers wandered about with no fixed or permanent habitation. They had no special attachment to one spot rather than to another. Wherever they sat down, that was for the time their home; and they moved their dwelling as they changed their seat.

With the Greek and the Roman, on the other hand, the associations were entirely different. In Greek *to dwell* is οἰκέω, or κατοικέω from οἶκος, *house*. A house, a fixed abode, a structure for his habitation, is fundamental to the conception. To have and occupy a house, to be domiciled, is the notion of dwelling here suggested. In Latin again, *to dwell* is *inhabito* from *habeo* to hold or possess, or *incolo* from *colo* to cultivate. A man is conceived of as dwelling where he has permanent possession, or where he cultivates the soil. The wandering patriarch did not require the ownership of the soil with the Roman, ever bent on sovereignty and control, nor with the more domestic Greek did he need to build his house in order to dwell. He had his home wherever he sat down.

Our words "reside" and "dwell" so far resemble the cor-

responding Hebrew term, that they point to the roving disposition of those who first employed them, but with an additional indication of their fierce and warlike character, which stands in marked contrast with the peaceful and pastoral life of the patriarchs. In the mouth of the Romans *resideo* was *to sit behind*, or to remain behind sitting after others had risen from that posture; we have from it our word *residue*. As caught up by the invading barbarians it stigmatized those who remained idly at home, while the able-bodied and the courageous went forth to war, or those who continued in their old settlements while the body of the advancing horde proceeded in quest of new seats. Continuous occupancy of one's home, was in the conception of migratory tribes "*to reside*," to stay behind in idleness. We do not lead a migratory life, but we retain the word in a sense which was first suggested by habits of migration. So "*to dwell*" is by the best etymologists associated with "*dull*," and is in its radical sense indicative of inactivity or want of energy. When the active and the enterprising were accustomed to rove freely for the sake of the chase, or for war, or to satisfy a restless disposition, it seemed a *dull* inactive life *to dwell* in one spot.

These different significations of יָשָׁב *to sit, remain, and dwell*, shade off into each other almost imperceptibly, so that it is sometimes difficult to tell which was intended by the writer. Or rather there are passages in which either meaning might seem appropriate, according to the aspect in which they are contemplated and in regard to which translators may be in doubt, or where authorities may differ from one another, or even from themselves in the rendering which they adopt. Many narrative passages gain new vividness and force by the substitution of the more specific sense *to sit* for the more vague or general *remain* or *dwell*, to which the common English version has accustomed us. Thus Gen. xix. 30, "Lot went up out of Zoar and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar; and he dwelt in a cave (Heb. *the cave*) he and his two daughters." The verb יָשָׁב occurs three times in this verse, and is in each instance represented in our version by the word *dwell*. The Vulgate followed by Luther render it with equal uniformity *remain*, (*manere*,

bleiben). But the LXX picture the scene far more vividly and perhaps more faithfully by translating it *sat* (ἐκάθιστο) in the first clause, though adhering to *dwelt* (κατοικῆσαι, κατοικήσεν) in the other two. "Lot went up out of Zoar, and sat on the mountain, he and his two daughters with him." We can almost see the father and his daughters, who had not dared to pause in their flight until they reached the mountain side, sitting down at length in their exhaustion and fright to recover breath and to collect their thoughts, to gaze back on the awful scene from which they had barely escaped with their lives, and to consider what was next to be done or whither they should go.

Again, in the account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 10, where our version follows the Vulgate and Luther in reading, "Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth," the LXX render more graphically and with a truer regard to the context "*sat*." Abraham first expressed to the children of Heth his desire to possess the cave, and asked their kindly offices with Ephron on his behalf. But Ephron, who was himself sitting among them, did not wait for further solicitation, but promptly and courteously acceded to his wishes.

So in the language of Boaz to Elimelech's next kinsman, Ruth iv. 4, "Buy it before the inhabitants," or as Luther phrases it, "before the citizens or burghers," (Bürgern,) is neither so graphic nor so suitable as the rendering of the LXX and the Vulgate "before those sitting here," (καθημένων, *sedentibus*,) *i. e.*, the ten who had just been selected and asked to sit down to arbitrate or witness the case, and others who were there present.

During the seven days allotted to the consecration of Aaron and his sons, they were directed, as it is in the LXX, Levit. viii. 35, *to sit* at the door of the tabernacle day and night; our version has it more vaguely *to abide*. The ambush set by Joshua viii. 9, according to our version, "abode between Bethel and Ai;" the LXX and Vulgate have "*sat*," referring to their crouching posture in concealment. The promise, Zech. viii. 4, is thus given in our version, "old men and old women shall *dwell* in the streets of Jerusalem," which might seem to imply that they should be houseless and unsheltered; the LXX have "shall *sit* in the streets of Jerusalem." Jer. xlix. 30, The

inhabitants of Hazer are bidden to "dwell deep," *i. e.*, take up their abode in the deepest and most inaccessible solitudes of the desert in their flight from Nebuchadnezzar's invading host; the LXX phrase it, ἐμβαθύνετε εἰς χάδιον, *deepen in sitting, i. e.*, sit low, or sit in the depths, referring rather to the posture of mourners. In Ps. ci. 6, where David says, "Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may *dwell* with me," the LXX has "*sit* (συγκαθίσθαι) *with me*," be my assessors, act as my judges and officers, assist me in the government.

Again, in sundry passages the English version adopts the more graphic and preferable rendering, where others are more vague. Thus Ps. ii. 4, "He that sitteth in the heavens," is seated, that is, upon the throne of the heavens, is better than the bare "dwelleth in the heavens" of the LXX, Vulgate, and Luther. Angels and the glorified just dwell in heaven, but God alone is seated on the heavenly throne. The language of the prince of Tyre, Ezek. xxviii. 2, "I sit in the seat of God," is a stronger assertion of his fancied divine prerogatives, than "I dwell in the dwelling of God," LXX (κατοικίαν θεοῦ κατοίχῃς). "A young lion *lurking* in secret places," Ps. xvii. 13, is a more lively figure of an enemy watching his opportunity, than one *dwelling* in secret places, as the LXX and Vulgate render it. "All the earth sitteth still," as the English version and Luther render Zech. i. 11, as a poetical description of the prevailing peace and security, is superior to the bald and prosaic rendering of the LXX and Vulgate, "All the earth is inhabited" (κατοικεῖται, habitatur).

Sometimes, on the other hand, one or more of the versions render שָׁבַת by *sit* where this is too specific, and *dwell* would be preferable. Thus the LXX, Vulgate, Luther, and English versions, prior to that of king James, translate 1 Chron. xvii. 1, "when David dwelt in his house," though for the identical expression in the parallel passage, 2 Sam. vii. 1, they have "sat in his house," which the authorized English version has in both passages. But the sacred writer does not mean to describe the posture in which David was when he proposed to Nathan to build a temple for the Lord; nor does his meaning seem to be fully given by using "*sit*" in a figurative sense, to suggest the repose and quiet which he enjoyed, now that his

active campaigns were terminated, "and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his enemies." There is evidently a designed contrast between the king securely dwelling in his house and the Lord dwelling in a mere tent. "I dwell," says he, in the immediately following verse, "in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains;" *dwell*, and not *sit*, would consequently seem to be the proper rendering in the preceding verse.

In a subsequent part of the same narrative it is said, ver. 18, "Then went king David in (*i. e.*, into the court of the tabernacle), and *sat* before the Lord," and offered a prayer there recorded. As sitting is nowhere else spoken of in the Old Testament or in the New as the posture of prayer, this has given no small trouble to commentators. The rabbins allege, on the basis of this passage, that this was allowable in kings alone; others have imagined that the king first sat down on entering the tabernacle court, but afterwards arose and offered his prayer; and others still render *remained* instead of *sat*, "he went in and remained before the Lord."

Again, it is said of king Uzziah, after he was smitten with leprosy for his impiety, 2 Chron. xxvi. 21, that "he *dwelt* in a several house." The LXX render this *he sat* (ἐκάθιστο), meaning that he sat upon his throne, as is shown by their paraphrasing the very same expression in the parallel passage, 2 Kings xv. 5, "*reigned*" (ἐβασίλευσεν), where Aquila has ἐκάθιστο *sat*, and Symmachus ὤκει *dwelt*. But the exercise of regal functions by a leper is quite incredible, even if it were not explicitly stated that the regency was conferred upon Jotham during his father's disability.

The few experimental citations thus far made from some of the leading versions, have been applied to matters lying within the domain of lexicography, exegesis, and hermeneutics. In these several fields they are capable of rendering eminent service, whether as aids in ascertaining the meaning of difficult or doubtful words, in determining the sense of obscure and perplexed passages, or in revealing the principles and methods of interpretation which prevailed when the version was made.

It may not be amiss to indicate further, as this same word will enable us to do, the use to which the ancient versions may

be put in the way of textual criticism. They may be regarded not only as renderings of the sacred text, which may help us to understand it, or show us at least how it has been understood in the different ages and the various regions in which these versions originated, but they may likewise be viewed as so many different forms of the text, and summoned to testify respecting its purity and correctness. If a version be translated back again into the language from which it was made, it ought to yield us the original text as the translators had it before them, or at least to enable us to conclude with a measure of certainty, and within given limits, upon the form of that text.

If in any given passage different manuscripts of equal value sustain different readings, and other considerations *pro* and *con* appear to be evenly balanced, that which has the sanction of the early versions is entitled to the preference. Great caution is requisite, however, in the critical employment of versions which in injudicious hands has been productive of more harm than profit, and has tended rather to the multiplication than the correction of errors.

Where two words agree in their letters and differ only in the vowel points, which had not yet been introduced when the oldest versions were made, it is not surprising if they sometimes depart in such cases from the received text; and yet these very departures are of such a nature as to indicate the source from which they sprang. Thus, שָׁבַת the infinitive of יָשַׁב *to sit* or *dwell*, and שָׁבַת that of שָׁבַת *to rest* (the root of our word *Sabbath*) have precisely the same consonants; so long, therefore, as no signs were in use for the vowels, they were identical in their written form. Hence it happens that in Isaiah lviii. 12 “the restorer of paths to dwell in,” both the LXX and Vulgate substitute *rest* for *dwell*; and in Num. xxi. 15 for “the dwelling of Ar,” the Vulgate has “rest in Ar.”

In Zech. x. 6 there is an anomalous grammatical form הוֹשִׁיבוּהֶם. The first part of the word gives it the appearance of being derived from יָשַׁב *to dwell*, and the latter part looks as though it came from שָׁוַב *to return*. And eminent scholars have actually maintained that the word is in reality formed by a fusion of these two words, and that the prophet designed by this singular compound to suggest the ideas of both; an opinion

which appears to have been shared by our translators, who have combined both meanings in the phrase which they have given as its equivalent, "I will bring them again to place them." Now that this word stood in the text anciently just as it does now, presenting the same remarkable structure and suggesting the same combination in itself, appears from the fact that the LXX translate it as though it were from one of these words, κατοικῶ αὐτοῦς "I will cause them to dwell," while the Vulgate gives the other, *convertam eos* "I will bring them back."

In Ruth ii. 7 the reapers inform Boaz that Ruth has been labouring in the field ever since morning, "tarrying but little in the house." This last clause is omitted entirely in the Peshito or old Syriac version. But that it nevertheless belongs properly to the text and is not a spurious addition, appears from the fact that it is found in the Vulgate, which, however, renders it "she has not even for a moment returned to the house," or returned home, introducing a negative and substituting "return" for "tarry," as though the verb were not תַּשָּׁב but שָׁב, from which a form may be derived closely approximating that in the text, though not precisely identical with it even in its consonants. That the verbal form is not to be modified, however, into conformity with the rendering of the Vulgate, appears from the LXX, which likewise has the clause but differently worded still. In the Greek the verb is neither "return" as in the Vulgate, nor "tarry" as in the Hebrew, but "rested," implying an original with the identical letters which now appear in the text, and differing only in the vowel points, (שָׁבַחָהּ, שָׁבַחָהּ). And now that even this is not the genuine reading, sanctioned by an early and steadfast tradition, but one born of the caprice of the translators, appears from the fact that the Chaldee Targum in this passage sanctions the existing Hebrew text in every particular, in the meaning yielded by its vowel points as well as by its letters. The conclusion to which we are inevitably driven by a survey of the entire case, is that the current text of the passage is the true one, and to this the Chaldee has faithfully adhered. Since, however, the construction of the original is somewhat embarrassed and perplexed, the Syriac cut the knot and relieved itself from all difficulty by dropping the troublesome clause; while the LXX and the Vulgate have for the same

reason given a paraphrase each in its own way, instead of an exact translation, preserving the general sense but not the identical expressions of the original, and yet each so serving to correct the other as to show that the text as we now have it was the common source of both.

Such paraphrastic explanations frequently occur, in which the translators depart intentionally, or at least knowingly, from the exact language of the original, content with preserving the general sense or perhaps even desirous of making the meaning clearer than a precise word-for-word translation would make it. Thus in Micah iv. 4, instead of "they shall *sit* every man under his vine and under his fig tree," the LXX have "each shall *rest* under his vine, &c." In 2 Kings xv. 5 for "Uzziah dwelt" or sat "in a several house," they substitute "reigned," showing that they understood it to mean sitting upon a throne. Esther ii. 19, vi. 10, for "Mordecai sat in the king's gate," the LXX have ἐθερόπευσεν, *served* or *waited*, indicating that the posture was that of a servant or attendant awaiting orders. Hag. i. 4. for "is it time for you to *dwell* in your ceiled houses," the LXX substitute without a material change of sense, "to build your ceiled houses."

This disposition to modify the text for the sake of elucidation is no doubt the occasion of that remarkable alteration upon which they have ventured in Exod. xii. 40. Overlooking the fact that the genealogies of the period were abbreviated by the omission of unimportant names and misunderstanding the statement that the seed of Abraham should return to Canaan in the fourth generation, they concluded that four hundred and thirty years was too long a period for the residence in Egypt, and that it must include the preceding residence in Canaan likewise. They accordingly inserted a clause in the verse to this effect, making it read, "the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt *and in the land of Canaan* was four hundred and thirty years." Our translators sought to compass the same end, while retaining the common text, by rendering "the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt* in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." In this they were doubtless influenced by the statement of the apostle Paul. Gal. iii. 17, that the giving of the law was four hundred and

thirty years subsequent to the covenant with Abraham. But he does not say that this interval was only four hundred and thirty years; and his general reference to it no more binds us to believe that he was aiming at chronological exactness, than the statement of the same apostle Acts xiii. 20, that God gave to Israel judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years until Samuel the prophet, settles the vexed chronology of the book of Judges. The correctness of the existing text is, moreover, vouched for, and its true rendering given by the Vulgate, which is followed by Luther and by English versions prior to that of King James, "So the dwelling of the children of Israel, while they dwelled in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years."

It would be superfluous in any of these or similar cases to assume that the peculiar rendering of the version implies a various reading in the original. Much less is this the case where the apparent variance between the version and the original is due to an error not in the latter, but in the text of the version itself, as in Jer. xxx. 18, "the palace shall remain," or sit, where some copies of the LXX have *καθευδῆται*, "shall sleep," though the true reading is unquestionably as it is in other copies, *καθεδῆται*, "shall sit."

By such textual comparisons of the versions with one another, and with the original from which they have been made, we may further gain a more intimate acquaintance with the versions themselves, and with the relation in which they stand to the original, the ability and accuracy with which they are made, the degree of closeness with which they adhere to the original, or the liberties they allow themselves in departing from it. It may also lead to a better insight into the mutual relations between the versions themselves and the measure of their dependence one upon the other. It might be possible, for example, by an extended and careful induction of particulars, to trace the genesis of the authorized English version, to show how far its familiar renderings were influenced by preëxisting versions, and these by others still, and so on back to that earliest of all, the grand old Septuagint, which, though far from faultless, is yet, considering the period in which it was prepared, and the influence which it has exerted, worthy of a very

high degree of veneration and regard. The power it has wielded in fact approaches the awful, when we reflect to what extent it has controlled the entire body of translators from that date to this, and given shape to expressions which we read in our English Bibles at this present day, and even made itself felt by the inspired writers of the New Testament. Is it strange that early superstition fancied that it must have been itself inspired, and that such power could have been suffered only in the immediate organs of the Holy Ghost? an opinion which has been revived by a distinguished scholar of our own day.

One sort of influence belonging to this version, which the word that we are examining may serve to exhibit in one of its minor traces, is that which was exerted upon the Greek language itself, and which contributed to form the dialect of the New Testament, those lively oracles of the Christian faith. The modifications to which Greek was subjected, as spoken and written by Jews, naturally reach their maximum in this version made directly from the Hebrew Scriptures, which was itself one of the most powerful agents in their production. This phenomenon may likewise illustrate the general law, that two languages when brought into contact never fail to influence and modify each other.

The words *sit* and *dwell* are no more distinct in their meaning and incapable of interchange than are their equivalents in classic Greek, *κάθηναι* and *κατοικέω*. And yet a Hebrew accustomed to associate these ideas together, and express them by one word, would insensibly come to use the corresponding Greek term with a like latitude. Hence it has happened that *κάθηναι*, though properly meaning to sit, has in repeated instances been employed by the LXX to represent *ישב*, where the sense clearly is *to remain* or *to dwell*, and must have been so intended by the translators. It is used of the Levite dwelling with Micah, Judges xvii. 10; of the ark abiding in the cities of the Philistines, 1 Sam. v. 7; of Abiathar abiding with David, 1 Sam. xxii. 23; of David dwelling with Achish, 1 Sam. xxvii. 5; of Absalom in Geshur, 2 Sam. xv. 8; of Shimei in Jerusalem, 1 Kings ii. 36; of Solomon in his royal house, 1 Kings vii. 8; Jeroboam in Egypt, 1 Kings xii. 2; Canaanites dwelling in the land of Israel, Exod. xxiii. 33; Jews dwelling in Egypt, Jer.

xliv. 1; the inhabitants of Samaria, Isa. ix. 9; the inhabitants of the land, Exod. xxiii. 31; the inhabitants of the earth, Jer. xxv. 29, 30. And one of its derivatives, *ἐγκαθίζουμαι*, is, with two or three exceptions, invariably used in the sense of dwelling.

We find this idiomatic usage of "sit" for "dwell" occasionally, likewise, in the Greek of the New Testament; as Rev. xiv. 6, "them that dwell on the earth," and Luke xxi. 35, "them that dwell on the face of the whole earth," where the original is *καθήμενους*, literally "sitting on the earth." Both of these may be reminiscences of the language of the LXX. Such Hebraisms may be admitted wherever there is an evident necessity, but they are not to be gratuitously assumed, nor the cases indefinitely and needlessly multiplied. The meaning "*to dwell*" is not to be forced upon *καθίζουμαι*, whenever it is possible, even though "*sit*" would suit the context as well, or perhaps better. Thus when the impotent man is said, Acts xiv. 8, to have *sat* at Lystra, there is no reason why this should be converted into *dwell* at Lystra. Still less is *dwelt* to be substituted for *sat*, Matt. iv. 16, comp. Luke i. 79, "them which sat in the region and shadow of death," where the evangelist has expressly changed the (*κατοικοῦντες*) *dwell* of the LXX into (*καθήμενοις*) *sit*, for the sake of more vividly and accurately expressing the prophet's meaning.

Our knowledge of the word which we have under examination, cannot be considered complete until we have compared it with its synonyms, and adjusted its signification with theirs. The slight and often subtle distinctions which obtain between words, the discriminations made between such as at first sight seem to be promiscuously used, indicate various shades of thought or different aspects under which the same idea may be contemplated.

The number of such synonyms, compared with their equivalents in other languages, may give some hint of the relative copiousness of different tongues; in one of which a word may be used vaguely to cover a wide extent of meaning, which in other tongues is with more precision and definiteness parcelled among a number. Thus we find that the *kal*, or simple form of *כָּלַךְ*, answering to the active voice in other languages, is in our common version variously rendered in different connections by the words *sit*, *sit down*, *sit still*, *sit up*, *be set*, *be situate*, *lurk*,

remain, tarry, continue, endure, dwell, haunt, inhabit, be inhabited; and in the LXX it is rendered in twice as many different ways. This may give some idea of the number of terms in Greek and English which have a measure of correspondence under one aspect or another with this single Hebrew term, and show how far one language is from being able to offer an exact equivalent in all its phases to any given word in another. It may also suggest the comparative poverty of the Hebrew, which cannot muster anything like such an array of terms for these related ideas.

Of the synonyms of יָשַׁב it will be sufficient to notice briefly שָׁבַט and יָסַד, *to sit*, and שָׁכַן, *to dwell*, which are most nearly akin to it in its two leading significations. Others, which are more remotely related, need not be examined. And some terms which, according to our style of thinking or speaking, would belong to the same category with *sit*, or are intimately connected with it, as the *sitting* of birds upon their eggs, or the *setting* of the sun, are here absolutely excluded, for they pertain to an entirely different class of ideas in the mind of a Hebrew.

שָׁבַט is the ordinary word in Arabic for *sitting*, and as adopted into the Hebrew, it owes its peculiar character entirely to this, that it belongs not to the native stock of words in current and familiar use like יָשַׁב, but has been introduced from a foreign though kindred dialect. The distinction may find an illustration, though not an exact parallel, in the Saxon and Roman words of like signification in our own language, one the household term, in free familiar use, cherished by the masses; the other more stately, savouring of the ornate, and restrained to educated ears. In the case before us, as in most others of like nature, the foreign word is not admitted to the simple and easy style of prose, but belongs exclusively to the more ornate and artificial diction of poetry, to which it is all the better adapted from the strangeness of its aspect and the rarity of its employment. שָׁבַט in fact occurs but twice, and that in the highly wrought and imaginative Song of Solomon, iv. 1, vi. 5, which more than almost any other book of the Old Testament delights in foreign words. It is there poetically applied to a flock of goats *sitting* or reclining on Mount Gilead.

יָשַׁב, the reciprocal form of יָשָׁב, corresponding to a certain extent with the Greek middle voice, is used in the sense of sitting, but always with special application to persons sitting together for the purpose of deliberation or consultation. It is so used in Ps. ii. 2, which is rendered in our version, "the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together," literally, they stand up and they sit down "against the Lord and against his anointed." Standing and sitting they are engaged in impotent hostility against this divinely established empire. The one posture is indicative of active resistance, the other of quietly concocting their rebellious schemes.

This word יָשַׁב is particularly interesting to us from the probability that it is from the same root with our own familiar word *to sit*. Comparisons between Semitic and Indo-European roots or themes are, it is true, somewhat precarious in the present state of our knowledge. But the highest authority in Hebrew lexicography is of opinion that the syllable סָד at the basis of יָשַׁב reappears in the Sanscrit *sad* with its causative *sāday*, whence the Gothic *sat* and *satja*, the German *sitzen* and *setzen*, and our own *sit* and *set*. The Latin also has its *sido* or *sedeo* and *sedo*, and the Greek in which the sibilant has sunk to an aspirate ἕζομαι, ἕδωμαι. The same root appears likewise in the Celtic and the Slavonic. Every time that we use this familiar word "to sit" we touch a link in the great chain that not only unites us with all the Indo-European races, but connects us likewise with the Hebrews and all the affiliated Semitic populations. Moses, and David, and the prophets, and doubtless even our Lord himself, made use of this very same word, or one at least fundamentally identical in sound and in signification, and whose connection can be historically traced. It was transmitted to them as it has travelled down to us, the heirloom from a remote antiquity which we have no means of reckoning, a relic of that more ancient tongue which existed before the Indo-European or the Semitic dialects were born, the parent alike of both; before the nations or races speaking any of the historical tongues had as yet a separate existence, it was the medium of intercourse for the common ancestry of the whole. "Sit" is a veritable patriarch among words, whether we regard its own venerable age or the numbers of its descendants.

יָשַׁב accordingly is the ordinary Hebrew word for *sitting*, and is used exclusively, or almost so, of persons: while its Arabic equivalent جَلَس is rare and poetic, and applied to the recumbency of animals. יָשַׁב is the word for sitting in general, while יָסַד, which has passed likewise into the Indo-European languages, is employed only of sitting together for council or deliberation.

The verb יָשַׁן, like יָשַׁב, means *to dwell*, but with a difference of usage based on their respective primary significations. The original sense of יָשַׁב is *to sit*, an act distinctively human; hence in its derived sense of *dwelling* it is limited to the residence of men. יָשַׁן, which primarily means *to sink* or *settle down*, has no such inherent limitation, and is used not only of the abode of men, but also of irrational animals, cattle, wild beasts, fishes, birds, and even of inanimate objects, as the cloud on the tabernacle, Exod. xl. 35 (comp. Job iii. 5), and the tabernacle in the promised land, Josh. xxii. 19. Hence when a participle is to be used substantively to denote the human inhabitants of a city, or land, or the world, it is from יָשַׁב; but when Job speaks (xxvi. 5) of the waters and the inhabitants thereof, the participle is from יָשַׁן.

It is further a natural sequence that יָשַׁן was preferred in those cases in which the double meaning of יָשַׁב would have occasioned ambiguity. Thus when Isaiah (xxvi. 19) speaks of the dead as them "that dwell in dust," he uses the word יָשַׁן; יָשַׁב would simply have suggested the idea of "sitting in the dust" in humiliation or grief, as Isa. xlvii. 1. Again, when (Isa. lvii. 15) God is spoken of as *inhabiting* eternity, or *dwelling* in the high and holy place, the verb is יָשַׁן; יָשַׁב would have meant, as in Ps. ix. 7, Lam. v. 19, sitting for ever, and Ps. cxiii. 5, sitting on high, *i. e.*, on his eternal and heavenly throne. This distinction is maintained in their derivative nouns, מוֹשָׁב from יָשַׁב, meaning both *a seat* and *a dwelling place*, while מִשְׁכָּן from יָשַׁן has only the latter sense, and was especially appropriated to the tabernacle as God's earthly dwelling place. This reacted upon the verb, and we accordingly find יָשַׁן employed with specific allusion to this sacred structure, when mention is made of God dwelling among his people, or causing his name to dwell among them, a usage reflected in a word

borrowed by our own language from the later Hebrew שְׁכִינָה, *shekinah*, the brilliancy betokening and symbolizing God's residence in the tabernacle and the temple.

This has also had its influence upon the language of the New Testament. The verb σκηνοῶ occurs in it five times, and only in the writings of the apostle John, the most Hebraic of the New Testament writers, and each time with designed allusion to שְׁכִינָה, which it not only aptly represents in sense, but so nearly approaches in sound, that it would at once suggest it to a Hebrew ear, although in spite of this resemblance the roots are quite distinct. This association was likewise furthered by the LXX, which regularly renders שְׁכִינָה the sacred tabernacle by σκηνή or σκηνωμα, and שְׁכִינָה itself at times by a derivative verb, κατασκηνοῶ, 2 Chron. vi. 1, Neh. i. 9. Hence when it is said, Rev. xxi. 3, "the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell (σκηνώσει) with them," and Rev. vii. 15, "He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them," the very sound of the verb, as well as the connection, suggests an allusion to the ancient tabernacle, in which God had dwelt among his people by a symbol, that is now to find its highest and most glorious realization. So John, i. 14, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us." He who once dwelt in the tabernacle had now come to tabernacle among men in a tenement of flesh. And so, Rev. xii. 12, xiii. 6, "God's name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell (σκηνοῦντας) in heaven." God had once fixed his dwelling in the midst of human habitations here on earth to signify that the habitation of men should one day be with him in his own dwelling-place in heaven.

The word שָׁבַח, which we are examining, may moreover afford us an indication of the measure of affinity subsisting between the various Semitic dialects, in all of which it occurs. It may naturally be expected that those tongues which are most closely allied with the Hebrew will most nearly accord with it in the form and meaning of this particular word; while those which are more remote in general character will here too present a greater divergence.

Few remains have been preserved of the language of Phœnicia. But fortunately among these we find the word of which

we are in quest; and although it reaches us by a strangely circuitous route, it yields a clear and satisfactory testimony to the point before us. The Phœnicians founded the city of Carthage, and transplanted their language thither, as is evidenced by its very name, קרת-חדשה, equivalent to Neapolis or New-town: the first member of the compound being the same as in the familiar names of Scripture, Kirjath- (or Kiryath-) Arba, Kirjath-jearim, Kirjath-sepher.

The literary treasures of Carthage, as of Phœnicia, have all perished. But happily the Roman comic poet Plautus, in his play entitled *Pœnulus*, introduces a Carthaginian speaking for a few lines in his native tongue. In this precious fragment occurs the word *lasibit*, which is the Hebrew לָשַׁבַּת as nearly as the Latin alphabet could represent it, and corresponds in Plautus' own translation to the word "habitare," to dwell. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of the foreign character, in which it is written, this word manifests its identity with the Hebrew in the letters of the root, in its signification, and in its peculiar grammatical form; this last is the more remarkable, since the other Semitic tongues depart more or less from the Hebrew in the formation of the infinitive. We accordingly reach, through the medium of this word, a conclusion which a more extended examination would but justify and confirm, that the Phœnician, which was in all likelihood identical with the language of the Canaanitish tribes, bears the closest affinity to the Hebrew of any of the Semitic tongues.

In the Phœnician, as we have seen, the verb יָשַׁב reappears without change either of form or of signification. Next to this is the Aramean, including the Chaldee and Syriac, together with the mongrel Samaritan. Here the signification is preserved unchanged, both in the primary and derivative senses. The verb means still precisely as in Hebrew, to sit, remain and dwell. But the form of the root is slightly varied. The sibilant, as is very commonly the case in these dialects, has been changed into a dental; just as the Hebrew name of the city צור became in Aramean טור or Tyre, and as שׁור a bull became טור the Greek ταῦρος, so יָשַׁב was hardened into יָתַב.

In Arabic and Ethiopic, which are still farther removed from the Hebrew, we find this verb not only different in form, but

changed in signification. The Ethiopic has the sibilant of the Hebrew, and the Arabic the aspirated dental of the Aramean, but both have a different semivowel as the initial letter, the Arabic being *wathaba* and the Ethiopic *vasaba* instead of *שָׁב*. In this they have retained the more primitive form, which, though lost or changed alike in Hebrew and Aramean is still presupposed in some of their grammatical inflexions.

While, however, the southern dialects have in this instance preserved the older form with greater tenacity, the Hebrew and the Aramean have alone adhered to the original signification. The Arabic has diverged upon one side and the Ethiopic upon another, until there might seem to be no relationship between the thoughts which they respectively suggest and that of the source from which they were derived; and nevertheless the links of connection can still be distinctly traced, each having seized upon one particular application of the root, and confined its signification to that.

In Arabic, the verb usually means *to spring*, or *rush* upon any one. In Ethiopic its causative alone survives, and this has the sense of *marrying*. How such meanings as *rush* or *marry* could be attached to a verb, originally signifying *to sit*, may not at first be very obvious; and yet the Hebrew verb is itself used in such connections as suggest a ready explanation.

The consciousness of the original sense of the Arabic *wathaba* was so far preserved, that in the Himyaritic dialect it meant *to sit*, and a derivative noun signified *a seat*. Moreover, such phrases as Jer. iii. 2, "in the ways hast thou *sat for them* as the Arabian in the wilderness;" Psalm x. 8, "he sitteth in the lurking places of the villages;" Psalm xvii. 12 "a young lion sitting (or lurking) in secret places" and the like, show how *sitting* may easily pass into *lying in wait* with hostile intent, as in Latin *insidiæ*, and our *insidious* from *sedeo*. From this the transition to springing or rushing upon one thus waylaid is not very difficult.

The Ethiopic couples together the significations *sit*, *remain*, and *dwell*, showing the same association of ideas with the Hebrew; but it has attached them to a different root, viz., the word *nabara*. The root *נָבַר* or in its Ethiopic form *vasaba*, is only retained in the causative with the meaning "to marry."

justify us in deducing them from a single theme. If any-reduction is possible it is more likely that the first two letters form the primitive theme, and that the final ב is a subsequent addition. יָשַׁב *to sit*, is doubtless cognate to יָשַׁב or יָשַׁב *to set* or *place*, which represents the transitive side of the same idea; and it is not improbably connected more remotely with יָשַׁב, יָשַׁב, יָשַׁב and thus with the particle יָשַׁב denoting *existence*. Sitting or dwelling, which is a mode of being, is not far removed from the idea of simple existence. And the readiness with which the transition may be made, appears from the fact that the LXX in their renderings have in several instances substituted one for the other. Thus, in Gen. xxix. 14 “he *abode* with him the space of a month,” Joshua xxiv. 7, “ye *dwelt* in the wilderness a long season,” and Jer. xxxviii. 7, “the king *was sitting* in the gate of Benjamin,” the Septuagint has ἦν *was*, or ἦσαν *were* in place of the exact translation of the original verb. And Psalm lv. 19, “he that abideth of old,” is in the same version ὁ ἀπαρχὼν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, *existing before the ages*. The intimate relationship in thought has also expressed itself in other tongues, as in the Gothic *visan*, *to dwell*, *remain*, or *be*, and the Spanish *ser*, *to be*, abbreviated from *sedere* (Diez, *Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen*, i. p. 166), as its synonym *estar*, like the Latin *existo*, is based upon the idea of standing, which is another modification of being. If a nexus actually obtains between the Hebrew roots above named, as there appears to be some reason to believe, though it cannot be certainly affirmed, they may be compared with the Indo-european substantive verb as Sanscrit, *ἔστι* Greek, *esse* Latin, *is* English.

This terminates our long and wearisome march. We have been endeavouring to study the Hebrew word יָשַׁב. We have looked at the phrases in which it occurs in the Old Testament, in order to learn the usages of the ancient Hebrews in this matter. We have traced the association of ideas involved in its several significations back to the nomadic life of the patriarchs. We have followed it through some of the principal versions for purposes of exegesis and of criticism; and have noticed its influence upon the Hellenistic dialect and New Testament Greek. We have examined its synonyms. We have pursued it through the different Semitic tongues, and have endeavoured

to get a glimpse of it in Indo european territory, until it finally disappeared in a fog. We shall be only too happy if this nebulous termination shall not be thought to fitly represent the cloudy character of the entire discussion.

ART. II.—*The Aim of Christianity, for those who accept it.*

An Address delivered before the Religious Contribution Society of the Princeton Theological Seminary, April 22, 1867; by RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D. D., of Brooklyn, New York.

IT is an immediate impulse of the educated moral nature in man—to which every system of practical philosophy, or of religion, under our civilization, makes its appeal—to estimate that system, in the first instance, by the end which it proposes to accomplish for those who accept it; the spiritual result, of attainment and character, to which its agencies are designed to conduct them. The question of the fitness and the competence of the system to accomplish this end must come up afterward, to assist us in ascertaining its practical value. But this is secondary. The other precedes; and the later question is never in order till the former has been answered. For no matter how admirable the adaptation of the system to produce its result, if that result be essentially a mean one we at once dismiss the whole from our thoughts. It is only when the aim proposed to be realized shows itself a grand one—in which our higher desires will be gratified, and our nobler powers will find at once their use and rest—that we turn with interest to consider the means by which it is sought to be accomplished.

We thus at once repulse from our minds all systems of heathenism, no matter how ancient, how widely extended, how profusely adorned with a lavish art, how rich in an engaging and a various literature; we repel them from our thoughts, and do not take the trouble even to examine their interior mechanism, because they profess only to establish men in normal relations with the gods through some outward contrivance, or some

intellectual state or operation, without working, or seriously seeking to work in them, any essential moral renovation. We say on the instant—the race says everywhere, as its culture advances, and its moral growth ripens—‘This is not what we want! Away with such inane and mischievous trash! Let the fires of sacrifice everywhere be quenched; and cast the idols, though cut in ivory, and with amethysts for eyes, to the moles and the bats! Better an earth with no one temple on its surface, than an earth whose temples do not seek to minister to what is most divine within us!’

So, too, in the criticism of special schemes, schemes of philosophy rather than of religion, we apply the same method. We test the Stoical system, at once, by the purpose it affirmed; so to limit, and indurate, and really reduce, the nature of man as to make him indifferent to enjoyment and to pain; a being of bronze, as Plutarch said, without emotion, and without sensibility; whose highest rule shall be that of a proud and rigorous reason; whose highest attainment a self-satisfied apathy. We say, on the instant, ‘This is untrue to life. The richness of our nature this would impoverish. For delicate tastes, exuberant sympathies, it would give us tough integuments, harder muscle. We will none of it.’ And we know that we are right in this peremptory judgment. No scholarship, and no enthusiasm of advocates, can after this commend the scheme to us.

We admire, on the other hand, the more copious and intellectual system of Plato, because he proposed the preparation of the soul for communion with the highest ideas and beings to be encountered in its future state, as the true end of effort; and because he sought to attain this end through a really genuine and generous culture,—not by the arts only, or by philosophy, but by laborious practice in virtue; by statesmanship, travel, meditation, great action, as well as by simple conference with the learned. Not wholly satisfied with either method or end, we yet do justice to the genius and the spirit by which both were suggested; and we are not surprised that some of the Fathers, like Justin Martyr, were prepared by their study of the Greek idealist to accept that final and greater light which Christianity brought, but which on his eyes had not shined.

On the contrary, we trample beneath our feet the system of

Epicurus; the sparkling Sadduceeism of Greece, because it only sought to satisfy man's susceptibility to pleasure, and lacked not only the supreme idea of religious consecration, but even the lower yet relatively high one of ethical pureness, temperance, and heroism. And we hardly now listen to the arrogant positive philosophy of Comte, because, though attempting in its later development to supply the defect which its friendliest critics observed in its earlier, by some recognition of the religious side of man's nature, it still recognizes no God beyond the aggregate of humanity, allows no worship except to the highest representatives of this, and seeks to make man only as great as Cæsar, Archimedes, or Socrates have been; thus setting a near and narrow limit to the vast aspirations which are lodged within the soul.

In a word, all such systems are brought, as I said, to an immediate measurement by us—they are tested instinctively, before we proceed to examine them further—BY THE AIM WHICH THEY PROPOSE; the FINAL RESULT, of attainment and character, toward which their agencies professedly tend. And if, in this, they do not answer to those desires whose motive force is properly supreme with us, we therefore, inevitably, dismiss them from our thoughts.

There is then no graver or more imperative question concerning the Christian system—which it is our privilege to believe and to teach—than this which meets us at the outset: What is the ideal personal attainment which *it* proposes? What the result, of individual character, and of spiritual experience, which it aims to realize in those who accept it? If this be paltry and superficial—a mere change of our manners, a mere addition to our knowledge of facts, or even to our powers of judgment and of memory—much more, if it be in essence a base result, the outward decoration of our natural earthliness, under pretence of supplying to us divine endowments—then Christianity itself is impeached. It cannot satisfy what is highest within us, of reason, conscience, and immortal aspiration. The external evidences will fail to hold our hearty and earnest allegiance to it. Or if, by the miracles, and the prodigies of foreknowledge, which are as burning gems on its breastplate, we are constrained to accept it as from Him by whom

alone these can be wrought, we shall still be certain that we have not rightly apprehended its contents; have not interpreted the message which the miracle authenticates.

But if, on the other hand, the aim proposed to us by Christianity be inherently a grand and complete one, adapted to our nature, yet implying its immense exaltation and expansion—still more, if it be so essentially transcendent as to be above the range of philosophy, and to naturally surpass all dreams of poets, while still in the line of those desires of which the noblest hearts and minds are intimately conscious,—then we are prepared to accept the system which has this for its purpose as coming from God. Then the ulterior proofs which it brings are illumined, reënforced, by that impression which this prime feature in its structure makes on us. And then with gladness we advance to examine it for the practical plans by which it would accomplish, in us and for us, an end so august. To believe it is then an impulse of the heart, with which the reason coincides. To extend the knowledge of it to others,—it is not a burden; it is the very noblest office for which the earth affords us room. We are ourselves aroused and ennobled as we accept and strive to spread it. The most subtle and secret tendencies toward good which had lurked within us, before unrevealed, are startled and quickened, and we are aware of nobler possibilities than we had imagined investing our nature; of prophetic aspirations, still in embryo, but pricking beneath the shell of habit. An aim so divine we recognize at once as the crown of the system, whose other proofs are its weapons and its cuirass. And in it we see illustriously declared His perfect mind who knows the soul, and who knows as well the immortal realms to which this consciously is predestined.

What is then the result, of attainment and character, which Christianity proposes to those who accept it? It is indicated in many passages;—as in that in which John says that we are already, accepting Christ, the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but when it shall appear we shall be like Him, seeing him as he is; as in that in which Peter says that we are to be partakers of the Divine nature; or that in which the writer to the Hebrews declares that we are to share the holiness of God. But I do not know that anywhere else a

more complete and succinet exhibition of this aim of Christianity is given than by Paul, in his letter from Rome to the Christians in the cities and villages around Ephesus; and especially in that passage which immediately precedes the doxology that closes the third chapter in this Epistle.

It was natural, perhaps, that he *should* present, more distinctly and fully than any other, in a few rapid and crowded clauses, the spiritual result toward which redemption, as he understood it, continually tends. His mind was one of the most earnestly practical, as well as of the most acute and analytic, that has appeared among human thinkers. More than in that of either of his associates, there was combined in it, with splendid special intellectual forces, a noble philosophical power of intuition, by which moral ideas were represented to him with almost the distinctness of visible objects, and to which the ultimates toward which invisible tendencies moved were as vividly present as was the bridge across the Tiber, as was the golden house of Nero on the Palatine hill. The scientific faculty, the philosophical insight—really, though not formally, the poetical temperament—were remarkably associated in his kingly genius; while all that he had received by nature had been signally trained, by the discipline of the schools, by large intercourse with men, by the exercise of office, by a wide and various experience of life. When then his whole personality was pervaded with the force of inspiration, as well as with the glorifying spirit of love—when the light that had shined on him, outside Damascus, had struck its spiritual lustre on his soul, and the Master whom he had persecuted had set him apart by the gift of the Holy Ghost to be the great teacher in Christian truth of the Gentiles and of the world—it was but natural that the system of grace, revealed through Christ, should open itself in its fulness before him; and that the results toward which it wrought, in individuals, for the race, should become as a luminous presence to his thoughts.

While recognizing with a distinctness which in none was surpassed the defilement and debasement of man's natural estate, in which redemption had its occasion, he yet saw also, and with an amazing completeness of vision, the mighty and allied agencies of grace through which God was working to lift the

race from condemnation and darkness, the inward pain and paralysis of sin, and to make men free in the liberty of justification, pure and mighty in sanctity and in wisdom. The whole course of the Gospel in the world was portrayed to him; the weak things here overcoming the mighty; the base things bringing to nought the noble; and the things that were *not*, coming into development, and rising to unexpected supremacy, that they might be servants of the Lord and of his word. He saw as well the future world, in which the work of grace should be consummate, for the personal believer, and for the whole church. He saw it, not as John did, through crystal seas, and shining streets, and battlemented walls built up of jewels, the throne in the midst of crowned elders; and the rainbow about it like unto an emerald; he saw it as being permitted himself, in the ecstasy of his soul, to enter and partake the unsearchable glory, and to hear the words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. And so he has declared it to us, not through the images of another apocalypse, but in a more wholly intellectual expression; setting forth in terms the spiritual attainment which man is to seek; which through the work of Christ and the Spirit it is his privilege here to attain, at least in germ, and which will be his immortal possession when he has reached heaven.

Observe, in this view, the passage I have referred to; notice it in its context, and consider it in its particulars. It is the close of one of the sublimest prayers that ever broke from human lips. Throughout the Epistle—written, remember, by one in confinement, and probably from the obscure and filthy Jewish quarter, under Janiculum, and written to the scattered Christian communities in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, of merchants, mechanics, sailors, slaves, and praying women,—throughout the Epistle, the soul of the apostle, intensely active, charged with the truth, and enabled and guided by Divine inspiration, has poured itself forth with a fulness of thought and a fervor of utterance most remarkable and impressive. Almost without pause, in an impetuous outburst from his mind, his whole view of the Gospel—of the depth of man's need, of the riches of God's grace, of the infinite glories to be looked for in the future—has rushed into speech; shaping itself, as it poured

through the lips that leaped to utter it, into a rhythmic and royal expression. And now he prays. In the intensity and supremacy of the state to which he has come, there is no utterance left him but of prayer. "For this cause I bow my knees," he says, "unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family [or every family] in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge; that ye might be filled unto all the fulness of God"!

We pause, breathless, and almost bewildered, as we come to the end of this marvellous prayer! The thoughts it suggests are so high that they are well-nigh dreadful. We feel the total impression of it so strongly that we fear to mar that by an analysis of its parts. And we know beforehand that no analysis, and no meditation, can raise us to the height, or enlarge us to the compass, of the mind of the apostle while he uttered these words. And yet the passage, because of its author, and its place in the Scripture, and even because of its nature as a prayer, holds in it what we want. Beyond almost any other passage, of but equal extent, it sets before us, in complete exhibition, the result at which Christianity aims, in the character and attainment of those who receive it. And because of this, we must examine it; and to do so satisfactorily, must do it to some extent with an easy analysis.

What are then the parts, separable from each other, yet combined in the unity of this spiritual experience, for which the apostle, on behalf of the members of those missionary churches to which he is writing, so fervently prays? toward which the various agencies of the Gospel, as he understood them, in us as in them effectually work?

The first is, plainly, a constant indwelling of Christ in the heart, through our affectionate personal faith, apprehending, appropriating, and identifying with ours, His spiritual life. This, of itself, is a sublime aim; and aside from experience it might seem simply ideal. Yet no one can deny, if only as a

philosopher, the possibility of its accomplishment, admitting that Christ, and the Spirit who represents him in the world, are what they seemed to be to Paul. And no one can deny, as a student of history, that this has been in a measure accomplished, among those who have followed in character and life that Ignatius of Antioch who called himself "Theophorus," because he bore the Lord within him.

We are sympathetic and appropriative beings. All the quick outreaching sensibilities of the soul are so many ducts, through which we continually draw to ourselves, and consciously and intimately combine with our own, the spiritual force, the very central life-element, of one in whom we entirely confide; especially of one whom we perfectly revere. We thus replenish ourselves, without exhausting the other, and receive higher gifts than all books could bestow. So the child reproduces in after time the spirit of the parent—the firmness, manliness, intrepidity of the father, the tastefulness, sympathy, and self-sacrifice of the mother—whichever of them most has impressed and imbued that nascent personality. He has drawn his moral life from them, not merely or mainly through the accident of birth, but more through the subsequent operation of their souls, as matured and communicative, on his as plastic, confiding, and receptive. Their effective generation of character in him succeeds that of his physical life and frame. Through his active faith and reverence toward them, his imagination, his conscience, his eager affections, become, all, the sluices through which their impenetrating spiritual force streams upon and pervades him, till it tones him to their tint, and shapes him to their image. So that not unfrequently it is said of one afterward, 'He is just his father over again;' or, 'Not in the eye, the cheek, the form, the clustering curls, the symmetrical liteness and physical grace, but in the tenderness and dignity of temper, the artistic susceptibility, the enthusiasm or the sweet sobriety of the spirit, you see the mother repeated in the daughter.'

Their soul-life has prolonged itself, through these responsive representatives of it; while children who held a different moral relation to their parents, though resembling them in figure and face, are most unlike them in character; their parallels in person, but in spirit their opposites.

So it is that God puts a constant reward on a sweet and attractive magnanimity in the parent, on a generous, sympathetic, and winning temper; and makes the austereness, or the cynical harshness, which sometimes encrusts an even true piety, a bane to those who are brought up beneath it.

We see the same essential result—and still on the plane of mere natural law, and within the range of familiar experience—attending the long confidential intercourse of friend with friend; or the protracted exposure of the mind of the disciple to the higher mind, the more comprehensive and educating spirit, of him whom he reveres as a teacher. The moral force, as well as the intellectual belief, of the soul which is superior, is imparted to that which leans upon it with confiding love. And this mediation of character as of culture is that which gives his grandest opportunity to every teacher in the schools, and to each earnest minister in his pulpit.

What then if the Master be a Divine one? if toward Him there be wakened such an absolute faith as cannot exist toward any other? if while he stands upon our level, he shadows us with eternal supremacy? if while we grasp his hand in brotherhood, and look unabashed into his serene eye, we know that those muscles which ours touch are strung with Omnipotence; that the light in that eye into which ours look is the primal and unsearchable wisdom? And what if, by a special operation of that Divine Spirit by whom his work is now carried on, the supreme properties and traits of his soul, the very inmost life of his life, are in a method unique and transcendent imparted to those who accept and love him? How sure then, how swift, how pervasive and transforming, the reproduction of his life within them;—so that they at last may say with Paul, “I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.” Christ is properly formed in such, the light of life, the hope of glory. He is the root, and they the branches; their spiritual law, and force, and experience, transmitted from him; the very life of Jesus, according to the apostle, being manifested through them, and so prolonged and universalized in the world.

It is this indwelling of Christ in the heart which Paul specifies first, as the aim of the Gospel for every disciple. And when we bring distinctly before us what his life is—how gentle, stately, pure it was, when clothed in the flesh; what delicacy was mingled with its complete majesty; how patience, and heroism, and an immeasurable sympathy with mankind, were confederated in it; how it overtopped not the Pharisees only, but Roman dignity, Greek vivacity, the fervor of Psalmists, the preëminence of Patriarchs, and the utmost moral culture of the disciples; how it stood, and still stands, the supreme life in history, worshipped of angels, and dear unto God—we cannot but feel that to have this freshly propagated in us is a marvellous attainment, the vital source of every good. Whatsoever is virtuous, whatsoever is lovely, in the most entire masculine strength, combined with a fervor more than feminine, and a maidenly modesty—an inward glory that fills with grace the outward manner—a poise, and temperateness, and tenderness of temper that show themselves spontaneously through the noblest demeanor—a spirit so charming that children must love it, while so replete with grandest force that the world cannot conquer, nor death overcome it—all this must arise, in a florescence swift and sweet, from such an immediate indwelling of Christ!

But notice, also, the second part in the personal attainment outlined and expected by this analytic and practical apostle for those humble believers to whom he was writing: the basing all character and conduct upon—or rather, to adopt his more radical image, the rooting them in—a pure, impassioned, victorious Love, as their ground and condition. This follows naturally from what has preceded; since such love was the vital power of character in Christ, and must be in those in whom he dwells. Yet how clear and magnificent a conception it is, as applied to any personal soul! And, supposing it realized, what a glory intrinsic, surpassing all that of brilliant parts and rare attainments, shall it give to that soul!

Outside the gospel it is a conception not realized on earth, nor even consciously held in view, and worked toward. In most men, as all experience testifies, a certain real though tempered ambition is the basis of character; the thirst for success,

in society, politics, commerce, the professions. Philosophy even extols this principle, as nobler and more stimulating than an avaricious greed or a sensual thirst. And history shows characters admired through centuries, shows nations proudly dominant in her annals, in which this has been the prevalent spirit, subordinating to its service all occasions and powers. But in other men, as a various civilization is unfolded, an intellectual aspiration, a zeal for research, becomes the organic power in character; in others, the passion for a vivid and copious gratification; in others still, the sense of the governing authority of Right; while in yet many others, more amiable and benign, the whole personal experience is based and built on the social affections, and their sovereignty gives law to the other moral forces.

The aim of Christianity is diverse from either. It is to make LOVE, toward God and man—a love unselfish, ardent, comprehensive, that will prompt to all kindness, yet consist with all conscientious exactness, that will show itself in sympathy, generosity, forgiveness, and attain its consummation in a perfect self-sacrifice when that is needed, and yet that will never hide a sin from the sinner, or tolerate the postponement of righteousness for his pleasure,—to make this love, in one and all, the ground and germ of both character and conduct. What this is, essentially and forever, in God, it would make it to be in man his creature. What always resided supremely in Christ, it would bring to reside supremely in him in whom Christ's spirit is reproduced. "That ye may be rooted and grounded in love," says the apostle;—grounded on it, as the temple on the base from which with airy proportion it springs; rooted in it, as the tree in the soil, to which it is attached by myriad ties, and from which it drinks its nourishing life. Every pillar, and wall, and arch, and spire, in the personal attainment, will then manifest the permanence, and reveal the uplifting and moulding power, of this love which is beneath. Every branch, and bloom, and leaf, and fruit, in the complex character, will exhibit the beauty and throb with the life of this permeating force.

How essential and how immense the change which is thus prefigured as the anticipated fruit of the Gospel in each who

receives it! A change in the outward habit, not only, or in the intellectual views and beliefs, but in the sovereign passion of the heart; a change not transient, but enduring as life; not partial, but perfect; not limited in its influence, but extending in the force that radiates from it to all the powers, and even to each particular of the conduct; a change that will shed through the soul itself, and through the activity in which that is expressed, the inspiration of such a love as seraphs know: of such as breathed throughout the works and words of Christ, and was uttered with absolute energy in his cross; of such as reigns eternally in God, the source of his felicity, and the moral ground of his dominion.

And what a charm, and spiritual majesty, in any soul in which this change has been accomplished! What harmony, thenceforth, among the tastes that were discordant! What inmost liberty in the will which has come to this glad accord with the beings that are grandest, and the laws that are sovereign! What peace within, and sweet delight, giving supremacy over fortune! What a new awakening to each power, what widened sway over other intelligences, from this love which holds within itself the secret of might as well as of pureness!

There can be nothing brought into comparison with the intelligent personal soul in which this glory of a divine Love has been perfected, that shall not be mean as mud in the contrast. The earth, if crystalized into a chrysolite, were a dull trifle by its side. The lordliest intellect that ever has had sway on the earth, if multiplied to tenfold greatness, but associated with another spirit, were no more to be measured against it than is the mechanical power of looms against the affection that pulsates in poems and makes sacrifice sweet. It is not merely the fruit of ethical care and culture which is manifest in it, such as has been exhibited sometimes in men fortunately constituted and fortunately trained, outside of Christendom. It is not merely that overlaying of the natural character with graceful manners and costly accomplishments, which wins oftentimes a wide admiration. In this love-wrought character, though realized in the humblest, in the Bushman, in the slave, is shrined a light, is embodied a force, that have come from God; and they who walk beside it daily have the influence on them of a

temper celestial, whose lustre and fragrance bring heaven more near.

No career can be conceived so noble and lovely, and morally so supreme, that it shall be difficult to a soul infused with such a spirit. Rather, the waving of angelic plumes shall not be easier, the song of seraphim more spontaneous. A life inspired by the passion which moves the praise of saints on high—its surroundings may be mean, and its incidents trifling; but the dullest details which its radiance touches shall be transfigured, like the raiment of the Lord in the glory of the mount. There shall breathe forth untroubled music through all the dissonance of its fortunes. It may not be like the artificial poem to which the life of some men has been likened, in whom melodious high-toned traits have been with voluntary effort expressed. But it shall be a sweet triumphant religious hymn; full of a quick and joyful love, that articulates itself in all the action; whose movement is modulated, and whose cadences supplied, by that same spirit which gives to anthems overhead their grandest grace. And he who takes anything else whatever, in the range of experience, any ambition, any passion, and sets it beside this as the sovereign and inspiring temper in a man, will see that as the heavens are higher than the earth, so superior is the Gospel, in its spiritual aim, to all ethics, philosophies, and all other religions. Millennium is complete, the new Jerusalem has come to earth, when a Love, which holds its own bright law infolded in its ardent life, has been, by the power of an indwelling Christ, established in men! The absolute wisdom, grace, and might of our divine Author have now their demonstration, not when the suns have been set upon their poise, or the wondrous arch of the heavens hath been bended, but when *this* has been realized in the sinner!

We come then to the third element included by the apostle in his prayer for the Christians along the slopes of Western Asia, as another part of their personal attainment; and that is, the spiritual wisdom and insight, peculiar to believers, and common among them, whereby they comprehend the great system of Redemption, and are able to see it in its scope and height, as well as in its practical relations to themselves. This comes as the fruit of the temper of Love, perfected by an

indwelling Christ; and certainly we do not need argument to show us either its realness, or the rich supremacy it naturally gives to every thoughtful soul that gains it.

Love makes the mind always alert and eager, and quickens in it discerning power. It shoots a secret fervor through it, which all the forces share and show, and by which one gains new mastery over themes, and new facility in their exhibition. It is not the dry light, the 'lumen siccum,' but the light of enthusiasm, of a love for his study, through which the scientific *savant* searches most successfully for the truth he pursues. And the name of more than one poet will occur to us to remind us of the truth which Iago quoted so long ago, that 'even base men, being in love, have then a nobility in their natures more than is a nature to them.' But love to God lifts up the soul, as well as breeds in it a new enthusiasm; makes its attitude normal, as well as its spirit, toward the universe he has framed; brings it into immediate fellowship with himself, and assures it thus of an interpreting insight concerning his system, which others, without this, can no more attain than they can fly by swinging their arms, or can shut their eyes and reach the stars with their fingers.

And so how often has it been seen, as in Augustine or in Edwards—nay, we need not go so far from our times to find our examples—that they who have had the Christ within, and through the love thus wrought in their souls have had an intimate communion with God, have gained a comprehension of the system of Redemption, and of all other knowledge as related to that, which others of equivalent powers and parts, and an equal training in the exercise of the schools, have altogether failed to attain. With intuition and mastery they have walked amid the steeps where scholarly skeptics blindly stumbled. With a marvellous perspicacity, derived from their spiritual sympathy with God, they have caught the meaning of his secret plans, and have read to the world the relations of history and of all human life to his sublime purposes. And others who followed them—lower in level, less in power, but kindred in spirit—have welcomed the truth which they unfolded, have found in it the grandest wisdom, and have felt the soul not enriched alone, but expanded by it.

For what a knowledge this is, when one has reached it! the summit of all knowledge; the inclusive round, amid which the sciences are separately set; the wisdom to which all arts are auxiliaries; the knowledge which spans and connects the eternities! More and more we are finding, as the race marches on, that the history of Redemption encompasses within it the history and the culture of the world; that all sciences, inventions, and learnings have their value, as subordinate to this, deriving from it their clearest lustre, and shedding in turn illustration upon it; that he who comprehends the great purpose of God, which was formed before the foundation of the world, to redeem and restore fallen man to himself by a still sublimer action on his part than even creation had given the room for; he who sees how all the inspiration of prophets, the rites of the temple, the tendencies of both Hebrew and Gentile society, the teachings, the works, and the death of the Lord, are harmonized in this purpose; how all local and fugitive national developments, Egyptian achievements, Assyrian invasions, Macedonian conquests, the Greek letters, the Roman imperialism, have been ranged around and limited by this central plan, and how far it stretches still onward into the future, of millennial glory and of heavenly rest;—he has the key to human progress, learning, life; to the wail of old poets, and their questioning aspiration; to the undertone of doubt, unsilenced by hope, that makes the ancient philosophy sad; to the arts whose beauty failed to preserve the idolatries they veneered; to the vast revolutions which ever and anon have underrun society, as the shattering earthquake heaps in piles the rended plain and splintered hills. He has the key to the present astonishing combinations of history, and the swift changes among the nations that are now going on. Yea, he has the key to the secrets of even the terrestrial constitution; to geologic changes, and microscopic formations; to the fire at the centre, and the verdure on the surface; to the shape of the continents, and their positions on the globe; and to those remote balancings of the stars in the heavens by which this whirling earth of ours is sustained in its equipoise, and is carried toward its glory.

The height and the depth, the length and the breadth, of that Divine plan to which all is subordinate, from relation to

which all cosmical movements take significance,—more largely than by any other they are mastered by him who through an appropriating faith in the Lord has Christ dwelling in him, whose whole experience is thus based upon love, and who knows, as far as man can know, that “love of Christ which passeth knowledge.” A wisdom so interpreting and wide-sighted as his, the schools cannot impart or rival. And it has the promise, beyond all other, of immortal completion. For when he reaches the very heavens, where his sympathy with the Highest will be perfect, and where the harmonious relations of the universe will all flash into discovery, the vision he attains will still parallel in kind, and only surpass in clearness and in measure, what here he had gained. He there will look from a point than which the archangel’s is not higher. But he will see, in grander extent, yet along the same levels, the reaches of that stupendous scheme which has the cross for its centre, the broken gates of death for its trophy, and eternity for its final theatre!

Whatsoever, then, is grandest in intellectual attainment, whatsoever most rich and sublime in true wisdom, more than the sciences ever have taught, more than the caskets of all literature contain, is included by Christianity in the aim it proposes to each intelligent soul that accepts it!

And then what shall we say of the fourth and the last part embraced in this outline of the apostle:—that “ye might be filled unto all the fulness of God himself;”—wherein is plainly signified to us, not only the transformation of the soul into the likeness of its author; not only the intimate union of its life with his from whom its being came; but the perfect transfusion of its individual sensibility and faculty with the experience which is eternal in him; the immediate and complete communication to it, by his power, and through his grace, of the pleasure and peace, the holiness and the light, and may we not add, of the essential prerogative and might, which are immanent in God;—so that however weak by nature, however stained and chained by sin, we may become, as Paul affirms, in these our bodies ‘the temples of the Holy Ghost;’ so that what was partly and dimly foreshadowed in the heathen apotheosis may be realized in us, and we become sharers in God’s pureness and joy; so that what was shown in incarnation itself may

be repeated in us, up to the measure of our diverse conditions, and we become also the sons of God—partakers of his fulness who filleth all in all!

How wonderful is this! surpassing speech; outrunning experience; and leading the very imagination to a height whereon it pauses awe-stricken and amazed. And yet how harmonious is it in its nature with that which has preceded! as the head is with the frame on which it is set; as the flower with the shoot from which it springs. And, supposing it realized—through the faith, the love, and the wisdom which it consummates—what a capital does it put, inwreathed with amazing volutes and helices, on the spotless shaft! What a more than fulfilment does it give to the wildest dreams of human nature! “Ye shall be as gods,” many heathenisms have said; but they have brought down the gods to man, not raised mankind toward the heavenly plane, in a vain and deceptive accomplishment of their boast. “Ye shall be as gods,” said the tempter in the garden; but even he, with his Satanic audacity, dared not promise to those who stood beneath the trees of life and knowledge that they should be filled, with wisdom, power, joy, and grace, unto the measure of God himself. That was reserved for the hunted apostle, writing beneath the gleam of the sword that was raised to destroy him, and writing to the scattered and scouted disciples whom the empire thought too mean and weak to be honoured with its contempt!

The Gospel which he was declaring to the world, sets the Infinite before us so as without it we could not have conceived him; boundless in being, in might, in knowledge, in a holiness immaculate, and a tenderness unmeasured, with the universe suspended on the word of his power, and the cross made the perfect representative of his spirit, having a joy ineffable in himself, and shedding this forth as the sun sheds his splendor, till the heavens are full of it; it shows him in creation, in redemption, and in judgment, upholding all, presiding over all, and simply articulating his infinite thoughts in sweeping systems, lucid Scriptures, and in the mighty order of Providence;—and then it says, to you and me, ‘and ye, if his Gospel hath done its work in you, shall be inhabited by his Spirit; shall be pervaded, in your lesser personality, with his Divine life; yea,

shall be filled with this, unto the very fulness of God!' Surely, human nature had never elsewhere another promise so exalted as this! another recognition, so august, of that dignity, which belonged to its constitution, and which even sin has not wholly destroyed! And when this is realized, if realized it shall be, even philosophy must admit that the end of possible attainment hath been reached; that the utmost prophecies which lurk in our immortal being have been more than fulfilled! The will of the man being sweetly and inwardly harmonious with God's; the mind of the man, in its processes and beliefs, coinciding with his; and the finite heart being transfused and filled with the spirit of the Infinite; there is thenceforth secured to the humblest a plenary wisdom, a perennial delight, a perfect supremacy over chance and change, over time, temptation, sorrow, death! Inshpered thus in God, the soul cannot err, or faint, or fear, or die. And it shall have, beyond a doubt, what apostles had—shall have in fulness what they but partially and at intervals had—the mastery over the laws and limitations of sense and of matter which is the familiar prerogative of God!

No poet hath sung, nor art suggested, nor meditative mind caught in far prospect, an attainment like this; so personal, and so perfect; so wondrous high, so immortally continuous! All promises—of crowns, and palms, and thrones, of white robes, harps, mansions, and songs, of the river of life, the hidden manna, the white stone with a new name in it, the sceptre of sovereignty, the morning-star—they have their point of union here, they find in this their illustration—the accomplishment for believers of this unsearchable aim of the Gospel, that they be filled with all that is Divine, unto the fulness of God himself!

We cannot tell—thank God, as yet, in this infancy of our being, we *cannot* tell—what that shall be! But we know that when it is realized by us, realized in us, then the universe, in all the untrodden ways which science itself has not explored, becomes but our familiar home! Then that ascension of Christ our Lord, in which he paced the liquid air as if it were a sapphire floor, does but prophesy ours! And then the unshadowed effulgence of heaven is only the atmosphere for which we were through Him new-born! Immortality, then, is not for us

an outward boon. It is the native scene and sphere of our renewed and perfect life!

Oh, my Brethren, as we think of this—so vivid and vast, appealing so directly to our loftiest aspiration, and so immensely surpassing thought in the sweep of the future which it opens before us, and yet so clearly in the line of the influence of Christianity, portrayed so plainly by the apostle, and realized already in them that have ascended—how can we any of us help but feel how far beneath our privilege we live! How poor are our highest Christian ambitions, when matched against this grand attainment! How can we any of us help being quickened to new endeavours, put forth with a higher delight and enthusiasm, to gain that glory in ourselves which the great apostle represents in his words, for which he worked, and for which he prayed, as the chiefest of goods!

And what a view is opened before us, as we stand at this point, of the nature and scope of that Redemption of which the Gospel is the record; of the dignity of that Christian Theology whose office it is to interpret this Gospel, and to put its contents, by analysis and by synthesis, in logical forms, before mankind! What a view is presented of the nature and the necessity of the Faith, by which alone man can attain these blessings which are God's gift, through Christ; of the mischiefs which come with any Ritualism, which interposes superfluous forms between the Gospel and the soul; and of the hold which Christianity has, forevermore, by virtue of the aim it proposes to accomplish, upon the intelligent mind of the world!

Of course, I cannot do anything more than indicate the thoughts which thus crowd upon us at the point we have reached. But each may develope them for himself; and every one of them will reward our attention.

The supernatural character of Redemption:—men quarrel with this, deny it, decry it, assail it with wit, set science against it, and try with rash and hasty hands to eliminate from the Gospel whatever in it is most august! The incarnation of God in Jesus; the sacrificial death upon Calvary; even the realness of resurrection, and the visible ascension of the Lord into heaven; the mission of the Holy Ghost in the world;—with what elaborate and ever-repeated exertion men

attempt to reduce these to the level of nature; to bring them beneath the chains of sequence, in the ordinary law of cause and effect; to represent them as facts exaggerated; or wholly to transform them into fancies, myths, poetic legends, that gradually grew to the roundness of beliefs, and were hardened into the solidness of story. They are too grand, too mysterious and transcendent, to be real, it is affirmed. The earth is not vast enough to have such events transpire upon it. History is not noble enough to enfold such divine facts in its compass. The mind, which cannot measure them, repels them, and seeks to pull down the vast temple of faith to build from the fragments of the wreck it has made a temporary house of loose opinions, in which it may dwell. It admits the birth of a Jewish peasant; admits his pure and noble character, perhaps, even, his special genius for religion; admits his self-sacrificing and heroical death. But nothing else does it admit of the facts which the faith of sages and of centuries has discerned in the Lord, and in the work which he accomplished. And sometimes with rhetorical polish, and sometimes with poetic fancy, sometimes with scientific assertion, and sometimes with the slang of blasphemy, it affirms that this is substantially all that the Gospel amounts to.

But *one* answer to this, instant and peremptory, to the heart of the believer sufficient and final, comes rushing upon us at the point we have reached; the point from which we see the end that Christianity contemplates in those who receive it! It is not mental education alone, that it aims to secure; nor moral training, to habits of outward propriety and decorum. It is not even the exquisite culture of the social affections; or the illumination of the reason and the conscience with the prime and sovereign maxims of Right. If this *were* all that the Gospel proposes, then it might be accomplished, no doubt, on the plane of mere nature; by such an instruction and such an example as a true religious teacher and hero, conscious of a mission and glad to fulfil it, might well give.

But what Christianity proposes for man is something vastly beyond this; including it, but surpassing it, and adding to it elements not contemplated elsewhere. It is to take the humblest man—ignorant, weak, sinful, condemned, darkened in

mind, vitiated in heart, and inwardly severed from goodness and from God—to take the very idolater of Ephesus, bowing before the many-breasted Diana, to take the very slave of Corinth, soaked in each fibre of his nature in sin—and to make *him* that which Paul prefigured; which Paul now is; which Paul shall be, when God's great grace has done for him its utmost work! It is not merely to release him from outward danger and doom, though that is part of it. It is to make Christ dwell within him; to ground and root his character in love; to make him possessor of the spiritual insight which interprets God's plans; to fill him in spirit with all that is Divine, unto the fulness of God himself!

And nothing can be conceived, I submit, too great, too transcendent, for God to do, for the accomplishment of this result. You are troubled about miracles? But miracles become even probable beforehand, when we regard them in their moral relations, as the possible instruments of an end so august that the laws elsewhere maintained in nature may be properly suspended for its attainment. And that incarnation of God in Jesus, which is the chiefest and the central of miracles, and that descent of the Spirit to the world, by which the office of Incarnation is still further accomplished—they are no more difficult for me to believe, when I see the end they are to serve, than is the return of the spring after winter, making glade and forest vocal with song, and brightening with flower-flames all the sod.

I do not *want* the Incarnation made any less stupendous than it is, in the union it involves of perfect manhood, with its true body and reasonable soul, with the essential and eternal Divinity. Of course I cannot understand it. It is the more quickening to my hope that I cannot. The doctrine of a phantasmal body, like that which the Docetæ affirmed; the doctrine of a mere human soul, or of a super-angelic soul, at whatever point you try to stop on that slippery sliding-scale of theory which Ebionite and Arian have raised; even the Apollinarian doctrine, of the Divine soul displacing the human in the person of the Lord;—if the evidence for either were probable or plausible, no one of them is attractive or needful to me when I think of the work to be accomplished by Him who for us became incarnate. The more his nature transcends my thought the

more evidently it rises toward that Divine level of plan and operation which is here to be expected. It cannot be by mere natural means that an end so plainly supernatural as that which the Gospel sets before us shall be accomplished. Argument and precept are well in their place, and can do many things. But you might as well try to pull the suns up the steep of heaven with reindeer and with dogs as to try to fill the soul of man with the fulness of God by simply giving it correct notions of virtue, or opening to it new views of truth!

And if the facts involved in Redemption are so august, how grand, as I suggested, is the office of that Christian Theology which investigates these facts, discriminates and defines them, adjusts their relations, and puts them into appropriate expression and an orderly arrangement, the more deeply to impress them on the mind of the world!—Uninviting, do men find it? unpractical, do they hold it? unworthy the largest intellectual powers? It is in its nature the grandest of sciences; the most august of human studies; the most intimately connected with the highest culture; the most wide and fruitful in its practical influence! Dealing with the highest facts of the universe, so far as that universe is accessible to either the senses or the soul, it is the interpreter of all sciences beside:

“The fountain light of all our day,
A master light of all our seeing.”

Bringing to light possibilities in our nature which mere mental analysis could no more have discerned than the lancet of the surgeon can pick up the secret life-force upon its edge, it illuminates philosophy, and gives to the ethics, which else wander darkly on the plane of expediency, ‘a consecration and a gleam.’

The wonder-book of the world, it is the office of a Christian Theology to analyze and expound. The agencies which are sovereign in the universe it unfolds. The results toward which those agencies work, it seizes from far, and sets before us. And the moral ends for which all life and being are, it presents as in vision to the minds it employs, and to the minds which they affect. Any other learning, therefore, however rare, however rich, were profitably exchanged for this the noblest! Every

other is before it as earthly floors, columns, and roofs, beneath the golden architrave of stars. And when it shall fail to attract to itself the thoughtful attention of the educated minds which most instruct and quicken others, not only will the knowledge most needful to man have ceased to be put into clearest expression; not only will the governing mind of Christendom have ceased to absorb that highest stimulus which for eighteen centuries has been ministered to it; but the level of general intellectual culture will be at once and immensely reduced. History will then become commonplace. Philosophy will swing back to the vague hypothèses and uncertain speculations of its earliest time. The very Art of the world will lose the hiding of its power; and music cease to be inspired by highest themes,—the painting fade to fainter beauty.

How necessary Faith in the Divine Master, as the means by which the soul in man shall open to and appropriate these heavenly treasures, and make them all at last its own!—Not faith in teachers; faith in opinions; faith in a Church; we need for this that faith in CHRIST, which he demanded; which apostles proclaimed the condition in each of the life everlasting; which is the element of victory on earth, of serenity in death, and of the vision that comes beyond!

Toward him in whom alone God reveals himself, coming into our nature to redeem us to himself; toward him through whom alone we have alliance with the King before whom seraphim bow, and are made sharers in his fulness; toward HIM this faith must be unfolded, being wrought in us of God's Spirit, until his birth, and work, and word, his cross, and passion, and resurrection, are all to us most real and near; until in him we find our rest, and from him derive ever-fresh inspiration! Whatever helps this, helps thereby toward our noblest attainment. Whatever prevents or hinders this, makes life more mean, the soul more dark, the destiny which the future holds impossible to be gained.

If any rites, then, help to faith, or any social forms of worship, or any esthetic grace of buildings, or any music, or other art,—all hail to them! Beyond their own intrinsic beauty they have then heavenly virtue on them from their relation to this result. If ancient, no matter; they still are good. If recent,

no matter; accept them gladly, apply them freely, so long as they make Christ more distinct, or lift the soul—through solemn hush, and joyful up-spring—nearer Him. For to the utmost point and limit, at which they thus continue to bless, they then have warrant not only, but eulogy, in the office they perform, the nurture of faith which they assist.

But the moment they cease to contribute to this, they are not superfluous only, but mischievous. Iconoclasm is then not the impulse of passion, but the soundest dictate of the soberest reason. Of windows gleaming in violet and gold, of lighted candles, splendid music, cruciform cathedrals, and all the pomp and pageant of worship, which fancy has fashioned and prerogative ordained, we then must say, "It is Nehushtan." Away with the brass which no more mirrors for me the Lord, but hides him from me! For a religion transacted for me, by no matter whom of priests or prelates, is not the religion that knits my soul through faith to God, and makes the boundless future mine! A religion whose ancient and venerable forms I am tempted simply to carry in my hand, clasped with silver, and bound with blue velvet—it may be charmingly handsome to look at, and handy to handle; but it is not by such a contact as that with things divine that I am to achieve that sovereign faith of which apostles testified before, in which the saints serenely suffered, and through which I gain the Christ within, the love victorious, the spiritual wisdom, and the fulness of God! He who on whatever pretence detains me from this, is the enemy of my soul. He who in any way helps me toward this, confers benefits on me which immortality only can reckon.

No man who preaches, in cathedral or cabin, to American, European, African, Malay, has any real or worthy success, except as he leads the souls he guides to the supreme experience of this. The very rhetoric of the pulpit has here its law; the architecture of churches the secret that should mould its forms; the entire mass of Christian letters the solvent that releases whatever in it was worth producing, is worth now treasuring for the future. Down with traditions, of Puritan or of Prelate—and up and on with all the means of Christian culture—which hinder on the one hand, or help on the other, this grandest gain!

And finally, my Brethren, as I suggested, what a hold has the Gospel forevermore on the mind of the world through this ideal which it proposes; which it proposes to accomplish for *each* who will accept it!

Other religions find their force in something extrinsic; in the statesmanships they control; in the arts they subordinate; in the military, political, or social operations with which theirs are inwoven; or in the elaborate and shrewd dialectics with which they both occupy and perplex their adherents. Christianity has an unwasting power—in perfect accordance with its Divine origin, and with the still active interventions of God for it—in the fact that it offers, and with evident reason, such a good to man as no other religion has dared to hint; a glory braided of four separate attainments, each supreme in itself, each harmonious with the rest; a glory as perfect, in the measure of our faculty, as that of God, and as immortal.

It is a civilizing power, as well; working out ameliorations in society as it spreads; shedding courtesies and culture, ‘the fair humanities,’ the fine parts of learning, around it on its path; and blossoming forth, on every side, in philanthropic institutions, and a liberal enterprise. And this is a fruit and a mark of its Divinity. It must dispense such temporal blessings from its supreme height. It must scatter them from its infinite fulness. You might as well plant the cedars of Lebanon in the vase of etched Bohemian glass, and expect them not to crack the crystal in their growth, as to put the souls which the Gospel expands within the rings of a decorated despotism, and expect to keep those rings intact while the Christian development widens within.

But this is not its chiefest aim. The grandest purpose it has to serve is that which Paul saw bright before him, and for which he preached, in Nero’s palace, as well as by the fountains of Philippi, or under the faultless doric of the Parthenon. This makes the Gospel more dear to mankind, as the general moral cultivation is advanced. It engages to Christianity the noblest convictions and hopes of the race. It assures it of a final universal supremacy.

I know there are multitudes of collateral indications which point the same way:—the historical progress of the Gospel in

the world; the leadership now maintained among the nations by those which hold it in most pureness; the readiness with which all invention assists it; the fact that its principles are sympathetic with the freedom which everywhere enlists desire. A Protestant power having immense dominion on the seas, carrying Christianity through India and Australia, and distributing its influence on that maritime commerce which is as the circulating blood of the world; a Protestant power suddenly supreme on the continent of Europe, flinging out to the ocean its flexible frontiers, and destined hereafter to make its influence radiate every-way for the furtherance of the Faith through which it is strong; Italy, united on the basis of universal religious liberty, and inflamed, from the lakes that overlook Lombardy down to Cape Spartivento, with an almost unanimous zeal against the Pope; our own country placed on the crest of the earth, and sweeping both oceans with the forces which in it from the first have been supreme;—these almost show the revolving wheels beneath the throne of Him who is to rule the earth.

But even these evidences become needless to me—I know without them, in the light of the promises which shine in God's word, that the Gospel, having once got a hearing in the world, will never hereafter cease to extend, that it is secure of an ultimate dominion—because it proposes and is fitted to raise men to such a height and splendor of experience as no transcendent human thought, aside from it, has ever foreshadowed! The race may part with many things. It has parted with poetries, philosophies, arts, and has afterward hardly missed them. It left the beauteous city of Minerva to be torn from its girdle, and to lie a trampled and fractured jewel beneath the shadows of Hymettus. It let the Roman Empire fall, though it seemed as if the very crust of the globe must have broken in the overthrow. It had left the kingdom of the Pharaohs before, a mere fossil on the Nile, with its splendid history sepulchred in the granite, and had still marched sea-ward, courageous as ever. It may leave our new and more humane civilizations to become effete, as have the older, and to finally pass away. But it *never* will lose the Gospel from it—the race will keep that, as it journeys toward the setting sun—until all men are idiots or insane. It cannot deny it, cannot even forget it, while conscious

still of its own Divine origin, and not wholly infidel to each greatest expectation. As surely as the words of Paul remain effulgent in the Scriptures—showing an attainment sublimer than thought, and still possible to man—the Gospel will at last have the nations for its subjects, and the earth for its arena!

And what a work, how honourable, how grand, becomes that of communicating this Gospel of grace to the minds of mankind! What great associations, what illustrious memories, gather thickly about it as we look back! What a cry rises for it from those domains, now dull as carbon, which it alone can turn to diamond! What an influence from it, if earnestly performed, striking on into the future, and outlasting the constellations! What responses shall come to it from the excellent glory! How all the economic and social relations which it also sustains—to good laws, and good government, to the wider expansion and the clearer enlightenment of the popular mind, to industrial progress and a copious commerce, to cheerful homes and a sound common-weal—how all these drop, into utter insignificance, beside that immense and immortal result which Paul expected and prayed might come from it, and which we his successors may with as sure a faith expect!

Young Gentlemen, now going forth from this Seminary—for so many years revered and useful—and expecting to accomplish in different spheres, and many of you in distant lands, your part in this work:—Fathers, and Brethren, already in it, and on whom sometimes its duties press with a weight beneath which nature alone would swiftly sink:—do we feel, as we ought, what a privilege is ours? and what an inspiring and incomparable duty? No wonder that angels delight to assist in this sublimest work of time! that for it the Lord became incarnate! that in it moves, with silent might and ceaseless patience, the Spirit who wrought the earth to form! Let us, with an unflagging zeal, derived from Him from whom alone a true zeal comes, accept till death the labours of it, and feel the service its own reward! And then, when, parting from an earth we have blessed, and from human societies which we have enriched, we have reached with those who by the Spirit have heard our words not only the instant vision of God, but the secrets of his

wisdom, and a share in his eternal fulness, it shall be with a rapture of soul which now we cannot tell or know—beneath whose thrills the very harps there waiting for us shall strain and throb—that we look backward, forward, up!

God grant this to us, for his Son's sake; and unto Him be all the praise!

ART. III.—*History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D. Vols. II. and III. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great, A. D. 311—600. (Pp. xiv., viii., 1032.) New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

FOR fifteen years, "*grande mortalis ævi spatium*," we have been receiving with increasing interest and appreciation the successive instalments of Dr. Schaff's Church History. In October 1851, the "Apostolic Church," which had then recently appeared in the German edition, was reviewed. On the publication of the American edition, occasion was taken, in January 1854, to discuss more fully some ecclesiastical and theological topics to which, for various reasons, the work was drawing attention. The first volume of the History of Ancient Christianity continued the narrative of post-apostolic history through the era of conflict with dominant heathenism, of persecutions and apologies, to the year of our Lord 311, which witnessed the Edict of Toleration and the death of Galerius, the cruel instigator of Diocletian's ordinances against the Christians. This volume was issued from the press late in 1858, and elicited on all sides a hearty welcome and emphatic commendation. Manifold and engrossing occupations have delayed until near the end of last year the completion and publication of the next section of the author's work, which now lies before us. Yet this delay has not been without its advantages, in the growing breadth and soundness of the author's views, and the enlargement of all his resources. Not a valuable monograph has appeared while even the closing paragraphs were within reach of his pen, but has found an appreciative recognition. The

author has conscientiously availed himself of every newly discovered manuscript and every scholarly revision of old texts, of every new point of view opened by enlightened criticism, and of every honest and manly and Christian estimate of the events, institutions, systems and individual characters that lay within his broad and crowded field of investigation. And the practical Christian labours in which he has been engaged, if retarding for a time the work of composition, have, we are sure, added not a little to his qualifications to exhibit the institutions and the life of the early Christian centuries.

In the preparation of the American edition of these volumes, as in the case of the preceding, the author has had the valuable assistance of Rev. Dr. Yeomans. The continuance of these joint labours through so many years, and through the successive stages of the author's work, we regard as no slight advantage. The author writes with greater freedom and confidence, and the translator, becoming more familiar with the most delicate and characteristic turns of thought and shades of expression of the man whose *alter ego* he thus becomes in literary labour, is able to impart to his own work more of the freshness and independence of original composition.

Dr. Schaff's plan is so comprehensive that he is able to devote an entire volume or a pair of volumes to each of the great periods in the history of the church. Each of the three works thus far produced has, therefore, a completeness of its own. Yet it is so far conformed to the modern German type of ecclesiastical history as to appear rather a collection of monographs on church history than an organic, living work. This encyclopædic, or, as it has been called, "rubrical" treatment of history, has its convenience in text-books and manuals of reference. So would an alphabetic arrangement of similar monographs. But a work so constructed cannot possibly have the sweep and power which characterize the great masters of secular history. Neither writer nor reader can traverse ten times the period under examination, looking on each visit for a new class of facts and principles, without losing somewhat the impression of the grand onward march of events and agencies. It might not be orthodox to write the history of some Christian epoch, as Motley, for example, writes of a great secular period;

but we wish that some master would make the attempt. The variety would at least be refreshing. We should still have access to the works of Neander, and Gieseler, and Guericke, and Niedner, and Hase, and the other masters who, perhaps for reasons estimated more highly by them than by us, have chosen the more analytic method.

It may be said that the relations of theological science and of specific creeds, of church organizations and institutions, to the early Christian centuries, are such as have forced ecclesiastical historians into this divisive, monographic treatment of their subject. We admit the urgent necessity that some writers should discuss with most exact discrimination, the development of theology, and church organizations, and worship, and discipline and art. But we are not prepared to concede that the constraint is laid upon all to vie with those who have gone before them in the thoroughness with which they should unravel to the last thread the robe in which the church was arrayed.

The method being conceded, Dr. Schaff infuses into his work more of freshness and life than we have felt in any of his predecessors who can be compared with him in thoroughness and comprehensiveness. While he is less severely and conspicuously philosophical in the arrangement of his material, than Niedner, Neander, and some others, the principle which has guided him in his classification is for the most part easily recognized. He makes, it is true, ten divisions of his subject, apparently equal and coördinate, while Niedner in his extremely abstract and scientific work makes but three, and Neander, Guericke, Jacobi and others but four. The very fact that he is less hampered by a philosophic form authorizes a freer method and a more graphic style, adapted to the requirements of his successive topics.

At one point only do we find ourselves unable to justify to ourselves Dr. Schaff's grouping of his material. The subject of Monasticism is discussed with great fulness in his fourth chapter. The three chapters preceding are given to the exhibition of the external fortunes and relations of the church. The next succeeding topics are the development of the hierarchy, church polity, discipline, and schisms. Neander, Niedner, and others more justly conceive and exhibit monasticism as one of the

most characteristic developments of the Christian life of that period, and therefore assign it a later place under "Christian Life and Worship" (Neander, Guericke), or "Church Religion;" (Niedner).

In fixing the chronological bounds of the period which he proposes to discuss, Dr. Schaff corresponds very nearly with the majority of recent authors in his department. The Edict of Toleration issued by Galerius a few months before his death, A. D. 311, put Christianity into new relations to the ancient world, and may well be made the starting-point of a new era. Any such subdivision of historical periods must of necessity be somewhat arbitrary. This analysis is surely less unreasonable than some others that have been made. The *terminus ad quem* is less easily fixed. The accession of Gregory the Great to the pontificate in A. D. 590, marks, however, as fairly as any single event the consummation of a change long in progress, by which ancient gave place to mediæval Christianity. Gieseler's limitations of the second great period in the history of the Church (A. D. 324, Constantine's accession as sole emperor,—A. D. 726, the beginning of the image controversy) seems far less defensible. For the history of the period treated by Dr. Schaff we must follow Gieseler through two of the three subdivisions of his larger period, and in each of these traverse the ground six or eight times in order to find our facts and principles properly classified and labelled.

In respect to the fulness of discussion there is no great difference between Dr. Schaff and Neander. The second volume of the American edition of Neander covers the same ground as the two volumes of Dr. Schaff now before us, and with very nearly the same amount of matter. But in regard to the precision and transparency with which the material is exhibited, and the objective character of the communications made, there can be no comparison. The mint of Neander's mind did not strike and issue a coinage current with all minds at once and everywhere. The other common histories are, at least in their text, mere compends as compared with these two. Dr. Schaff, while referring to, and quoting from his authorities for individual statements, more than in his preceding volumes, contents himself with less citation than Gieseler. His general bibliography is

exceedingly rich and valuable, in connection not merely with the larger sections of his work, but also its important subdivisions. His concise and forcible characterization of the nature and value of the several works and the various editions which he cites as authorities, often adds much to the worth of these skeleton sections.

Dr. Schaff recognizes the existence and the value of an English and American literature within the limits of his department, much more than has been common with European Germans. For example, he refers to, quotes from, and occasionally criticises in their specific statements, such works as Cunningham's "Historical Theology," and Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine." This is not merely intrinsically just, but is an important service to his American readers. And Dr. Schaff may aid scholars in the land of his birth, in coming to the perception that liberal attainments and valuable opinions are not confined to Teutonia. We are sure that he is stimulating and assisting American scholars to a profounder and richer learning. His residence in this country, and his observation of the developments of Christianity here, moreover, serve to liberalize and sometimes to correct his views of practical matters, such as the relations of church and state, and the Christian Sabbath. His own susceptibility, and candor, and practical earnestness, react upon the disposition of his readers, and largely increase his power among us. The American church, both in its direct tributes, and in its broader and more varied culture, will honour the accomplished Christian scholar, who, by pen and tongue, is doing so noble a work.

The period of church history covered by these volumes, is exceedingly rich, both in great movements and great men. The system at first despised, and then opposed in fierce persecution, is now tolerated, and soon after becomes the established religion of the state, acquiring the power, and too often manifesting the disposition to persecute in its turn. The missionary activity of the early church continues, and in each of the three continents a considerably wider extension is given to Christianity, beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. The church organization is rapidly modified, as the result partly of internal impulses, and partly of external influences. No longer compelled to apologize

for and justify its own existence, the church employs its pen mainly in defining, defending, and extending its system of doctrine, not neglecting, meanwhile, to write the history of its earlier experience, or to develop a rich and varied homiletical and liturgical literature. The great Ecumenical Councils belong to this epoch, and in connection with their decisions the voluntary or compulsory separation from the Catholic Church of one after another of the bodies pronounced heretical. The great ruling spirits of these centuries we find now upon thrones, then in episcopal chairs, and again in cloisters. The sceptre, the tongue, the pen, are the instrumentalities employed here in promoting the progress of truth, and the triumph of right, and there in the interest of base intrigue, angry passion, or pestilent error. Constantine, Julian, Theodosius, and Justinian,—Athanasius, the Gregories, Jerome, Ambrose, Leo, and Augustine, are among the great men who must be carefully studied in their individuality, and in their providential relations to the progress of the church during these centuries. Arius, Nestorius, and Pelagius too, are among the representative men, not merely in their generations, but in the religious history of the world. As our eye glances over the historian's inventory of material, not only that available for his possible use, but that indispensable to the structure which he is erecting, we cannot greatly wonder at the method which has been so often adopted. It is, doubtless, easier to write such a number of monographs as should render some measure of justice to the chief developments of an age so crowded with movements and prolific of results, than to bring all these details in their proper proportion and adjustment into one grand historic edifice.

It continues to be true during the earlier part of the period under review, that we stand upon ground which is the common heritage of all churches that have any title to the name Christian. Before we lay aside these volumes, we find that disruption had done a great work, but for a time the great events and the great names are the common property of Protestant, Roman, Greek, and Oriental believers. Were these disruptions a disaster or a blessing to church and world? While pronouncing them in the main a great blessing, we do by no means vindicate all the arguments used, the methods adopted, the

spirit manifested during the heat of these successive controversies in which the Orthodox Catholic Church was defining its faith. But we cannot conceive that without continuous miracles the church could have lived a healthy life under a creed, so vague in itself, or so loosely held, as to embrace in apparent unity all these discordant elements. Not indeed, in every particular of their action, yet beyond all question, in its general course, believers in casting out error bore powerful witness before the world in behalf of the truth as a sacred trust from their Head and Lord.

In his first three chapters Dr. Schaff describes as many phases of the external progress and triumph of Christianity, the political overthrow of heathenism, the literary triumph of Christianity, and the alliance of church and state. To Constantine, under whom this great revolution was substantially wrought, Dr. Schaff concedes not moral greatness, but a sagacious appreciation of events and tendencies, with judgment and energy in his administration. As a politician he judged it wise and no longer avoidable that Christianity should have a fair field by the side of other systems, and with an equal patronage, impartial or indifferent, from the state. Superstitious toward religions, especially toward successful religions, he had but a dim perception of the sacredness of true religion, and was inclined to use all systems when and so far as was useful to himself and his empire. His reception on his death-bed of the Christian ordinance of baptism can hardly be regarded as expressing more than the convictions of his intellect. The celebrated apparition of the cross just before his decisive battle with Maxentius, Dr. Schaff regards as subjective,—providential it may be, but in no higher sense miraculous. The cross had been making its way to this external position which it henceforth occupied as an emblem of power, through the growth and conflict and fiery trial of three centuries. The church, says Niedner, “became unconquerable in her outward position after she had made herself irresistible in her might.” Christians, “called to be saints,” were so far living a holy life,—bearing their Master’s name, they were so far actuated by his Spirit of active benevolence,—their faith in a doctrine which their own writers confessed to be “a stumbling-block” and “foolishness,”

had so often proved itself a very "power of God" to themselves and to others in the arena and at the stake,—the logic and learning, the ingenuity and malice of synagogue, and sanhedrim and philosophies of every name, had been so often baffled by the simple testimonies of the Scriptures and the apologies of the fathers, that the church only needed now a providential opportunity to take the place which was virtually hers already in the convictions of men as well as the decrees of God.

As early as A. D. 313, under the emperors' Milan edict, subjects might become Christians with impunity; in 324, Constantine, now sole emperor, exhorted his subjects to embrace the Christian faith; fifty years later, heathen writers became pleaders for toleration and champions of religious freedom; and as early as 385, not only was heathen worship made a capital offence, under Theodosius and his colleagues, but Christian heretics were put to the sword. Chrysostom and Augustine might remonstrate against force as an instrumentality of the truth, but the empire continued for the most part committed to this policy.

This alliance of church and state, and the ill-judged employment of secular agencies in the propagation of the faith, together with the relaxing of morals and discipline after Christianity had become the court religion, often complicated and embarrassed the work of Christian apologists. While the pen of the church was mainly employed in developing and defending true Christian doctrine as against distortions and perversions of the truth, changing circumstances called for an expansion of her apologetic literature. The brilliant but abortive efforts of the emperor Julian to restore heathenism, furnished one such occasion. And often during at least the first two centuries of this period it was needful for the church to watch against the quick and adroit assaults of her enemies. Not merely defensively, as when the high places of all lands were filled with the genius of hostile systems, but aggressively must the church present her paramount and exclusive claims. Heathenism and indifferentism must be argued out of being, so far as argument is in place, and Christ and his cross must be held up as challenging universal homage. The crowning glory of this literature is doubtless Augustine's "*de Civitate Dei*,"

the aim of which is at the same time defensive, didactic, and polemical.

The alliance of Christianity with the state did indeed give a new complexion to the religious activity of the state, but it introduced no new principle concerning the due relation of sacred and secular affairs. Jews and heathen were alike familiar with the idea of a state religion and a religious state. The dangers of the new connection were great and the evils manifold. If the state felt more promptly the modifying action of the church, was this influence as pure and spiritual? If the church received new supports, and enjoyed facilities in many ways multiplied and enlarged, did she not too often pay a sad and fatal price in the restriction or utter sacrifice of her independence? If her gospel was preached to some in high places who might not otherwise have heard it, was it not in many cases another gospel suited for courtly ears? As for the ameliorating influence of Christianity upon the jurisprudence and the social life of the empire, the statute book might not have been so soon reached by new enactments, but it may be that a purer and in the end a more effectual influence would have gone forth from a church less encumbered and secularized. One of the most natural and immediate, and at the same time most disastrous effects of the mutual dependence of church and state, was the elevation of secular rulers as such to the position of counsellors, umpires, and even dictators in the internal affairs of the church. Sometimes the high and exclusive prerogatives of the church were nobly vindicated against such encroachment. But in other instances, emperors and other secular rulers interfered, even in matters of doctrine, with their policies and intrigues, not sparing always the admonitory exhibition of the sceptre and the sword. There was quite enough of the spirit of lordship within the church, and here was the assumption and assertion, more or less guarded, of lordship over the church. The one might serve as a check upon the other. But in the collision between the two, truth and righteousness were not likely to be the interests first guarded. An Ambrose could indeed refuse the communion even to a Theodosius as a rebuke to his sin, and subject him to a public penance. And in general the Western Church was more faithful and independent than

the Eastern; but hierarchy and the primacy of Rome must sometimes furnish us the key to the interpretation of her conduct. We should honour her overmuch were we to imagine that she was merely guarding the Saviour's rights and honours. In the discussion of this whole topic, in his third chapter, Dr. Schaff writes as one who has breathed the free air of our American institutions.

The changing phases of this contest between emperors and bishops are full of interest and suggestion. The question related only to the boundary line between the two prerogatives. The church expected of the emperors protection, support, and a limited supervision. Emperors, not as mere civil authorities, but as possessors of priestly or episcopal rights, claimed with different degrees of distinctness, and exercised with varying energy, according to the temper of the men and the exigencies of the times, their ecclesiastical powers. Constantine, preaching to admiring courtiers, filling or vacating episcopal sees, according to his own pleasure, was nevertheless, more guarded than some of his successors in touching the doctrine of the church. In later days, now the orthodox faith, and again some heresy secured temporary triumphs through the direct and undisguised interference of emperors, acting in or upon councils, or independently of councils. Though we find and grant no scriptural warrant for the hierarchical system which was then rapidly developing, we may concede that providentially this system was made to serve as a strong bulwark against the encroachments of the state. "That age," says Dr. Schaff, "had only the alternative of imperial or episcopal despotism; and of these the latter was the less hurtful and the more profitable, because it represented the higher intellectual and moral interests." Again, a little later, speaking of the superior independence of the Western Church, he writes: "Here the hierarchical principle developed itself from the time of Leo the Great, even to the absolute papacy, which, however, after it fulfilled its mission for the world among the barbarian nations of the middle ages, degenerated into an insufferable tyranny over conscience, and thus exposed itself to destruction." We confess that we are not converts to that theory of historical development and providential government, which we understand Dr.

Schaff to hold. One abuse may be made to check another. One abnormal development in church or state may be employed as a providential limitation upon another. But we are not prepared to concede that this hierarchical structure was normal and right in a time and a place, and for a purpose, in any other sense than that in which Mohammedanism had a "mission," or Nestorianism, or the Arian and Pelagian heresies, which God has doubtless used for good. We cannot express our contentment with the papacy even before it "degenerated into an insufferable tyranny."

Throughout that hierarchical system the universal priesthood of believers was more and more repudiated. The voice of the people in the selection of their pastors was not consulted, and later was expressly excluded. The excesses and abuses which now and then appeared in the exercise of this prerogative were fully paralleled by misconduct of clergy, bishops, and secular authorities, where the nomination or appointment was vested in them. Clergy and laity were distinguished by new devices. Celibacy at first commended as expedient, was, after long striving and vigorous resistance, made obligatory, to the fullest extent in the Western Church. New offices were created between the priesthood and the laity. The episcopate gained in civil as well as ecclesiastical power. Metropolitans and patriarchs prepared the way for the final exaltation of the bishop of Rome to the primacy of the holy Catholic Church. Remonstrance and opposition became more feeble as they were found to be unavailing. The East indeed, while conceding to Rome the first patriarchate, claimed for Constantinople a second, hardly in name inferior. But Rome would brook no such approximation to her preëminence. And in Dr. Schaff's view, the successful assertion of these ambitious claims of the Roman See, "formed part of the necessary external outfit of the church for her disciplinary mission among the heathen barbarians." The motives of those who were engaged in building up this organism, were surely not at one with these gracious purposes of the Lord of the Church. He would have the papacy a schoolmaster to bring these barbarians to him; they were to be "trained by an awe-inspiring ecclesiastical authority, and a firm hierarchical organization to Christianity and free-

dom, till, having come of age, they should need the legal school-master no longer, and cast away his cords from them," (p. 289). The further exposition of this divine counsel is reserved for the history of Mediæval Christianity. We reserve our comments, expressing our sorrow that so large a proportion of the descendants of these barbarians are not yet come of age, and suggesting our fear that the hierarchy will not bring them out of their minority. We agree with Dr. Schaff most heartily in repudiating the arguments by which the papacy is based upon Divine right, especially as conferred in Mat. xvi. 18, (pp. 301—2. Cf. *Lange's Commentary on Matthew*, edited by Dr. Schaff, pp. 296—8).

The Ecumenical Councils are another interesting development of this age. In one view they were a growth kindred to the hierarchy; in another they serve as an important restraint upon all oligarchical and monarchical tendencies within the church. Their ecclesiastical precedent was the apostolic council at Jerusalem; within the confines of the Greek Church, they would be commended to favour by the political antecedents which could so readily be found in the congresses, called to meet special emergencies, or the stated meetings of Amphietyonic and Achæan leagues, and the Confederacy of Delos. The papistic theory, through which Rome sought to make these universal councils tributary to her supremacy, Dr. Schaff vigorously exposes and refutes. In the early centuries it was generally assumed and conceded, that in the doctrinal decisions of these councils, there was not merely a solemn expression of the unanimous conviction of the assembled church, (unanimity being ensured by whatever processes might be needful), but the voice of God. Accordingly, each successive utterance could be supplemented, but never rescinded. Of course, no appeal to the Scriptures against a decision of such a council was admissible, for the Holy Spirit would never contradict himself. On the question which Neander raises, and leaves open, as to Augustine's doctrine,—whether Augustine held that a council could express positive error, or simply, "that a later council should correct the decisions of the earlier, only so far as to define what the other had left undetermined, just as the more advanced development of the church might require in its opposition to new forms of

error," we understand Dr. Schaff to hold the latter view. He reconciles apparently conflicting expressions of Augustine, by conceiving that "Augustine presumed that all the transactions of a council were conducted in the spirit of Christian humility, harmony, and love," a presumption sadly opposed to facts. Was there in all councils called "Ecumenical," a characteristic and convincing manifestation of the presence and plenary power of the Holy Spirit, as inherited by or immanent in the Episcopate? Are the credentials of any as well attested as those of the Holy Scriptures? What these councils were to the state, what they were to the church of that day, and what they are to the later church, are three distinct questions. Protestantism peremptorily refuses, for want of evidence, to unite with the Greek and Roman Churches, in making them coördinate in doctrinal authority with the Scriptures, but is not quite agreed within itself, as to the amount of authority to be conceded to their deliverances.

The doctrine of the early church in respect to tradition, as distinguished from its Romish modifications, Dr. Schaff points out more distinctly when he takes up in his ninth chapter the special doctrinal history of these centuries. The Spirit of Christ it was believed still dwelt in the church, if not as a Spirit of revelation, at least as a Spirit of illumination and interpretation. By no means all of apostolic teaching had been embodied in the written Scriptures. Much had been orally transmitted, and was a precious possession of the church. And yet whatever use might have been made at an early day of this tradition as actually supplementing the Scriptures with other important facts and doctrines, the orthodox church soon found it needful to disclaim all such pretensions, but maintained the validity of tradition as an expositor of what had been written. The doctrine of an unwritten tradition in the church coördinate in authority with the Scriptures, was sure to be incessantly abused. Heresy could cite it with as much facility as orthodoxy; and criteria of the genuineness of alleged tradition became indispensable. "*Quod semper, et ubique et ab omnibus*" became the touchstone; "*universitas, antiquitas, consensus*." It need not be said that very little that rests upon the basis of tradition will bear the honest application of this

test. The value of tradition evaporates with amazing rapidity. And some cardinal doctrines of the orthodox faith might be successfully challenged. The excrescences of Romanism would all be stripped away. Genuine Protestantism has very little place for the doctrine of tradition except in its museum of antiquities.

Says Dr. Schaff (p. 607), "The old catholic doctrine of Scripture and tradition" "makes the two identical as to substance, while the Roman Church rests upon tradition for many doctrines and usages, like the doctrines of the seven sacraments, of the mass, of purgatory, of the papacy, and of the immaculate conception, which have no foundation in Scripture. Against this the evangelical church protests, and asserts the perfection and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as the record of Divine revelation; while it does not deny the value of tradition, or of the consciousness of the church, in the interpretation of Scripture, and regulates public teaching by symbolical books." Again (p. 616), "The catholic principle of tradition became more and more confirmed, as the authority of the fathers and councils increased, and the learned study of the Holy Scriptures declined; and tradition gradually set itself in practice on a level with Scripture and even above it. It fettered free investigation, and promoted a rigid, stationary, and intolerant orthodoxy, which condemned men like Origen and Tertullian as heretics. But on the other hand the principle of tradition unquestionably exerted a wholesome conservative power, and saved the substance of the ancient church doctrine from the obscuring and confusing influence of the Pagan barbarism which deluged Christendom."

While the elevation of Christianity to be the state religion gave the church new power for the maintenance of doctrine and discipline, the moral tone of the Christian community was seriously lowered. There was far more of insincere profession than in the lowlier days of the church. Noble instances of fidelity and of high courage attest the existence within the state-church of a piety and zeal of the apostolic type. But at the great metropolitan centres there was a pressure of one kind, and on the outskirts of the empire, among nominally converted barbarians, influences of another kind, under which the

standard of practical godliness was very generally forced downward. The church had not learned to multiply converts to righteousness by baptizing unconscious or indignant heathen with syringes through closed blinds. That has been the high attainment of a later day. Zeal, prudence, and sagacity, working together under auspicious circumstances, can effect wonders. A large part of a nation can be born in a day! For further particulars inquire of Romish priests in China. Unmitigated heathenism would hardly be countenanced even under the greatest laxity of the early church. But not merely within the sphere of practical life was the power of rude or refined paganism felt. Not a few church observances are unquestionably heathen in their origin and affinity. We have no space to illustrate this in a detailed examination of public worship and religious customs and ceremonies. These constitute the subject of Dr. Schaff's seventh chapter. Very naturally, in view of the development of Romanism in this direction, and with great clearness and fulness, beyond the measure of most church historians, he traces the growth of Mariology and Mariolatry. Other very interesting portions of this and the eighth chapters, amounting to forty or fifty pages, are devoted to the historical discussion and copious illustration of the liturgies and hymnology of the Nicene and next succeeding periods.

On the subject of the sacraments, Dr. Schaff confines himself quite closely to the exhibition with historical fidelity of the growth of doctrine and usage in the early church. Their general definition, and their conception of the nature, the operation, the necessity, and the number of sacraments, he concisely sketches. In the last-mentioned point, the mischievous working of the doctrine of tradition clearly appears, on the ground of which, five have been added to the two sacraments that rest on Christ's express command. The germs of the doctrine of the *real presence*, and the sacrificial as at first coördinate with but afterward superior to the sacramental nature of the Lord's Supper, are very clearly presented. In his incidental explanation of terms, Dr. Schaff says, of the Eucharist, (p. 503), "It is indeed, originally a sacrament, and the main thing in it, is that which we *receive* from God, not that which we give to God. The latter is only a consequence of the for-

mer; for we can give to God nothing which we have not first received from him. But the Eucharist is the *sacramentum* of a *sacrificium*, the thankful celebration of the sacrificial death of Christ upon the cross, and the believing participation or the renewed appropriation of the fruits of this sacrifice. In other words, it is a feast on a sacrifice. 'As oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.'" But is the Eucharist a *sacramentum* AND a *sacrificium*? The slip is easy from the strictly Protestant view, to the one on which the Romish mass is built up. What does the church sacrifice but herself, a living offering? This she does with confidence and joy, and quick experience of God's grace when she keeps in view *the* sacrifice which is wholly her Redeemer's. We quote again from Dr. Schaff, (p. 504): "In a deep symbolical and ethical sense, Christ is offered to God the Father in every believing prayer, and above all in the holy supper; *i. e.*, as the sole ground of our reconciliation and acceptance. This is the deep truth which lies at the bottom of the catholic mass, and gives it still such power over the religious mind."

On the question of the alleged miracles of the Nicene age, Dr. Schaff takes ground cautiously. He urges weighty considerations against their validity, "not warranting, indeed, the rejection of all, yet making us at least, very cautious and doubtful of receiving them in particular." He argues against Isaac Taylor's sweeping rejection of them, as determined by *a priori* and sectarian considerations, rather than by an impartial historical canvassing of their evidences.

Monasticism, which Dr. Schaff exhibits very fully in its more important phases in his fourth chapter, may be viewed under various aspects. In one view, it is a protest against the secularization of the church, and the deterioration of its discipline. In another, it is the culmination of "will-worship." Growing up at first outside the normal development of the life of the church, it passed into very intimate relations with it, externally and internally. Many of its ascetic exactions it forced the church to adopt in self-defence. And in its external organizations, it made itself in many ways an important auxiliary, if not an essential instrumentality. Light and shade are mingled in the sharpest contrasts in its developments, so widely spread

in space and time. We look with sadness and disgust upon its deformities; we accept with eagerness and gratitude many of its products, often incidental, and yet, in that age perhaps, unattainable, except by this or some similar institution. Nearly all that we prize, comes to us from the Monasticism of the West, which was far more seemly in its outward forms, less visionary and more practical in its aims and their results. To Jerome and Benedict, the church will not soon forget to pay a high and merited honour for the contributions of the one to sacred learning, and of the other to the cause of Christian philanthropy and civilization.

In his ninth chapter, which is naturally the most extended of the book, Dr. Schaff exhibits the developments of these three important centuries in Christian doctrine. The names of Arius and Athanasius, Nestorius and Cyril, Pelagius and Augustine, and others hardly less central and representative, will sufficiently indicate the magnitude of the issues then pending. In this chapter, and the tenth, which he adds as a supplementary picture-gallery of the Greek and Latin fathers of this era, Dr. Schaff displays to rare advantage his qualities as a church historian. The copiousness of his learning, his discriminating use of authorities, his lively individualization of men and movements, his judicial fairness in exhibiting the questions at issue, and the views of the contestants, nowhere appear to better advantage.

Both the great philosophical systems, the Platonic and the Aristotelian, exerted a powerful influence on Christian thought, and the forms chosen for its expression. Platonism was in the ascendancy during the greater part of the period under examination, but during the sixth century, as church-life passed on toward its mediæval type, Aristotle took the lead. It is noteworthy that the great thinkers of the church had so many of them received the best culture of the heathen schools. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine, are among the examples. With respect to the influence and value of the two leading philosophies, Niedner says, "On the one hand, the speculative nature of the Christian metaphysics, and on the other, the exactness of doctrinal definition needful to the church, demanded Platonic rea-

son and Aristotelian understanding." Says Dr. Schaff, "The influence of the two great philosophies upon theology was beneficial or injurious, according as the principle of Christianity was the governing or the governed factor." Within the church itself, the speculative and mystical character of the Alexandrian school, the more reflective and sometimes rationalistic tendency of the Antiochene theologians, and the more practical and experimental cast of Roman thought, all force themselves upon our notice in the discussion and decision of the great dogmatic problems that successively arose before the Christian mind.

The three great controversies of this period, fixing substantially the faith of the orthodox church, had reference to the Trinity, Incarnation, and the Nature and Relations of Sin and Grace. Of the five recognized Ecumenical Councils, the first two, that of Nicæa and the first Constantinopolitan, defined and announced the belief of the church concerning the Trinity. The next three were called to pronounce upon different phases of the doctrine of the Incarnation. No such authoritative announcement was ever made of the faith of the early church on the grave questions connected with Anthropology. Only local synods and councils gave utterance to their convictions, and these utterances were easily turned in favour now of one and again of another of the contending doctrines.

Some of the problems involved in the full and exact definition of the doctrine of the Trinity had been under discussion during the preceding Christian centuries. The nature of the God whom the church worshipped, and the Saviour in whom it trusted, could not long be left the sport of imagination, speculation, and caprice. In order to a true doctrine of the Trinity the proper and distinct deity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit must be successfully maintained. Arius brought the first of these points to a full issue. His doctrine, formed under the double influence of Origen's teaching and the rationalizing tendencies of Antioch, had been condemned by a provincial council at Alexandria in A. D. 321, but was still pressed to the distraction of the Eastern church. Constantine summoned the bishops of the Empire to Nicæa in 325;—and one-sixth are estimated to have accepted the invitation and availed them-

selves of the facilities offered by the Emperor. Their result was reached after six weeks earnest debate, all but two of the bishops present finally concurring. The deep conviction and earnest argument of a minority, led by Alexander, and Hosius, and Athanasius (not a bishop, and therefore not a voting member of the Council,) carried with them the less positive and discriminating majority, and finally all but two even of the adherents of Arius, in announcing their sublime faith in "one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who is begotten the only begotten of the Father; that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God, and Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." The conflicting doctrines and the arguments by which they were supported, together with the far-reaching significance of the result, Dr. Schaff brings out in his most effective manner.

In the protracted and angry controversies of the next half century, Arianism gained a general ascendancy in the state and so over the church, and by casting off some of its most obnoxious expressions secured a stronger lodgment within the church. Athanasius died eight years before the second Ecumenical Council summoned by Theodosius to Constantinople in 381. The creed here developed, not receding in a single syllable from the Nicene, but supplementing it with some minor particulars in the doctrine of the Son, and bringing out for the first time with clearness and precision the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, had from the first the powerful support of the state, and was formally adopted seventy years later at Chalcedon. The so-called Athanasian creed, of unknown origin, and never adopted by a general council, is yet a remarkable product and exponent of the faith of the time. Says Dr. Schaff, (p. 697) this "closes the succession of ecumenical symbols; symbols which are acknowledged by the entire orthodox Christian world, except that evangelical Protestantism ascribes to them not an absolute, but only a relative authority, and reserves the right of freely investigating and further developing all church doctrines from the inexhaustible fountain of the infallible word of God."

No sooner had the church defined its conception of the eternal and essential relations of God the Son, than it became

necessary to conceive and express more clearly the doctrine of the Incarnation. What were these new relations of the Son of God? What did he cease to be, if there was any cessation? What did he become? What did he continue to be? When and because he came into the sphere of the visible, there were new complications introduced into the problem, new mysteries rising before the view of the thoughtful believer. Some of the elements to be weighed were abstract and metaphysical in the extreme,—*e. g.*, the relations of nature and person. What can the understanding grasp? What must the faith receive uncomprehended? What must both reason and faith reject, either as intrinsically absurd, or as contradicted by a sound exegesis of the Scriptures? Is Christ one, or is he two, or is he both two and one? To save oneness of person the Alexandrian school shrank from the admission of a twofold nature. To save reason the Antiochenes declined to admit completeness of nature without distinct personality. Had Christ a human spirit? was a question which Apollinaris answered in the negative. Can Mary be called the Mother of God? was the question which roused all the fierceness of the Nestorian controversy. Is it true that God was born, suffered, was crucified, died, in Christ? This Eutyches and the Monophysites maintained, and the church at Chalcedon condemned their heresy, and at Constantinople, seventy years after, re-affirmed its judgment. In these controversies the church displayed much less of that simple dignity, and moral earnestness, and that pure and majestic love of truth which had been so impressive in the former series of debates. Doctrine apart, our sympathies must often be with the defeated and heretical rather than the conquering and orthodox party. The Council at Ephesus (A. D. 431) exhibited but little of the spirit of Him for whose honours they professed to be so jealous. Nestorius, aside from the immediate ecclesiastical results, could well bear the censure of such a body, if that were all. At Chalcedon, however, twenty years later, the largest of all the Councils of the ancient church, under the spiritual presidency of the Roman legates, and adopting almost precisely Leo's language, declared Christ "as to his Godhead begotten of the Father before all worlds, but as to his manhood, in these last days born, for us men and

for our salvation, of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, known in (of) two natures, without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division; the distinction of the natures being in no wise abolished by their union, but the peculiarity of each nature being maintained, and both concurring in one person and hypostasis." The critical point in this Chalcedonian decision, which is still the subject of sharp debate, is the assumed impersonality of the human nature of Christ, without detriment to the completeness of that nature. Dr. Schaff suggests briefly but clearly the problems still lying before the church, "on the possibility, reality, and mode of the incarnation; on its relation to the revelation of God, and the development of man; on its relation to the immutability of God, and the trinity of essence and the trinity of revelation." "The great want in the present state of the Christological controversy is, on the one hand, a closer discussion of the Pauline idea of the *Kenosis*, the self-limitation, self-renunciation of the Logos, and on the other hand a truly human portrait of Jesus in his earthly development from childhood to the full maturity of manhood, without prejudice to his Deity, but rather showing forth his absolute uniqueness and sinless perfection as a proof of his Godhead." (Pp. 760—1.)

The scriptural doctrine concerning the person of Christ, as determined by the council of Chalcedon, cannot be more clearly and concisely expressed than it is done in the Westminster Catechism, in answer to the twenty-second question, "Christ, the Son of God, became man, by taking to himself a true body, and a reasonable soul," so that, as it is said in the Confession, "Two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion." This is a distinct denial of the Apollinarian, the Eutychian, and Nestorian, as well as of Docetic Christological heresies. This statement of the doctrine has been held by the church universal from that day to this. All departures from it have been confined to certain communions, as the Lutherans, or to individual writers. The modern speculations on the subject have, of necessity, taken the form of the reigning philosophy. And as that philo-

sophy is more or less avowedly pantheistic, and as Pantheism excludes all real, or substantial dualism—it of course precludes the admission of two natures, or substances, in the constitution of Christ's person. Instead of Christ having a rational human soul, the modern theory is, that the divine substance by a process of self-limitation, reduced itself to the dimensions of humanity, and that God himself, in his divine nature, passed through the process of human development, infancy, childhood, maturity, and return to complete Deity. This is what is understood by the *Kenosis* mentioned by Paul. God became man, not by taking to himself a true body and a rational soul, but by becoming finite, weak, ignorant, and in all respects limited as an ordinary man, though without sin. We cannot agree with Dr. Schaff in regarding these as open questions, still to be decided. They are decided in the Scriptures, and in the faith of the church universal, of which these modern speculations are neither an explanation nor a development, but a contradiction.

While the East was mainly instrumental in developing the faith of the church in these directions, the West, more intent upon the condition and necessities of man, the object of the redemptive work, was earnestly discussing human sin, guilt, and want, and the grace of God. Even more controlling than the influence of Athanasius in the Paulician and Christological debates, was that of Augustine in the anthropological controversies. Pelagius, Julian of Eclanum, and Cassian, were at different stages, and in different phases, and with diverse measures of ability and consistency, the opponents of Augustinianism.

Dr. Schaff brings out now in sharp and telling antitheses, and again in more fully developed and philosophical statements, the positions taken on both sides. There were in this controversy no such clear historical boundaries, no such close grapple and conclusive decision, as in various instances had characterized the eastern conflicts. Therefore, the dispute has stretched on, more as an open controversy, into the mediæval and modern church. Augustinianism can point to no Nicæa and Chalcedon.

In their original conception of human nature, and especially of human freedom, the systems differ. In Pelagianism, the

definition of man's primitive state, and more particularly his original endowment of freedom, is substantially the definition of his subsequent and present state. Under the Augustinian system, the primitive and the subsequent states define each other largely by contrast. According to Pelagius, as Dr. Schaff epitomizes his views, "Man is not a free self-determining moral subject, until good and evil, life and death, have been given into his hand." And his moral state, so far as concerns the will, is one of equilibrium, with increasing difficulties and strengthening presumptions in the way of right decision, it may be, but without external constraint or any essential commitment of the will, whether to good or evil. In Augustine's doctrine, Dr. Schaff recognizes a threefold use of the term "freedom," varying in kind or degree, which must be observed, to save him from self-contradiction. He means sometimes the spontaneity of the mind's voluntary action; again, a freedom of choice, limited to man's probation before the fall, in which man had the full double capacity of sinning and of not sinning, with a positive constitutional tendency to good; and in other instances, the free self-determination of the will to the good and the holy which belongs to the children of God. The *liberum arbitrium* in the second sense, Augustine concedes with qualifications even to fallen man, not admitting its existence any longer in man's direct moral choices, but in his choice "between individual actions within the sphere of sinfulness and *justitia civilis*."

The Fall is with Pelagianism very much a personal matter with Adam, subjecting his descendants to the influence of a bad example, setting a bad precedent, but hardly establishing a disagreeable presumption. To the school of Augustine it is a most momentous reality, the first man being viewed not merely as the progenitor, but as the representative of the whole race; so that not simply his moral integrity but theirs was lost; to them as well as to him was the highest and only perfect freedom sacrificed, the mind beclouded, the auxiliary grace of God needful to every man's continuance in good forfeited, paradise lost, the sensuous nature made predominant, physical death insured, and in their case original sin and hereditary guilt entailed. Dr. Schaff thus sums up the doctrine of Augustine

concerning sin: "This fearful power is universal; it rules the species as well as individuals; it has its seat in the moral character of the will, reaches thence to the particular actions, and from them reacts again upon the will; and it subjects every man, without exception, to the punitive justice of God." (P. 841.)

Grace is in the one system a useful external help, not indispensable; according to the other, a creative power, working from within man's renewal, removing fatal weights and hindrances, and implanting a new life. According to the one, it is intended for all—it being true that all can and should secure it, while they may fail of its more special manifestation; according to the other it is absolutely essential, not merited nor to be merited, bestowed according to God's sovereign pleasure, and irresistible, as it makes God's chosen willing, and infallibly secures its object.

The various shades of doctrine lying between the extremes, Dr. Schaff briefly sketches, so far as they belong to the centuries which are covered by his present work.

It has been refreshing, instructive, and stimulating to traverse again, in company with Dr. Schaff, this magnificent period. And if some glimpse has been given of the wealth of material contained in these volumes, and the masterly handling of such a variety of subjects, calling into exercise so many kinds of ability—if our own obligations to Dr. Schaff have been with any fitness expressed, and others induced to lay themselves under similar obligation, our end will have been attained.

ART. IV.—*A Philosophical Confession of Faith.*

WHAT is here designated as a confession of faith, will be arranged under several distinct heads; beginning with that which immediately follows.

The Three Primary Beliefs.

(1.) The three primary and practical beliefs of all men are—

First, the internal persuasion and full belief of every individual that he himself exists and thinks; the maxim, *Cogito, ergo sum*, as an expression of personal experience, having the order of its terms reversed and the whole combined, so as to become *Sum, et ergo cogito*. I am, and so it is that I think.

The *second* equally perfect persuasion and full belief of every individual is that, through the avenues of the senses, he also *feels*.

The *third* of the beliefs in question results by immediate inference from the other two, and, it is this; viz., that the thinking and feeling here described—reflection and sensation—are in themselves, *immensely different*.

These three are *practical* beliefs of the race—the beliefs under the influence of which men always act, however they may sometimes reason themselves out of the formal reception of one or more of them. They are veritable corner-stones of physics, as well as of metaphysics.* In the very respect of an immediate and simple faith, which accepts of the undistorted evidence of the senses, and also that which trusts in our mental processes rightly exercised, the philosopher and the little child are placed on the same level; insomuch that we see verified, even in this, the noble aphorism of Bacon, that, with respect to the interpreta-

* A bald positive philosophy—as well as every form of materialism fully confessed—rejects or ignores the information which rests upon the *first* of these beliefs, and thus refuses to avail itself of the most intimate knowledge that we have; while the reasoner, who altogether refuses to believe in the existence of an external world, ignores, on his part, all the special information which sensation is fitted to give. And he and the materialist are, after all, so far alike, that each, in his own way, rejects the *third* of the primary beliefs, by confounding the ineffaceable distinction between reflection and sensation.

tion of nature, "it is a point fit and necessary in the front and beginning of this work, without hesitation or reservation to be professed, that it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge, than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it, 'except he become first as a little child.'"*

Of the Personal Consciousness of Causation, and the distinguishing characteristic of a Cause—The Physical Cause.

(2.) Among our earliest experiences is that of the executive determination of the will, which prompts and brings with it the effort that evokes our muscular exertion. In this, there is "a distinct and immediate personal consciousness of causation," which has its special place in "that sequence of events, by which the volition of the mind is made to terminate in the motion of material objects." "I mean," says Sir J. Herschel, "the consciousness of *effort*, accompanied with *intention thereby* to accomplish an end, as a thing entirely distinct from *mere desire or volition* on the one hand, and mere spasmodic contraction of muscles on the other." "It is our own immediate consciousness of *effort*, when we exert force to put matter in motion, or to oppose and neutralize force, which gives this internal conviction of *power* and *causation*, so far as it refers to the material world." We recognize similar effects which we can refer to the exercise of similar efforts in our fellow-men; and the same are often largely exhibited by the inferior animals, and in such case too, are evidently under the control of at least an analogous determination of will. Our superior intelligence enables us to apply all this with a skill that the animals do not possess.

The power and causation are, in our own experience, understood to be evoked by a spiritual agency. The forces brought into action or put under constraint by the inferior animals, and the forces which are urgent in the material world are also so like that which we evoke for the action and application of our own muscular frame-work, that we can, by muscular effort, aid, oppose, or neutralize such forces; and we can also, otherwise, set any of these to influence, in a similar way, any of the

* Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature. Bacon's Works, Basil Montague's edition, vol. i. p. 267.

others. And force, in its efficiency or its urgency, in all these cases, being thus manifestly the same in *kind*, we are led to conclude (as not an unreasonable induction even) that, in every such case, the urgent or efficient force is itself evoked by an agency similar to our own, and “somehow exerted, though not accompanied with our own consciousness;* it being accepted as a sound maxim (illustrated and enforced by experience) that similar effects should as far as possible be referred to similar causes. And, inasmuch, withal, as many of the pre-arrangements and adaptations in nature are far superior to those which we can devise and execute ourselves, the efficient force must in the end be referred back to the agency of *a spirit enormously superior to ourselves*; far more so, than we ourselves are to the animals.

For, in all our experience of the force which we personally exert, and all that such a force encounters without us, we become satisfied that *that* which enters into the efficiency of causation, thus personally understood and tried—that which gives to the cause in question its cause-like character—is *energy*. And when, therefore, we discern efficiency of the same sort (or urgency, when efficiency is held in check) anywhere, though we cannot trace it back to our own will or consciousness; yet we conclude that the very existence of such an efficiency or urgency implies that of the appropriate determining energy. Nay more, we in effect apply this to the case of every efficiency, and not merely to that which is connected with physical force; insisting that urgency, or efficiency, or the traces of such, each and all, imply energy, either as being now, or else having been applied; for this is included in the statement that every effect must have a cause; which last must, of course, (as already indicated) be *energetic*, to be a cause at all.

It is to the energy in nature which we find to be thus efficient or urgent, though unable, directly, to trace it any further back—that we give the name of the (proximate) *physical cause*.

Energy immediately efficient—A Physical Cause not antecedent to its first effect.

(3.) The sun acts upon the most remote planet of the system,

* The quotations here are from Sir J. Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, (439), and note to that article, first published in edition of 1833.

and that planet acts upon the sun; but this mutual gravitating force of the two is not like the outflow of conducted electricity, or the vibrations of light and of heat, or like sound; in all of which a progress from one elementary part to another is concerned, and this progressive transference occupies time. But the action of gravitation, though it indeed takes place in straight lines outspreading from a centre, like the radiations of light and heat, yet *takes no time*, or, at most, cannot be shown to take any; the nicest observations indicating that if any time at all be occupied in the transmission of gravitation, the velocity of its transmission must be full fifty million times that of light itself. We could not, even if this were accurately so, suppose gravitation to be due to any outflow or influx of a material substance, or even a vibration of the particles of such, without the introduction of the hypothesis of the existence of some such substance, diverse, it may be, from any others which seem to be recognized; and this, when we have no sufficient evidence that any time at all is occupied. The energetic action of gravitation must then be regarded as being immediately efficient at any distance however great.

The application of force through other agencies already specified, occupies time, because, as already indicated, of the motions involved. So also the transmission through a metallic or other bar, of the force due to pressure, occupies time, because the successive series of little particles which constitute the bar, must, one after the other, be set in vibration, being crowded toward, and again receding from one another. Experiments on the transmission of sound indicate, that a thrust upon one end of an iron bar extending the whole distance from the earth to the sun, would require a thousand days for its transmission to the other end. But the effect upon the *first* series of particles to which the thrust is applied, would, even then, be *immediate*; the time of transmission through the bar being as its length, and reduced to nothing for the first series of particles merely, with which the motion (that takes time) begins, the particles, at the first, being entirely obedient to force, and so *starting* as soon as force is applied. The like may also be inferred, because gravitation, which takes no time for its action,

is itself so like any force which may be employed to thrust the bar, that any such force may be made to aid, "oppose, or neutralize" gravitation. A physical cause then—so far from being "a mere stated antecedent"—is, at its first application, not antecedent to its effect at all. And, even when intervening motions and transfers of force occur, the physical cause is not a *mere* stated antecedent to its last effect, since, [see our number (2),] the cause must not only thus precede its last effect, but also be appropriately *energetic*.*

Mind and Matter immensely different in their Phenomena.

(4.) In our article (2) "the sequence of events" is traced, which, beginning with the executive determination of the will, results in efficient action on material substances. A careful attention to this will indicate:

1st. That in the very case in question, the effort of the human agent does not *originate* the force which he applies, but only *evokes* that force; and how much muscular strength (and not how much mental power) he can thus apply, depends at once upon his bodily development and the state of his health; and no amount of mental reflection will evoke the force, until the will is made *executive*, in the application of *effort*, put forth through *muscular agency*.

2d. The reaction on ourselves, of excessive effort in the way either of thought or of muscular exertion, is well described as being fatigue. But the fatigue which incapacitates us, for the time, from the pursuit of accurate and well connected thought, can as immediately and perfectly be distinguished from that which makes us, at the time, incapable of a continuance of energetic bodily action, as sensation itself can be immediately distinguished from reflection; *so* different are being tired with walking, and being so tired with laborious and continued thought, as, temporarily, to be unable to think connectedly any longer. Even in the case in which certain forms of thought are accompanied with a sensation of "the racking of the brain," this last may itself be immediately and perfectly distinguished

* The crowing of a cock very often precedes the rising of the sun; but the agitation and the noise of the crowing do not bring about sunrise.

from the weariness and relaxation of mental energy, superinduced by that very process of thinking, and which prevents, just then, our thinking intensely any more. The very great difference between bodily and mental phenomena seems specially to be reflected by these so very different reactions, thus brought into juxtaposition and vivid contrast.

3d. "The intention to accomplish an end," and the executive determination of the will carrying out that intention, originate *within*; choice and the determination then to do, uniting in the putting forth of the effort which evokes lastly the efficient action on matter.

When, however, conversely, matter acts or reacts on us through the same sensational arrangements, *that* action or reaction begins *from without*, in accordance with a law or laws which exclude choice or will, for they exclude "disobedience," and this action or reaction, through the same sensational arrangements as before, is more or less distinctly made known in the end, to consciousness and the interpreting intelligence within; provided, that *attention* to the same (which attention is itself under the control of executive will and effort), be duly put forth, otherwise, (as in a case of abstraction of attention, in deep reverie), the connection of the sensational series with the conscious interpreting intelligence is so far severed, that we are no longer sensible of the material action from without. The *last link*, therefore, in the conveyance of information of an influence due to that which has neither consciousness nor will in itself—this last connecting link thus traceable, is one distinctly indicative of that of which matter (in its very action thus made known to us) is itself incapable; or the connection with the consciousness and intelligence within is effected by that which does what *the actions of matter itself cannot effect*;* so that the phenomena of matter and mind thus brought into juxtaposition by the very "sequence of events" which connects the two, are in contrast, again seen to be immensely different; even

* The conclusion with respect to the *last* connecting link in the conveyance of information from *without*, and the *first* of the series of arrangements by which matter is to be influenced from *within*, being both *mental*, is *only* the more cogent in view of the fact that the *one-half* of a nerve conveys *sensibility*, and the *other*, "*voluntary motion*;" so that we simultaneously *produce* pressure, and *feel* that we do it, without any interference of nervous action.

more so than, (1), are sensation and reflection themselves. We are not, then, in view of all here presented, *at liberty* to attribute to mind the properties or the phenomena of matter, nor yet to matter the properties or phenomena of mind; both the characteristics and the laws involved in the one case being so utterly different from the characteristics and the laws in the other.*

The Great Pre-existent.

(5.) That something always was, is what all will admit who reflect upon the matter at all; since, (2), there would be no energy in nothing to originate something.

This great pre-existent cannot, however, be mere matter, *i. e.*, matter apart from force. It would indeed be an assumption to suppose that matter could so exist; since we always find matter associated with force. But even if the contrary were supposable, matter alone could not be regarded as the great antecedent, since it must then be self-existent; and *self-existence itself*, must, (2), imply *the most indescribable energy*, the self-existent being eternally the sustainer of its own efficiency. Now matter shows itself to be utterly inert, and force is its *master*; the smallest force being adequate to influence the greatest mass; and this, though indeed *more* force is evoked, when the conditions due to a nearer approach, give a wider scope for that mutual action with which the efficiency of force is linked—of which more hereafter. But even if all these difficulties could be gotten over, matter does not now originate, nor could it be supposed to have originated its oërmastering force; and so force must either be supposed to have always co-existed with matter, or else force itself be pre-existent to matter.

But whether force thus pre-existed or else co-existed with matter, it cannot, under either aspect, be regarded as the great pre-existent to aught else.

For force is efficient in accordance with law; and the laws of nature, as by us ascertained and expressed, have, for us, the

* In the case of physical forces like those in question, it is only when something like consciousness and will develop themselves as evoking, in the way of choice, the forces which vital action has garnered up, that we recognize phenomena like those of thought. Apart from such, (when the favouring circumstances are all present), even in the vital actions, animal as well as vegetable, disobedience to law is *excluded*, and no choice appealed to.

character of rules prescribing both the mode and the measure of action under them. And (as heretofore insisted) these laws "are invariably obeyed; their transgression is not punished, it is excluded."*

Now, it is not easy to see how force could thus be self-limiting and controlling. It would be still more difficult to conceive of force as developing the vital principle, which somehow modifies the action of forces within the living individual, making them work after a providential fashion, for the special benefit of every part of the plant or animal, and so of the whole. And still greater, (†), would be the difficulties in the way of supposing that force, even allied with matter, had developed itself into consciousness, associated with executive will. And most difficult of all, would it then be, to account on such an hypothesis of the progressive action of force, for the numerous and exquisite adaptations which we everywhere meet with in nature, and even in our very selves. For all this would give to force, at the outset, antecedent to consciousness, the characteristic attributes and arrangements of intelligence, and the subsequent development of intelligence itself, with an executive will; or this law-restricted, pre-arranging force, the originator of intelligence and will when all was ready, must, at least at the first, have been "an unconscious intelligence"—an unknowing knowingness—an intelligence which somehow provided for all things and all relations of things, ere it knew that it knew anything. But we are besides prohibited from attributing all this to force, or to force allied to matter, by what is exhibited in (2); viz., that force in its application to material objects even, is such as it would be, if evoked by an intelligent agency, not unlike, and yet vastly superior to our own, so that, whether, as here, the characteristic attributes of the cause be in question, and an assigned cause, in view of them, be put on trial to determine whether it be adequate to the effects; or the effects be compared with those which confessedly are due to an intelligent cause, the result of both comparisons is the same; and though the inductions in the one case, and in the other, may separately be regarded, as not being fully adequate, yet the *difficulties* which are everywhere presented as excluding the acceptance of

* Whewell—*Bridgewater Treatise*, chap. v.

any hypothesis *inferior* to that which they point to, are *real*; and the “consilience”* of the inductions in the same result is itself cogent in also requiring a far better hypothesis, untrammelled by the difficulties of any other inferior to itself, and withal fully adequate to account for the phenomena—an hypothesis, *no way less* than this; that the great efficient pre-existent, and, (2), Great First Cause, must, like ourselves, be intelligent and active, and yet be immeasurably superior to us, *i. e.*, must be the *Great Spirit*. This, presenting as it does, every aspect of an immensely adequate hypothesis—with every inferior one helplessly excluded—must, at the very least, be accepted until something else can be shown to meet the vast exigencies of the case at all.

But self-existence in itself implies an indescribable cause-like and even self-caused energy, eternally self-continued; and the Great Spiritual First Cause, therefore, can be nothing less than *almighty*.

The uncompromising laws “disobedience” to which is “excluded”—the providential working of the principle of vitality—the often closely arranged, but non-conflicting adaptations of all sorts; these and other arrangements, all indicate an aspect of intelligence and wonder-working skill in the Great Spiritual First Cause; who cannot, then, be characterized as being any thing less than *infinitely wise*. All this, moreover, will imply his *omniscience*, and that, in its special form of *prescience* to the largest extent; and in the special sense of the term (to be hereafter considered) would show Him to be *omnipresent*. The self-existent withal, in itself, “hath immortality.” It is among the glorious perfections of such a being, that he *cannot die*.

The Great Spirit, moreover, can have about Him no taint of moral evil. For, the more widely extended our inductions are, the more plainly do they evince, not only the existence of sin, but also that destructiveness is as inseparable from sin, as is efficiency, or the tendency to it, from energy. Were then, the great administrator of the uncompromising laws, the pre-arrangements and adaptations of all nature, other than *perfectly*, and, of course, in his case, *infinitely good*, the occurrences of devastation and ruin everywhere, instead of being exceptional cases, would be exhibited with a frightful generality.

* Whewell.

Beyond this it is impossible for us to reason clearly with respect to the state of an infinitely great being, enormously sinful (if at all); were even the awful supposition admissible—being anything less than blasphemous; much less could we determine whether self-existence itself would be at all consistent with such a state. The existing dispositions of things indicate the contrary *now*; and a being infinitely perfect in all the attributes already indicated, must be *infinitely above all temptation* to evil. Then too, such a being must, *in himself* be, in every respect, “*without variableness* or shadow of turning.” Lastly in this connection—in so far as we can discern—the absolute infinite, in this case, must in the respect of its distinguishing attributes, be as truly exclusive of all other beings like itself, as, in a somewhat analogous way, boundless space is exclusive of all other space boundless like itself; though every limited space or volume is included within the infinity of absolute space: and so the Great Infinite First Cause—including within himself the infinity of all perfection—is *One*; there is no other.

To fulfil all that thus appears to be requisite in the Great First Cause of all; viz., that He should be *one*, and be *self-existent, almighty, infinitely wise, omniscient, discerning the end from the beginning, omnipresent, infinitely good*; and thus *absolutely unchangeable in himself*, and so *incapable of sin*, as well as *absolutely immortal*—for all this, nothing else is great enough, nothing else is wise enough, nothing else is powerful enough, nothing else is enduring enough, nothing else is good enough than the “living God and everlasting King”—all “glorious in holiness”—of a very old fashioned book.* This is the great, the final hypothesis—an hypothesis broad as the universe, which God sustains and pervades by his power, and lasting as the eternity, which he, “the always ancient one,”† “inhabith;” an

* In order to our acceptance, as such, of the infinitely adequate hypothesis which that old fashioned book affords to us, it is not requisite that we should even discuss the question whether the volume is indeed all that it claims to be. It is not necessary for us to settle the question whether Sir Isaac Newton was a good man, before we adopt the theory of gravitation. But that the only adequate hypothesis for science should itself be found in the Bible, is itself an argument in support of the Bible's claims.

† Pollock.

hypothesis withal, in conformity with which, the justly accepted formula of "the uniformity of causation," admits of this sublime paraphrase—Science is possible, because God is true.

Such a being, though exalted in his attributes above all limiting conditions, yet cannot well be described as "the unconditioned;" since existence itself has the very distinct aspect of a condition, and that, as being infinitely superior to non-existence, in the sense in which a finite quantity is infinite as measured by the zero of its own species.

The "absolute," and at the same time "unconditioned," is then an abstract idea which cannot be realized at all, and, besides, in no respect has it that, or can it fulfil that which is indispensable in the instance of a great Pre-existent, viz., (2) and (3), *infinite energy*; which is, in its own way, not a limited, but an all-embracing condition. To insist, then, at the outset, that the "unconditioned" must be God, or there is none, is to assume as true the converse proposition; viz. that God can exist *only* as the unconditioned: or to assume, without argument as to the fitness of the hypothesis, that atheism is of course true. But that does not prove it to be so; for God need not be no God, because, in order to be God, he must positively be self-existent, and in the possession of the infinite perfections which pertain to that, he must (in a negative aspect) be infinitely incapable of sin and death; being gloriously in all, *above* all limit or defect. That he should be so is essential to his being God. For, as in our estimate of the human being, *character* essentially enters as well as talent; so does a similar element enter into our estimate of what the Divine Being must (and *ought* to) be, with "a far more exceeding and eternal" appropriateness.

The ultimate reference of Necessary Truths.

(6.) The abstract truths which we call necessary, must all have been discerned by the prescience of Him whose self-existence, in all its perfection, is the *one absolutely necessary reality*. Such truths, then, to be truths, must be consistent with the perfect verity thus found in God himself; the necessity for them existing because they never can be other than

consistent with that unalterable verity. They are discerned by us to be what they are, because our reasoning faculties are, in their own measure, veritably adapted to the elaboration and discernment of such truths.

What we know of the Presence of Spirit.

(7.) We know that our own spirits are present, in an accepted sense of that term, in, or rather *to*, the region which we can take cognizance of, or within which our power extends. In its most intense sense, this is all true of the soul with respect to the body of its own indwelling; the two being so intimately connected, or rather united, as to form but one person. In so far as the general sensation of feeling is concerned, we seem to be conscious of the presence of the soul to every part of the body; especially is that true of that general feeling of buoyancy which belongs to extraordinary health, with its accompanying vivacity. But if—trying one of the senses by itself—the attempt be made, with one eye closed, to look, as far as may be, at that half of the body in which is the closed eye, the impression which accompanies the view, such as it is, will be that the percipient soul is confined to that half of the body in which is the open eye.

Again, during a great intellectual effort, the soul seems to be specially present to that part of the brain which, in an accepted sense, is sympathetically affected; and hence that “racking of the brain” which, (4), *accompanies* such intense thought; which yet can be *distinguished* from veritable mental weariness. We recognize very similar effects when we speak of the heart swelling with joy; and in other analogous expressions.

In cases, such as these, of a presence of the soul, seemingly restricted to a part only of the body; the experience of a more intense sensation there, would seem to render us partially insensible to feeling elsewhere; as in the presence of bright light, the eye becomes more or less insensible to lights of less intensity. This is more completely true when we make use of the sensibility of one eye, and that part of the nervous system immediately connected with it, to the exclusion of the other eye and its similar connections. When, however, *antecedent* to *any* *wearying thought*, we try to imagine a scene, a vivid descrip-

tion of which we are reading; or to recall, in imagination, what we have seen; or to suppose ourselves placed amid new scenes; we shall, if we attempt it, find it difficult to say where the soul seems to be during the exercise: and it will be found to be as difficult to determine just where the soul seems to be, when it is engaged in the contemplation of the special characteristics of benevolence, or those of ingratitude, &c. We know, then, that the soul, in so far as its consciousness and activity of various sorts are concerned, is somehow present in all these cases, and in these, it seems above all, to be present *to* the body itself. The soul is present *to* the realities with which it has to do, and that which the imagination pictures is in some sense, also, present *to* the soul; but will all that warrant us in saying that the soul is present *in* any of those realities even, or can we say that the soul occupies space at all, as matter does? Can we say this without thereby asserting *more* than we *know*? It ought not to oppose any bar to this conclusion that we should find it difficult to think of *how* the soul could occupy space, or quite as difficult to imagine that it *does not*. We do not after all understand how the executive determination of the will gives motion to the arm; but the evidence that it does so, is among the best we have. But that, as before stated, the soul is, somehow, present *to* the realities with which it has to do; and that its imaginings are, in their own way, present *to* it, we may safely assert; anything beyond that being more than we know. We cannot, then, in view of all, be at liberty to assert of the alone Infinite One, that he occupies or fills, and in that way pervades all space; though we could go nowhere and not find his presence there—as it were, to meet us; taking cognizance of our very thoughts, and even of that personal character of our very selves, which would indicate beforehand something of what those thoughts would be.*

* The Scripture phraseology, though it may not *require* all that is here said, yet seems not to be inconsistent with it. "If I ascend into heaven, thou art there"—as if it were added, to meet me, &c., &c. "A great and strong wind rent the mountains and break in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not *in* the wind; and after the wind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not *in* the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not *in* the fire." His presence was made known to the prophet by the "still small voice" that followed. "He *stood* and measured the earth; he *beheld* and drove

The Practical Now, and the Eternal Now.

(8.) An *instant* is the limit between two portions of duration, or two portions of time, which is duration parcelled out, or measured. Such is midnight; when one day has ended and another is about to begin. It does not last or endure at all—is not a small, but indefinite portion of time, as a *moment* is. The present is thus instantaneous;* and through the instantaneous present, in a metaphorical sense, the future incessantly passes over into the past. But it is otherwise as to duration, with the *practical now*. That endures while we have a momentary but distinct cognizance of what is passing. As, for example, now I am taking in the meaning of this sentence. And yet this our practical now, is an appreciable portion of the whole life of an ephemera, which lasts but for a day; and during that now, multitudes of sensations of that ephemera may have place; for there is time for numerous flutterings of the insect's wing. The practical-now of intelligences far more exalted than we are, might perhaps, in a similar but grander fashion, itself include a sensible portion of a *whole human life*. But in the view of the alone Infinite One, whose knowledge, in its perfection as well as its extent, has no limits, all this must exist to a degree which is perfect, and to extent which is infinite; and so all that has taken place in history, and all that even might be revealed in prophecy, must, in view of that alone Infinite One, all be included in one enormous, comprehensive, ever-during now. Such is His eternal now. And God has sometimes been described as himself being “the eternal now.” The Scripture figure respecting him is, he “inhabiteth eternity.”

Did Matter exist from all Eternity.

(9.) As already indicated in (5), we may not attribute to mere matter the energy implied in self-existence. If, then, matter

asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow.” A figure, such as that He pervades all space, seems never to be made use of Scripture; and this, though it is said that “He inhabiteth eternity.” “In him we live and move and have our being,” refers especially to his *sustaining power*, rather than to *where* he is.

* Some languages seem to recognize this; as their verbs have no present tense.

existed from all eternity, the Great Spirit and matter must from all eternity have co-existed. But, (4), as we are not at liberty to attribute to matter the phenomena or the properties of spirit, and it is by means of their phenomena and their properties that spirit and matter make themselves known to us; we are yet more severely restrained from attributing to matter the same essence as that of spirit; unless something else can be made evident which shall remove all these difficulties, and also sufficiently cogent to warrant our belief that the essence of matter and that of spirit, even that of the Great Spirit, is the same. If then, matter be not self-existent, and we may not accept the hypothesis, that the essence of matter is the same with that of the Great Spirit, then, if notwithstanding, the Great Spirit and matter did from all eternity co-exist, we must presume matter to have some such relation to, and connection with, the Great Spirit, as the body has with the soul. But if we are to be aided in our reasoning by what we know of that wonderful union in one person—our very selves—and consider withal how vastly superior we are to anything else which we find in other animals; we must, if nature be united to the Great Spirit, as body is to soul, look for an exquisite bodily organization of all nature, and *find some cogent proof of it, ere we can admit that—*

“All are but parts of the same general whole;
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.”

Of such an organization we find no proof.

Physical force we never find wholly dissociated from matter; and it need not, therefore, in this connection, be separately considered.

The existence from all eternity of life such as we know of or can find traces of, scarcely any one would contend for; nor does any proof of such an hypothesis appear: and that life could result from a progressive development of mere force, has (5) already been examined, and rejected.

Are all other Beings, and all things else Phenomenal of God.

(10.) Phenomena is the name for a class of associated facts, so closely associated, that we refer them very commonly to the same thing; the phenomena being indications to us of the pro-

perties of the thing. The analogy to this in the general disposition of all nature is not specially manifest.

Then, as regards ourselves, we have an abiding consciousness, and thus a full persuasion of our own personality, and our individual intelligence and will; the indications of which are phenomenal of us in view of our fellow-men; but this same complete personality and individual will, personally understood by us, forbid our supposing that we are mere phenomenal manifestations of another being.

And again, as regards ourselves—as, (5), *character* must be regarded as essential in our estimate of the Divine Being, we may not regard men as being phenomenal of God, for they are wicked, and he, (5), perfectly holy. And if we are not to be regarded as being phenomenal of God, then, whatever else may account for our origin and faculties, may be accepted as sufficient in the case of the lower animals; since, in respect of all that regards consciousness and will and their relations, we have all that they have, and more.

And as to matter, in all that by which it makes itself known to us, it is, (4), so different from spirit, that we may not in any appropriate sense regard our own bodies as being phenomenal of our souls; although the connection between them is so intimate that they constitute one person; and the soul, (4), by an executive determination of its own, acts through the bodily organization, and so evokes the physical action of matter. In this most intimate juxtaposition of the two, again, the one does not proclaim itself as being phenomenal of the other; and all that by which matter makes itself known to us, being, (4), irreconcilable with the distinguishing indications of spirit, we need again, *some far more cogent proof than appears*, ere we admit the hypothesis that matter is phenomenal of spirit, in the absence even, (9), of any personal bodily connection. But with regard to matter and spirit both, phenomena are to us most extensively indicative of *change*; and how then can nature in itself and all its relations be phenomenal of Him, who himself, (5), is without change. Can *sin*, as before, be phenomenal of *the perfectly holy*, and death—so extensively prevalent—be phenomenal of Him who, (5), *cannot die*.

Spirit a Substance and Matter also, though immensely different from Spirit.

(11.) As already indicated, (1), the first of our primitive beliefs immediately connected with our own consciousness and introspection, is that every individual himself is, and that so it is that he thinks; and the full and practical belief in his personal identity remains with him through all the vicissitudes of life, while reason lasts. Then too, (5), to this identical self belongs a personal character, which acts itself out through his faculties; and yet man, (9) and (10), cannot be regarded as being the same in essence, nor yet phenomenal only of the Great Spirit. All this is reconciled by the hypothesis that the human soul is not merely a bundle of will, memory, affections, and other human faculties, but that it is a spiritual substance, having its own personal character, and preserving through life's vicissitudes its personal identity; and of which substance and character both, the actions of intelligence, will, and affections, are so many manifestations; and the moral conformity, or otherwise of these, to that which is true and right, is indicative, in its own way, of the character of the man's very self.

Then, the atoms, or last elements of matter, must be regarded as having a substantial reality, and not as being "mere centres of force." For the property of impenetrability which is exhibited by all ponderable matter, offers, in the case of any atom, a forcible resistance somehow—and that, apparently, in all directions—to the occupying of its own place by any other atom; a state of things which does not well seem to be consistent with an equilibrium at the centre of force; or which will account withal for the atom's *reaction*. Then, the laws of motion do not seem to indicate that the forces at such a supposed centre are at all modified by the application of other force; but this extraneous and additional force is *absorbed* in producing a *transference* of the atom in space, the impenetrable forces at the supposed centre remaining unaltered; the inertia of matter being thus exhibited as a force-absorbent, and not as a mere negation. This and what immediately precedes, seem not to be satisfied if only centres of force make up matter, and no real atoms be present.

Lastly, although, (3), gravitation is not an outflowing, and its action at a distance takes no time, yet the *mutual* action of atom upon atom, is in the straight line which may be drawn connecting the two; and if each atom be a veritable indivisible, and not a mere centre of force, that share of the *solid-angular* outspreading from either atom, which falls upon the other, will be four times as great when the distance of the two is but one-half what it is the instance of any other two atoms; nine times as great when the distance is but one-third; &c., &c.; and thus, if there be always the *veritable indivisible* on which the lines indicative of the direction of the gravitating force may fall, the opportunity for the action of one atom on the other, and of the latter again on the former; that is the conditions of the *mutual* action of the two atoms, on which the exhibition of the force depends, will themselves be such, that the force will vary inversely as the square of the distance; in accordance with its ascertained law. The veritable existence of the indivisible element or atom seems, thus, again to be indicated.

Matter and spirit, then, being both regarded as substances, we yet, (4), (5), and (9), must regard those substances as being themselves immensely different.

What is Creation?

(12.) The question here asked becomes pertinent—other hypotheses, (5), (9), and (10), being excluded. In view, then, of what has already been exhibited, (5) and (11), creation consists in the great Creator causing to exist, a substance distinct from his blessed self, [see (7)], where nothing was before. This a little child will accept, when he is told that God Almighty did it; and in view of all that has been already indicated, the philosopher may accept the same with a like simple faith. To account for the origin of things, there is nothing better, nor even sufficient.*

All things Divinely Upheld, as well as Created.

(13.) To suppose that the Great Creator having given existence to other beings, as well as to things, then left them subject

* This is again an hypothesis found in the Bible—the question of its character as a revelation being still [note to (5)] in this discussion, held in abeyance.

to law, would seem to be scarcely less than to have rendered them, for the time being, self-existent, *i. e.*, (5), *deified* them; thus contradicting (9). "He upholdeth all things by the word of his power."

What is Force? and how did it Originate?

(14.) As, (12), the Great Creator gave to man an existence distinct from his own, but yet *endowed* with intelligence, will, and other faculties, not wholly unlike to his own attributes; so he would seem to have *endowed* matter with *force*, not wholly unlike in its effects to those of other powerful action; but yet *distinct from his own almightiness*: though continued, (13), and evoked, (1), by his own power.

The Characteristics of Force.

(15.) 1st. Force is found associated with matter, and it is in such a connection that it manifests its tendencies; viz., to produce, to modify, or to prevent motion.

2d. Matter already associated with force may, as it were, absorb additional force; and the tendency of the force thus absorbed is to put the matter, thus associated with more force, in motion, and thereby render that matter the vehicle of energy—put it in a state of power. A cannon-ball propelled from the gun, without ceasing to be iron, or steel, &c., or veritably weighing any more, has become powerful to destroy.

3d. Force has about it a species of immortality—once applied it does not cease to act—the energy momentarily applied causing a body to go on with a uniform velocity; and though, in time, it may have successively moved various minute particles, and been extensively distributed among them, the *energy* which belongs to the force once applied will yet continue to act with characteristic efficiency, and that efficiency proportional to the force.

4th. Though force thus does not *die*, yet it sometimes *sleeps*. The force which has been made efficient in the breaking of a body, does not reappear until cohesion is restored. The dynamical action of force evoked by the hand in winding a clock will not reappear when the clock is stopped, nor while the clock is suffered to remain so. The force absorbed and accumulated during the growth of a tree, is rapidly set free when the wood of the tree is burned.

Of Vital Power, and its Characteristics.

(16.) Life, wherever manifested, shows itself, after the manner of an *individualizing dominant* principle, harnessing and controlling the physical *properties*, and making them work in the service of vital *functions*. The concatenation of sequences, withal, is longer than that involved in the influence of unorganized matter, and every thing works after a providential fashion, the parts in the living organism having their efficiency so regulated that, in the distribution of it, the several agencies are "alternately means and ends."*

There are evidences of enormous effects of the physical forces in the past. But not in those vast agitations and upheavals whose last subsidence is now barely traceable; or experienced in miniature in the earthquake—not in those great aerial agitations, now imperfectly realized in the tornado—not in that overwhelming surge of melted material, of which the basaltic monuments yet remain—not in the whirlwind, nor the earthquake, nor the fire, whose effects were so enormous, was there such a display, and at the same time such a hiding of power, as when—with reference to organized material—the fiat went forth which conferred upon it an *additional* benediction, as it bade it LIVE. As such, life is, as already described, *individualizing* and *dominant*, making *properties* do their work, in the service of *functions*, and every part to work for the benefit of the whole, as also the whole for the benefit of every part. The concatenation of sequences is thus a long one, and the working after a providential fashion, extending even to the commencement and continuance of a new life beyond that of the individual already alive; yet, in a healthy state, and when the actions are unrestrained except by themselves, the laws of life are as uncompromising, and disobedience to them is as completely excluded, as in the case of those which regulate the properties and the changes of unorganized material. While thus arranged to work through a longer concatenation, after a providential fashion throughout, and toward results even in the distant future, the vital forces are *sustained*, *arranged to be evoked* and *continued*, and to act in accordance with laws as uncom-

* Kant.

promising, and with as little reference, in themselves, to will, in the subject of those laws, as in the case of the mere lifeless clod.

But wherever vital energy appears, it is *sovereign*—controlling all else with which it is connected; and it cannot, therefore, (5), be regarded as the development of mere progressive force; and much less can conscious life be regarded as a development of that which had no such superior endowment. To suppose so, is little better than to put the accuracy and sequence of law in place of the *new energy* which, in life, lies behind the law; and this consideration is no less stringent, though it is true that there are evidences of a wonderful *development of plan*, but yet no satisfactory ones of the actual development of the organized, and then again of the more exquisitely organized and endowed, *out of the inferior*, or even lifeless, which preceded them; the *lifeless* and the *unconscious* working after a *providential fashion* to the development *out of itself* of that which would then be alive, or subsequently that which would even be conscious—working thus after the fashion of life, to introduce life, *before the source of efficiency in the case, was itself alive*; and so that life thus introduced should control and modify all that introduced it. *That* would seem to have, in itself, more than one element of self-confutation. We cannot dispense with the hypothesis here of the *additional* endowment of a *new and dominant, individualizing* energy. But this will not prevent great modifications, by special development, within far narrower limits, of that which *is* alive.

Three Great Guiding Maxims.

(17.) Three great guiding maxims are consequent upon what has already been presented. These are:

I. "God always *first*;"* he being (5), (9), (6), and (14), the Creator of all other beings and all things else, in all their relations. "He is before all things, and by him all things *consist*." This is for science, (5), its great and final hypothesis;† and it

* For just this form of this great truth, the writer of this is indebted to the late Prof. John L. Ludlow, D. D., of New Brunswick, N. J.

† And in religion, God always *first*, is Calvinism; especially that practical Calvinism which Christians accept when they pray.

excludes atheism, and, with it, that special form of atheism, materialism.

II. God always *independent* of all that he has “created and made;” though all such, in all their relations, are dependent on him. [See (5), (6), (9), (13), and (14).]*

This excludes monism and pantheism.

III. God always infinitely good—“glorious in holiness.” It is essential to this perfection, (5), that God should be gloriously above all temptation to evil. In this he is above control by any extraneous motive. He is not governed by any external and immutable rule of right apart from his blessed self—that would be *fate*. Whatever there is either true, beautiful, or good that he has originated in other beings or in things, in these, (6), he exhibits so many illustrations of his perfections, but they are not actual developments of himself personally—that, (10), would be *pantheism*; but truth, beauty, and goodness, wherever found, have their origin in the *spontaneous* outflowing of his infinite perfection, of his supreme excellence.

Were it possible that the Divine Being could ever swerve from this his immortal rectitude, disorder and ruin, (5), must then everywhere prevail. The *cardinal* truth on which rests the welfare of the universe, is, *that God is good*. In it, withal, is found the last resort for the explanation of every moral difficulty.†

The Supra-natural.

(18.) Man, in numerous relations, is evidently a part of nature, though occupying the position of lord of this portion of the creation. He is then, thus, but *supra-natural*, not *super-natural*.‡

* “Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.”

† “Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight,” is one most illustrious example.

‡ In the scriptural account, he appears as the last and highest work of the “six days”—a work *not finished*, until he was made.

ADDENDA.

The Extra-natural.

(19.) The *extra-natural* is not itself subject to natural laws; and yet may be incidentally introduced to the region of those laws. Angels are *extra-natural*; but their visits to earth are among the things revealed. The bringing about of such a visit must be described by another term, viz.

The Supernatural.

(20.) A law of nature is a precise relation pervading a whole class of facts, or it is a general fact with reference to the succession of phenomena. Its two conspicuous features are generality and precision; and the ultimate reference of the law of nature is indicated, when we say that it expresses the mode in which the Divine power ordinarily chooses to act; or while maintaining energy, evokes also its physical action.

It is among the unquestioned characteristics of the *supernatural*, that it involves the exercise of power not provided for by the laws of nature, in their ordinary action.

The renovation of the human soul by *Divine agency*, is thus preëminently supernatural. But the *laws of human activity* are not thereby *suspended*; though the whole moral character is renovated.

This may aid us to see that though miracles (in the accepted sense of that term) are also supernatural; we may not, therefore, assert that a miracle is a *suspension of the laws of nature*; since, even in the renovation of the human soul, there is, confessedly no suspension of the laws of human activity. To say, in view of all *that*, there is a suspension of natural law in the case of a miracle, is to assert *more* than we *know*; though, when that assertion is made, we have no right to contradict it; for that would, alike, involve the assumption of a greater knowledge than we possess.*

Similar reasons should restrain us from asserting that, in the

* Though the assertion itself might in some cases appear a little extraordinary; as when, for example, it should be stated that there was a suspension of the laws of nature when the multitude were sufficiently fed by a few "loaves and fishes." There might in such a case seem rather to have been an *extension* of the laws of nature.

case of miracles, the exercise of divine power is *immediate*; the accounts given to us of some of them, would rather seem to imply the *contrary*; as, for instance, when an *external application* was made to the eyes of the blind, which was caused to be *miraculously* efficient; and so the *gradual* restoration to sight in another instance, so *much* after the fashion of means placed in the train of being (miraculously) efficient.

In view of the whole then, it must be considered that we exceed the limits of our knowledge, when we undertake to assert *just how* a miracle is wrought; though we may always say, assuredly, that in such a case, a work is wrought in a *way not provided for in the ordinary laws of nature*. These latter, as already stated, are distinctly indicative of the mode in which the Divine power (maintaining and working) *ordinarily* chooses to act. In the case of miracles, the exercise of Divine power is after an *extraordinary* fashion; and neither the *mode* nor the measure of the effect of its action is exhibited by ordinary natural laws. As respects the *power* in question, *that* seems to be all that we may assert; while freely admitting that—in the orderings of Divine providence—miracles have been introduced only on appropriate occasions, and for the furtherance of high ends.

When the blessed Saviour walked upon the water, he was, somehow, miraculously upheld; but does it become us to assert that his body, for the time being, *ceased to weigh*?

In view of all that has been here stated;—then, moreover, when two entirely similar miracles—such as the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, and then that of the four thousand—have been wrought; may it not be that the efficiency was put forth after such a special and similar fashion in both cases, that, just in that respect, it may be said that miracles have their laws; though even in their *mode* of action, all inscrutable to us?

Lastly, that a *special revelation* of the divine will and purposes should itself be accompanied by *extraordinary phenomena* and effects, indicative of the Divine presence and power, is so far from being impossible, or even *incredible*, that under just such circumstances, such phenomena and effects are rather *to be looked for*; or that *miracles* should accompany a revelation is, for these reasons, to be regarded as among the *very*

likely events; insomuch, that the evidences of a revelation, though otherwise sufficient, would appear to be incomplete, and so far seemingly questionable, without the evidence of miracles: not questionable for claiming those which are well attested.

ART. V.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America met, according to adjournment, in the Central church, Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 16th day of May, 1867, and was opened with a sermon from the Rev. R. L. Stanton, D. D., Moderator of the last Assembly, from 1 Cor. ii. 2, "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified."

W. P. Breed, D. D., and John Crozier, *ministers*; and T. Newton Wilson, *elder*, were appointed a Committee on Elections, to whom the cases of persons present with informal commissions, or with no commissions, were referred.

The Stated Clerk announced that commissions in due form had been presented by persons claiming to represent the Presbyteries of Transylvania, West Lexington, Palmyra, and St. Louis, but that the Committee on Commissions were satisfied that the persons enrolled were the true and legal representatives of those Presbyteries. They recommended that these commissions be referred to the Committee on Elections, to give these claimants an opportunity of being heard.

On motion of Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, the report was laid on the table till after the appointment of the Standing Committees.

The Stated Clerk announced that he had been officially notified of the formation of the following new Presbyteries:—Presbytery of Rio Janeiro, Brazil, by the Presbytery of Baltimore, with six ministers and three churches; the Presbytery of Holston, East Tennessee; and the Presbytery of Catawba, in North Carolina. These Presbyteries and their commissioners were then ordered to be enrolled.

The Committee on Elections reported certain persons entitled to seats as commissioners, and they were accordingly enrolled.

The Stated Clerk presented a communication from the (non-adhering) Presbytery of Louisville, notifying the Assembly that it had elected no commissioners to this meeting of the Assembly, and protesting against the admission of any commissioners professing to represent the Presbytery of Louisville in this Assembly.

On motion of Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, the paper was laid upon the table till after the appointment of the Standing Committees.

The Assembly then resolved to proceed to the election of a Moderator.

Rev. Dr. P. D. Gurley, of Washington, and Rev. Dr. Howard, of Pittsburg, were nominated.

Dr. Gurley was elected by a vote of 169, to 55 for Dr. Howard.

Reunion of the Old and New-school Churches.

Rev. Dr. Gurley, (Moderator) from the Committee of Conference, with a similar committee from the other branch of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of a reunion of the two branches, presented the following report, embodying the terms of reunion agreed upon by the two committees:

The Joint Committee of the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, appointed for the purpose of conferring on the desirableness and practicability of uniting these two bodies, deeply impressed with the responsibility of the work assigned us, and having earnestly sought Divine guidance, and patiently devoted themselves to the investigation of the questions involved, agree in presenting the following for the consideration, and, if they see fit, for the adoption of the two General Assemblies:

Believing that the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom would be promoted by healing our divisions; that practical union would greatly augment the efficiency of the whole Church for the accomplishment of its divinely appointed work; that the main causes producing division have either wholly passed away, or become, in a great degree, inoperative; and

that two bodies bearing the same name, adopting the same Constitution, and claiming the same corporate rights, cannot be justified by any but the most imperative reasons in maintaining separate, and, in some respects, rival organizations; and regarding it as both just and proper that a reunion should be effected by the two churches as independent bodies, and on equal terms, we propose the following terms and recommendations as suited to meet the demands of the case:

1. The reunion shall be effected on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted "as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures," and its fair, historical sense, as it is accepted by the two bodies, in opposition to Antinomianism and Fatalism on the one hand, and to Arminianism and Pelagianism on the other, shall be regarded as the sense in which it is received and adopted; and the Government and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States shall continue to be approved as containing the principles and rules of our polity.

2. All the ministers and churches embraced in the two bodies shall be admitted to the same standing in the united body which they may hold in their respective connections up to the consummation of the union; and all the churches connected with the united body not thoroughly Presbyterian in their organization, shall be advised to perfect their organization as soon as is permitted by the highest interests to be consulted; no other such churches shall be received; and such persons alone shall be chosen commissioners to the General Assembly as are eligible according to the Constitution of the Church.

3. The boundaries of the several Presbyteries and Synods shall be adjusted by the General Assembly of the united Church.

The official records of the two branches of the Church for the period of separation shall be preserved, and held as making up the one history of the Church, and no rule or precedent, which does not stand approved by both the bodies, shall be of any authority until reëstablished in the united body.

5. The corporate rights now held by the two General Assemblies, and by their Boards and Committees, shall, as far as

practicable, be consolidated, and applied for their several objects, as defined by law.

6. There shall be one set of Committees or Boards for Home and Foreign Missions, and the other religious enterprises of the church, which the churches shall be encouraged to sustain, though left free to cast their contributions into other channels, if they desire to do so.

7. As soon as practicable after the union shall be effected, the General Assembly shall reconstruct and consolidate the several Permanent Committees and Boards which now belong to the two Assemblies, in such a manner as to represent, as far as possible, with impartiality the views and wishes of the two bodies constituting the united Church.

8. When it shall be ascertained that the requisite number of Presbyteries of the two bodies have approved the terms of union as hereinafter provided for, the two General Assemblies shall each appoint a committee of seven, none of them having an official relation to either the Committee or Board of Publication, who shall constitute a Joint Committee, whose duty it shall be to revise the catalogues of the existing publications of the two churches, and to make out a list from them of such books and tracts as shall be issued by the united Church, and any catalogue thus made out, in order to its adoption, shall be approved by at least five members of each committee.

9. If at any time after the union has been effected, any of the Theological Seminaries under the care and control of the General Assembly, shall desire to put themselves under Synodical control, they shall be permitted to do so at the request of their Boards of Direction; and those Seminaries which are independent in their organization, shall have the privilege of putting themselves under ecclesiastical control, to the end that, if practicable, a system of ecclesiastical supervision of such institutions may ultimately prevail through the entire united Church.

10. It shall be regarded as the duty of all our judicatories, ministers, and people in the united Church, to study the things which make for peace, and to guard against all needless and offensive reference to the causes that have divided us, and in order to avoid the revival of past issues, by the continuance of

any usage in either branch of the Church, that has grown out of our former conflicts, it is earnestly recommended to the lower judicatories of the Church that they conform their practice in relation to all such usages, as far as consistent with their convictions of duty, to the general custom of the Church prior to the controversies that resulted in the separation.

11. The terms of reunion shall be of binding force, if they shall be ratified by three-fourths of the Presbyteries connected with each branch of the Church, within one year after they shall have been submitted to them for approval.

12. The terms of the reunion shall be published by direction of the General Assemblies of 1867, for the deliberate examination of the churches, and the Joint Committee shall report to the General Assemblies of 1868, any modification of them they may deem desirable, in view of any new light that may have been received during the year.

13. It is recommended that the Hon. Daniel Haines and Hon. Henry W. Green, of New Jersey; Hon. George Sharswood and Hon. William Strong, of Philadelphia; and Daniel Lord, Esq., and Theodore Dwight, Esq., of New York, be appointed by the General Assemblies a committee to investigate all questions of property and of vested rights, as they may stand related to the matter of reunion, and this committee shall report to the Joint Committee as early as the 1st of January, 1868.

14. It is evident that in order to adapt our ecclesiastical system to the necessities and circumstances of the united Church, as a greatly enlarged and widely extended body, some changes in the Constitution will be required.

The Joint Committee, therefore, request the two General Assemblies to instruct them in regard to the preparation of an additional article to be reported to the Assemblies of 1868.

All which is respectfully submitted on behalf of the Joint Committee of the two General Assemblies.

C. C. BEATTY, *Chairman*,
E. F. HATFIELD, *Secretary*.

Leaving their report with the General Assemblies and the ministers and churches of our denomination through the land,

your Committee cannot disregard the providential auspices under which their recommendations await decision. The present is thought to be a favourable time, now that many questions of former controversy have lost their interest, for adopting a magnanimous policy, suitable to the necessities of our country and the world. The Presbyterian Church has a history of great renown. It has been intimately associated with civil and religious history in both hemispheres. Its republican and representative character, the parity of its clergy, the simplicity of its order, the equity of its administration, its sympathy with our institutions, its ardent patriotism in all stages of our history, its flexible adaptation to our heterogeneous population, its liberal support of colleges and seminaries designed for general education and theological culture, its firm and steadfast faith in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, and this by means of revealed truth and the special effusions of the Holy Spirit, in distinction from all trust in human arts and devices, all unite to promise, if we are wise and faithful, a future for the Presbyterian Church in these United States greater and better than all the past. Amid all the changes that have occurred around us, we are confident that nothing true and good will ever recede or decay; and it becomes all those who love the same faith, order, and worship, abounding in love and hope, to pray that God would count them worthy of their calling, that they may fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power, that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in them, and they in him, according to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Signed by order of the Committee,

C. C. BEATTY, *Chairman*.

VILLEROY D. REED, *Secretary*.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Smith, the report was received, and referred to a Special Committee of Seven.

The Moderator announced the following as the special Committee to whom is referred the report of the Committee on Reunion. *Ministers*—J. T. Smith, D.D., W. P. Breed, D.D., George Marshall, D.D., D. D. McKee, A. T. Rankin. *Ruling Elders*—George C. Miller, E. A. More.

Declaration and Testimony.

The Moderator laid before the Assembly a communication from certain signers of the Declaration and Testimony, assigning their reasons for not appearing at this time in obedience to the citation of last year.

The paper was, on motion, referred to the Judicial Committee.

The Moderator also announced a communication from Rev. W. C. Handy, of Lewes Presbytery, who signed the Declaration and Testimony after the last meeting of the Assembly. His case having been referred by his Presbytery to this Assembly, he now notifies the Assembly that he is ready to answer.

Rev. Dr. Stanton moved to reconsider the reference to the Judicial Committee of the paper presented by certain signers of the Declaration and Testimony; and the matter was reconsidered.

Dr. Stanton then moved that these papers, those laid upon the table yesterday, and all others relating to the same general subject, be referred to a Special Committee of Seven, with instructions to report to-morrow morning.

Prof. Matthews opposed the reference. His seat was contested, and he wished a settlement of the question.

Prof. Duffield called for a division of the question.

Rev. Dr. Stanton remarked that, to use a common expression, the case is getting mixed; yet, after all, it is but one case having different heads. He could not see the propriety of a division of the question.

Dr. Duffield urged that these contestants have a chance to present their case according to the recommendation in the report of the Committee on Commissions.

The motion to refer to a Special Committee was adopted, and such a committee was subsequently appointed, consisting of *Ministers*—R. L. Stanton, D. D., Willis Lord, D. D., W. P. Breed, D. D., A. T. Rankin. *Ruling Elders*—S. Galloway, T. Newton Wilson, W. S. Gilman, Jr.

A communication from the Presbytery of Louisville (non-conforming) went to the same Committee.

The Stated Clerk, from the Committee on Commissions, laid

before the Assembly the commissions of Rev. James H. Brookes, D.D., and Rev. S. J. P. Anderson, D.D., who claim to be Commissioners from the Presbytery of St. Louis.

On motion, the papers were referred to the same Committee.

This Committee to which all these papers were referred, was directed to report on the morning of the following day. It was found impossible to prepare a report on such an extended and complicated affair on such short notice. The time, therefore, was prolonged and left to the discretion of the Committee. Although not intended by the Assembly, the effect of this course was virtually to decide against the claims of the contestants for seats in the Assembly; because the report involving their claims was not made until a late period of the session, and then their case was only one item among many, in a report, which was, on motion, adopted without division. The dispatch of business in a body of two hundred and eighty members, and limited, by usage and necessity, to a session of some ten or fifteen days, becomes an object of primary importance. It, however, not unfrequently works injustice or hardship in particular cases, as in the present instance.

The Moderator, in appointing this committee, acted on the principle of constituting it almost exclusively of members in sympathy with the majority of the house. The obvious principle of justice is that in all committees of importance the minority should be fairly represented. Such is the usage of the British Parliament, of the American Congress, and of all deliberative bodies. Dr. Staunton, recognizing the justice of this principle, moved that the committee be enlarged by the addition of three members, and Drs. Brownson and Duffield, and elder D. L. Collier, were added to the committee. Of these, however, only one (Dr. Duffield), belonged to the class of dissenters from the wisdom and constitutionality of the acts of the Assembly of 1866, which were the subjects in dispute. On a subsequent occasion, when a substitute for Dr. Krebs (disqualified by ill health) was to be appointed on the joint committee on Reunion, the name of Dr. Paxton, of New York, was presented and urged on the very ground that he was opposed to the proposed plan of uniting the New and Old-school bodies. To the astonishment, as we are informed, of all parties, the

Moderator appointed a gentleman known to sympathize with the majority of the committee. We refer to this subject not for the purpose of disparaging the Moderator, who acted on his own views of propriety, but because of the importance of the principle involved. In all governments where the majority rules, the rights of minorities should be sacredly guarded.

Unemployed Ministers.

Rev. Dr. Elliott, from the Special Committee appointed by the last Assembly, to which was referred an overture concerning unemployed ministers and vacant churches, and sundry memorials requesting the Assembly to devise measures for the more competent and uniform sustentation of those who are able and willing to engage in the work of the ministry, presented a report, which was read and accepted.

The report reviews, at some length, the evils complained of. It acknowledges their existence, and attributes them to the too frequent and easy dissolution of the pastoral relation, and the too early licensure of candidates for the ministry. It concludes by recommending the following action by the Assembly:

1. That it be enjoined upon all the Presbyteries to guard against the admission of men to the ministry of whose characters, habits, acquirements, prudence, and piety, they have not ample evidence to satisfy them of their fitness for the sacred office, and that it be earnestly urged upon all the Presbyteries not to grant license to their candidates, "except in extraordinary cases," until they have spent three whole sessions of study in the seminary. But unless all adopt the same rule, its adoption by a part only will be of no benefit, but injury, as has been found from experience.

2. In regard to applications for the translation or removing of a minister from one charge to another, or the resigning of a pastoral charge, the Presbyteries be required to adhere strictly to the forms of proceeding laid down in Chapters XVI. and XVII. of our Form of Government, and to discourage, by all proper means, those frequent changes which are unfavourable to the stability and growth of the Church, except in cases where the change would evidently tend to promote the best interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

3. That, with a view to secure employment for our unemployed ministers and licentiates, it be enjoined upon each Presbytery and each Synod severally to appoint a committee—that of the Presbytery to be called the “Presbyterial Committee of Missions,” and that of the Synod the “Synodical Committee of Missions”—the chairman of each of these committees to be the Stated Clerk of the body appointing him.

4. That it be made the duty of the Presbyterial Committees to open a correspondence with each other, by which to ascertain the number of unemployed ministers and licentiates in each body; also the number of ministers and licentiates who are willing to be employed, and to submit to the direction of the committee in assigning them a field of labour.

5. That it be the duty of each Presbyterial Committee to see that every vacant church within their bounds be supplied with the preaching of the gospel; and also every station or neighbourhood where, in their judgment, churches may soon be collected and organized. For this purpose the committees shall be empowered to adopt a system of itinerancy wherever it may be done with the greatest advantage to the cause which it is their object to promote.

6. Where there are more vacancies than ministers to supply them, in any Presbytery, the committee of that Presbytery shall apply to the committee of any other adjacent Presbytery which has a surplus, and secure the number needed. On the contrary, if any Presbytery has a surplus of ministers, beyond what is needed to supply their own vacancies, the committee shall, upon application, send them where they are wanted; and the vacant churches shall receive the supplies thus sent according to the request of their own committee.

7. In all cases it shall be the duty of the Presbyterial Committee to see that the ministers thus appointed shall receive a competent support, and for this purpose the committee shall inquire into the condition of the vacant churches, and to what extent they are able to contribute to the supplies furnished them, and shall apportion to them the additional amount of supplementary aid which may be necessary to an adequate support for such supplies. But no church shall have ministerial supplies or assistance in funds granted it, which, in the judg-

ment of the committee, has not done all that it can, or ought to do, for the purpose of securing the stated preaching of the gospel, or which does not punctually redeem the pledges it has given.

8. It shall be the duty of the Presbyterian Committees to report to the Synodical Committees, so that if vacancies are found unsupplied within their bounds, and ministers or licentiates unemployed, it shall be the duty of the respective Synodical Committees to appoint to those vacancies such ministers as are without a field of labour; and it shall be the duty of those thus appointed to report themselves to the Presbyterian Committee within the bounds of the Presbytery in which they are appointed to labour, and to attach themselves to that Presbytery at as early a period as practicable.

9. The Presbyterian and Synodical Committees shall each report semi-annually to the Board of Domestic Missions, so that if there be still ministers who are not employed, the Board may appoint them to such vacant posts of labour as they shall judge to be productive of the greatest amount of good to the church; and in making their reports the committee shall state distinctly to the Board the amount of salary pledged by the several vacancies, and the additional sum required to be supplied by the Board.

10. No appointment shall be made for less than a year, and if a minister abandons the field to which he has been appointed before the completion of his time, or neglects to occupy it with constancy and fidelity, unless on account of special interposition of Providence, he shall forfeit his supplementary appropriation, besides subjecting himself to the censure of his Presbytery.

11. In no case shall the maximum amount of salary to be given to those who are thus sustained, exceed \$1000, including the estimated rent of a manse; nor less than \$600; nor shall the supplementary sum granted to each minister, beyond what the congregation pledges, exceed one-third of the whole amount of the salary thus to be raised, and to be proportionally less in cases where the whole amount can be raised to the sum required and agreed upon by the Presbyterian Committee.

12. The Board of Domestic Missions, as the organ of the General Assembly, shall have a general oversight of this whole

matter, acting in accordance with the foregoing arrangement, corresponding with the Synodical and Presbyterial Committees, recognizing and enrolling all ministers and licentiates reported by these committees, and paying over the supplementary portion of salary as assigned to them severally by their respective Presbyteries, and to enable the Board to act with greater efficiency upon the churches for the collection of an amount of funds sufficient to meet the demands which will be made upon it for the purposes indicated, its power, if not sufficiently ample, should be enlarged to an extent proportionate to the work to be performed. The exact sum necessary to meet the present exigency is not easy to ascertain definitely; but the Board should endeavour to raise at least \$300,000, at the earliest possible period, and ultimately increase it to \$500,000; and when the fund shall have reached an amount beyond that which is necessary to place all unemployed ministers in active service, let the same rule of distribution be applied in supplementing the salaries of all those ministers who are without an adequate support.

13. It is to be understood that nothing in the provisions of this plan shall be so interpreted as to prevent the Board of Domestic Missions from commissioning and sending out missionaries as heretofore, to labour in frontier and other destitute settlements, and granting them a liberal support, as indicated in the resolutions adopted by that Board at a meeting held November 13, 1866.

14. It shall, moreover, be the duty of the Board to make a full report annually to the General Assembly on this whole subject, and of the practical workings of the system of measures adopted, with such facts as experience may have shown to be beneficial for the removal of existing evils, and the enlargement and prosperity of the church.

In submitting to the General Assembly the foregoing plan, the Committee have, after full deliberation and a careful examination of other plans submitted to them, adopted this, as best suited to the existing wants of the church, and, at the same time, to preserve and bring into united and harmonious action the constitutional powers of our church courts. Holding as we do to the unity of the church, and yet recognizing different

ecclesiastical judicatories as constituent parts of this one church, it is important that each part, in its proper place and in the exercise of its legitimate powers, be brought in action for the benefit of the whole. These foundation principles have been kept in view by your Committee, and upon this constitutional basis they have endeavoured to present a plan which brings into harmonious action the powers of the various judicatories of the church, each acting in its own proper sphere, and all for the attainment of the same object. While the lower courts exercise their appropriate functions as indicated in our *Form of Government*, the General Assembly, as the supreme court of the whole church, having sanctioned the action of the lower judicatories in assigning unemployed ministers to posts of labour, is bound to make the "necessary provision for their support" beyond what the churches which they serve are able, and have voluntarily pledged themselves to contribute. This object, it is believed, the Assembly will most effectually accomplish by the agency of the Board of Domestic Missions, as her representative for that purpose. Just as the apostolic college, the highest authority in the primitive church, assigned the collection of funds for a particular object to the deacons, so our General Assembly may very properly appoint the Board of Domestic Missions over this business of collecting funds to meet the present necessities of the church; and to that Board we must look for its successful accomplishment.

Rev. Dr. Elliott remarked, after the report had been read, that the Committee had carefully considered several plans proposed, and others in actual operation, especially that of the Free Church of Scotland. In their opinion, the latter was not adapted to our circumstances, and could not be put into successful operation by us. It appeared to the Committee that the plan proposed by it was the best that could be adopted here.

Most of the churches in our country, our own among the number, are organized upon the principle that the gospel is not to be preached to any who are not willing and able to pay for it. This is the principle and the rule. All that is done for the wicked and the destitute is exceptional and temporary. Dr. C. C. Jones, when Secretary of the Board of Missions,

avowed, as we understand, the principle, that when a church, after a few years trial, failed to become self-supporting, it was to be abandoned. The scriptural rule is to preach the gospel to the poor, yea, to all men, whether they will bear, or whether they will forbear. We are persuaded that nothing effectual will be accomplished in the work of missions until the conviction is fastened upon the conscience of the church that it is its duty and high privilege to give an adequate support to every one whom the Holy Ghost has called to preach the gospel. If the Romanists and Methodists can do this, there is no good reason why Presbyterians should not do it. To accomplish this object, we need no new plans, and no complicated machinery. All that is required, is that the church should adopt, from a sense of duty, the principle above stated, and that the present Board of Missions should determine to act upon it. If that Board could be filled with the zeal, courage, and energy which characterized the Christian Commission during the war, the work would be accomplished.

The Board, however, can do nothing until the church is brought to recognize and acknowledge that Christ requires that all whom he calls to preach the gospel should live by the gospel.

Metropolitan church in Washington.

The Rev. Dr. Gurley, from the Special Committee of the last Assembly to which was referred the overture from the Committee of Church Extension within the bounds of the Presbytery of Potomac, asking the General Assembly to transfer the property of the proposed Metropolitan church, in the city of Washington, to the Presbytery of Potomac, to be by it applied to the purposes of church extension in that city, presented the following report:

The Committee report that, since the last Assembly they have laid all the material facts connected with the history of the Metropolitan church in Washington, before the Hon. Henry W. Green, of New Jersey, and solicited his opinion as to the propriety of the transfer proposed; and they further report that they have received from him a written opinion, herewith submitted, to the effect that such a change of appro-

priation as is contemplated in the overture, "would be a diversion of the fund from the purpose for which it was given, a defeat of the presumed intentions of the donors, and a departure from the recognized principles of equity." The Committee therefore recommend that the Assembly decline to sanction the transfer proposed in the overture.

This recommendation was adopted.

Church Extension.

Rev. Dr. Brownson, Chairman of the Committee on Church Extension, presented the following Report:

The Committee appointed to examine the Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Church Extension, and also the records of that Board, beg leave to present the following for adoption by the Assembly.

Resolved, 1. That the records of the Board be approved, and that the Report be approved and published.

Resolved, 2. That the policy of the Board, in merely stimulating the liberality of the churches in their own behalf, by *supplementary* appropriations, under a rule of economy which secures the widest possible distribution, meets with the hearty sanction of the Assembly.

Resolved, 3. That the Assembly finds unhesitating gratification in the fact that through this Board, during the past year, notwithstanding its limited means, one hundred churches, located in fifty Presbyteries and eighteen States, have been efficiently aided in securing houses of worship; thus making an aggregate of 728 churches, which, since its organization twelve years ago, "have obtained church properties, free from debt, worth over two millions of dollars, and that will accommodate fully 150,000 worshippers."

Resolved, 4. That the appropriations made for the benefit of the freedmen in the Southern States during the last year, in connection with the Freedmen's Committee, are highly approved; and it is hereby recommended to the Board to extend such further help to the coloured people disposed to unite with our church in obtaining places of worship as circumstances may demand, and the state of the treasury may permit.

Resolved, 5. That whilst it is a matter for congratulation

that the contributing churches have increased in number, from 167 in the first year of the Board's operation, to 829 in the year now closed, and that the contributions have also increased four-fold during the same period, it is at the same time with great pain that the Assembly contemplates the fact that 1800 churches, or nearly two-thirds of the whole number, still give nothing to this important object.

Resolved, 6. That the Assembly, regarding the work of this Board as of vital moment to the stability and progress of the Presbyterian Church, and the advancement of the cause of Christ in this land, does most solemnly and earnestly appeal to all our churches and people, in the name of the "Great Shepherd of the sheep," to make regular and liberal contributions for the spread of the Saviour's kingdom through this approved channel.

Rev. H. I. Coe, the Secretary of the Board, upon invitation, addressed the Assembly as follows:

"*Mr. Moderator, Fathers, and Brethren*—Just twenty-three years ago, on this very day, the 18th of May, and at about this very hour of the day, the General Assembly entered upon the great work of systematic Church Extension. Let us, for our encouragement, briefly review the work that has been done during that period. The result is, that \$400,000 have been raised, and 1100 churches have been aided and enabled to build houses of worship. This work has been done under great and embarrassing difficulties, and though our progress has not been what we could have wished, there is great reason for encouragement. No important application has been refused, and the appropriations are gradually and steadily approximating to the demand. It is an important fact that, during the last six years, this Board has assisted more churches than have been organized in our bounds. It is also an encouraging fact in our work, that our contributions have been constantly increasing. During the first eleven years—embracing the period from 1844 to '55—the average number of churches contributing annually to the Church Extension Committee of the Board of Missions was only 55, and their average yearly contributions were less than \$3,500. In eleven years the old Committee received but \$68,544, of which only about \$21,000 were from churches. In the first

year of the new organization there were 167 contributing churches. During the last year we find 829 contributing churches, and our receipts were \$30,000. We have thus great reason to thank God and take courage. During the last five years the Board has given sanctuaries to about 300 churches, and it is probable that, during the present year, 100 more will be added to the number. The Freedmen will also need aid largely during the present year. It is the purpose of the Board to respond cheerfully to all the demands upon it, and if this great work is to go forward as it should, it will require not \$30,000, but \$300,000."

Board of Publication.

Rev. Dr. Rockwell, from the Standing Committee on the Board of Publication, presented a report which, as amended and adopted, is as follows:

Resolved, 1. That this Assembly has heard, with unaffected pleasure and devout gratitude to God, of the success which has attended the efforts of the church, through its Board of Publication, to preach the gospel by means of the printed page, both in the form of the religious paper and tract, and the more permanent volumes which have gone forth to make up the literature of the church.

Resolved, 2. That the Assembly highly approves the labours of the Board in supplying the youth of our churches with reading, which, in a popular and attractive form, presents the great features of the gospel, and the great duties of the Christian life.

Resolved, 3. That the Assembly has heard with pleasure of the large increase in the circulation of the *Sabbath-school Visitor*, and of the favour with which it is everywhere received, and cordially and earnestly commends it to our churches, as a most valuable auxiliary in the work of Sabbath-school instruction.

Resolved, 4. That the Assembly solemnly calls upon pastors and sessions carefully to supervise the reading introduced into Sabbath-schools under their care, and to see that no book, however attractive, be admitted that teaches for doctrine what is contrary to the standards of our Church, and the usages and order which we regard as in accordance with the word of God, and that in the selection of books precedence be always given

to the publications of the Board, and further that Presbyteries be enjoined to see that this resolution be carried out in the churches within their bounds, and to ascertain the extent to which the recommendation is adopted.

Resolved, 5. That while the Board is called upon to provide attractive reading for the young, it should also bear in mind that one of the objects of its organization was the furnishing of a sound and healthful Christian literature, adapted to the higher types of Christian culture and experience, and that diligent efforts should be made to circulate works of acknowledged merit, and which the church has ever received as faithful and instructive expositions of Christian doctrine and practice.

Resolved, 6. That the large and increasing distribution of the publications of the Board among the Freedmen and also among many churches of the South which have been impoverished by war, meets the cordial approval of the Assembly, and that our churches be urged to contribute the means fully to meet the calls which are coming up with increasing earnestness for aid in the supply of our Southern brethren with a sound evangelical literature.

Resolved, 7. That it be enjoined upon the Presbyteries under the care of this General Assembly, to recommend in the most earnest manner the introduction of the "*Home and Foreign Record*" into every congregation within their bounds, and that the sessions of churches subtract from the aggregate of their annual subscriptions a sufficient amount to place the "*Record*" in the hands of all our families and pewholders. And it is hereby further recommended that those who have in charge the "*Home and Foreign Record*," consider whether any modification is necessary to adapt it to more ordinary and general reading.

Resolved, 8. That the Board be directed to consider whether cheap editions of many of their publications may not be issued, to be used in gratuitous distribution and for sale in our railroad cars, and along our great thoroughfares of traffic and travel.

Resolved, 9. That the Committee have examined the Minutes of the Board and its Executive Committee, and recommend their approval and signature by the Moderator.

i The Rev. Dr. W. E. Schenck, Secretary of the Board, upon invitation, addressed the Assembly.

During the past year the work of the Board has been prospered in all its departments, for which we have reason gratefully to acknowledge God's hand. The distributions of the past year exceed those of the year before by nearly 20,000 volumes. More than 358,000 volumes and over 1,586,000 pages of tracts, have been distributed. These have gone into all parts of the world, and we have evidence that they have been accompanied by the Divine blessing in the conviction and conversion of sinners, not in single instances only, but in congregations. In all this we rejoice. We have now 332 different tracts upon our catalogue, and it has been, and still is a great wonder that our pastors do not avail themselves of this useful instrumentality.

A word as to our Sabbath-school books. To this important matter the Board has given great attention. There are great evils prevalent in relation to this matter. There are many books in Sabbath-school libraries which pastors would not allow there if they knew their character. I have known many instances where books of this character, published by other denominations, have been introduced into our schools. Sometimes these books are of a purely secular character, and unfit for Sabbath reading. In regard to our books, I would say that we publish none that do not contain "Christ and him crucified," though we often use the threads of parable and story upon which to string this great truth.

I would say, as to our *Sabbath-school Visitor*, that I am persuaded no cheaper or better paper of the kind is published. The circulation of the *Visitor* has increased 14,000 during the last year, and there has been an increase of 20,000 over its circulation two years ago. We desire it to be used in all our Sabbath-schools, as it is put forth for the use of our own children.

As to our distributions, I would say to you that we will give away books and tracts *just as fast as the churches furnish us with the means*. This is an important part of our work. We are now sending our books to all parts of the Church, and to the South.

During the last year our Colportage work, which during the war was mainly one of distribution, has been enlarged again.

We have had in commission 145 colporteurs, who have laboured in 25 of our States and of the British Provinces. Several have been labouring in Louisiana, North Carolina, and other parts of the South. We need more colporteurs, and we earnestly urge you to take up this matter in your Presbyteries, and see if something cannot be done towards furnishing suitable men. We will commission all such as come recommended by you, and who will go forth among your people and faithfully do colportage work there. But we ask you to recommend only good men, of some business capacity, and who will do their work, exhibiting piety, zeal, and prudence. Our receipts are increasing. Those for Colportage exceed by \$2000 the receipts of last year. In this great work we most earnestly wish your coöperation and your prayers. I have often felt that while all our other enterprises are prayed for, ours is almost neglected. Mighty as this engine is—perfect as is our machinery—all this will not avail, unless God blesses it and supplies the motive power. Pray, then, for it.

Foreign Correspondence.

Dr. Irving introduced the delegation from the Free Church of Scotland with a few appropriate remarks. The Rev. Principal Fairbairn then delivered an interesting address, expressing fraternal and catholic principles and feelings. This gentleman, so distinguished for his learning and abilities, is almost as well known in this country by his writings, as in Scotland itself. His visit to this country has been productive of great good. He has been everywhere received with the respect and affection due to his high reputation and excellence. In the course of his remarks he dwelt upon the success of their Sustentation Fund. "This fund," he said, was "the back-bone" of their Church. It originated with Dr. Chalmers. The minimum salary for a minister was fixed at \$750 and a manse. It is now proposed to make the minimum a \$1000. Dr. Buchanan's church contributes \$5000 to this fund, and draws \$750. Dr. Candlish's church contributes \$15,000, and draws \$750. We regret very much that the demands on our limited space forbids our inserting Dr. Fairbairn's interesting and

instructive address at length. It would enrich our pages, but we are obliged to forego this pleasure.

The Rev. Mr. Wells, the associate of Dr. Fairbairn, next addressed the Assembly. Mr. Wells, whose talents and attainments placed at his command some of the most attractive positions in the Free Church, consecrated himself to the self-denying labour of preaching the gospel to the most degraded population of Glasg ow, and has been eminently blessed. To this subject his remarks were specially directed. He recognized Dr. Chalmers in this department as the governing spirit of his age and country. To evangelize Scotland was his purpose. "In 1833," said Mr. Wells, "he began his evangelistic work on a large scale. In one year thereafter he saw as many churches built as had been built in a century and a half before. In seven years, two hundred and twenty-two churches had been built in Scotland, at a cost of over one million five hundred thousand dollars. In 1843, the year of the disruption, all seemed lost, and we had not one single place of worship. Then our Church espoused the cause of Home Missions, and our membership was fitted for its work, and consecrated to it by a spirit of severe sacrifice. Nine hundred churches were soon added to those formerly built. It was fortunate for us that almost from the beginning we had, by common consent, a fixed plan. No time was frittered away and lost in experiments.

"Let me explain what is meant by our phrase, *territorial*. A congregation finds a neglected district, missionaries are appointed, Sabbath-schools organized, and the whole district is saturated and pervaded with Christian influences. I would call your attention to this fact. We are not satisfied with mission-schools, or with prayer-meetings, or with anything else that does not look to the establishment of a church in that locality. We find that this prospect is a stimulus to the missionary and to the people, calling forth affectionately and especially. No congregation with means is considered as having done its duty with us unless it has established one or more churches. Barrenness is esteemed the greatest of reproaches. That church is most honoured which is most truly a *mother* church. Signal success has attended this scheme. It has been wonderfully blessed of God. Outcasts are now the salt of the earth, and

those once sunk in the depths of degradation are now an honour to the church of Christ—the joy and crown of our churches. Some of these congregations increase with great rapidity, reporting one and two hundred additions to the church, within a year, on profession of their faith.

“The city of Edinburgh has a population of one hundred and forty thousand souls. It has thirty-four Free Church congregations. Of these, nine have been formed since the disruption. Had your work been prosecuted with the same success as ours, you would have had in Cincinnati sixteen self-sustaining congregations, and a membership drawn from among those ‘without God and without hope in the world.’

“Glasgow has fifty-eight Free Church congregations. Of these, fifteen have been formed in the way I have described. One of these has a membership of eleven hundred, and another has over fifteen hundred. Besides these, there are nine mission stations, which will soon become regular Home Mission churches.

“Two hundred new churches have been formed since the disruption. While some of our old congregations are decaying, you can hardly find one of these new congregations which is not flourishing. Many are nurseries and Christian institutes for the land in which they stand, provoking others to love and to good works. The world, under the circuit of God’s sun does not exhibit a spectacle more sublime. Further, these churches have had a great reflex influence in stimulating the spiritual life of our older churches. They have often been the channel through which gracious revivals have flowed forth to bless our land.”

This is a subject of such vital importance to our church and country, that the experience and efforts of our Scottish brethren are of special interest to all classes of our people.

On a subsequent day the delegation from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Rev. Dr. Denham, of Londonderry, and Rev. Dr. Hall, of Dublin, were introduced to the Assembly. Both gentlemen made addresses, which were listened to with the deepest interest. That of Dr. Denham was distinguished for the tender and devout spirit which characterized all his utterances to American Christians; that of Dr. Hall was elo-

quent and stirring. The impression made by these distinguished men has done much to strengthen the bond of sympathy between our people and their brethren in Ireland. We must content ourselves with giving a few statistics of general interest from the speech of Dr. Hall, who said,

“Our country, Moderator, is a small one; you would be able to anchor it within one of your inland seas; but you have abundant evidence that it is very productive. The Protestants of Ireland are about 1,260,000, and the Presbyterians are rather more than half a million of these. Besides the General Assembly, there are several much smaller, but most respectable bodies of Presbyterians, such as Reformed, and others, who will not, we hope, wish to resist that tide of union feeling that has been happily setting in. The General Assembly has 600 ministers, and 560 congregations. It has 83,834 families, 126,207 communicants, 2,145 elders, 230,926 sittings in its churches, 372 young persons studying for the ministry, and its contributions last year for missionary objects were \$70,000, and for the support of its ministers, \$163,565. It has two Seminaries entirely under its control—Belfast and Derry—with a staff of fourteen professors, who are making a high place for themselves in the sacred literature of Europe, and for whom any church might well be thankful. We have, besides, the advantage of the admirable Queen’s College, of which many of our younger ministers are graduates, and our children take advantage of the national schools, on which, with a wise extravagance, the government is spending about \$2,000,000 annually in Ireland. We have sent recently over fifty ministers to the colonies, and we have six mission schemes at home, in India, and to the Jews, all receiving increased support from year to year, none of them quite without tokens of Divine blessing.”

Domestic Missions.

Rev. Dr. Stewart, Chairman of the Committee on Domestic Missions, presented the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Board of Domestic Missions, would respectfully offer for the consideration and action of the General Assembly, as the

result of a careful examination of the document, the following minutes and recommendations:

It appears, from the Report of the Board, that the year which it represents has been, in many respects, a year of more than ordinary interest and activity on the part of the officers and missionaries of the Board. The amount of funds distributed has exceeded that of any former year by a very large per centage. The number of missionaries receiving support, in whole or in part, from the funds of the Board, is 626, an excess of 87 over the number aided the preceding year. By these missionaries the gospel has been preached in 32 States and Territories; 76 churches have been organized, and 6060 persons gathered into the fold of Christ. Of these, 3576 were received on profession of their faith, and 2484 on certificates from other churches.

The whole number of members connected with the churches aided by the funds of the Board exceed 27,000, and during the year more than 30,000 children have been taught in 481 Sabbath-schools.

The Committee notice further in their report, that more than one hundred and fifty of the missionaries of the Board had made no report, that the contributions from the churches for Domestic Missions had fallen off during the past year, and that a considerable number of our congregations had made no contributions at all. The report closes with a series of resolutions, which, as amended, is as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the policy of the Board in its efforts to give to its missionaries a living salary, and to extend the field of its operations, is fully endorsed.

2. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly sanctions the course of the Board in the appointment of district missionaries; and that it be urged on all the Presbyteries to stir up the churches under their care to a greater degree of liberality in their contributions to this cause.

3. *Resolved*, That the special attention of the Board of Domestic Missions be called to the report of the Committee appointed by the Assembly of last year on ministerial sustentation, the supply of vacant churches and other kindred subjects, which has been adopted by this Assembly, and that the

Board be directed to coöperate, as far as possible, in the way prescribed in carrying out the plan therein set forth; and further, that the Board report to the next Assembly what enlargement of their powers, if any, may be necessary for that purpose.

4. *Resolved*, That the Board be directed to adopt some stringent rule, requiring all who are aided by its funds to make an annual statistical return of the labours of the year.

5. *Resolved*, That the Report of the Board be adopted and ordered to be published.

Dr. Janeway, Secretary of the Board, followed with an address, in which he referred to the rapidly increasing population of the country; the demand for increased exertion; the backwardness of the churches, and various difficulties with which the Board had to contend.

It is plain that this Board and its officers have a thankless and trying work. They cannot satisfy all demands, or meet the conflicting claims of different sections and interests. They are constantly exposed to the danger of having their best considered plans overthrown, on the spur of the moment, on the suggestion of any member of the Assembly. Constant complaint is made that the churches do not take hold of this work; the presbyteries pass resolutions, the pastors may or may not present the subject to their people; but the work is not carried on as it ought to be. The Board, to meet the emergency, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, appointed "district secretaries" to take charge of the work of Domestic Missions in special fields. The plan was to have one such secretary in every State. This plan, as far as adopted, worked admirably. Dr. Matthews, of Kentucky, said it gave unity to their operations, and they could not get on in their State without such an officer. Suspicion, however, was excited that these secretaries were agents in disguise. If their business was to raise funds, open opposition was threatened. The title was distasteful to some, and instead of secretaries, it was moved, and unfortunately carried, that they be called missionaries. This change, the Board regard as a serious mistake. 1. Because these officers are not missionaries in the ordinary usage of that term. They are "secretaries;" that is, they are men who are expected to do for a particular district what the Secretary of the Board

does for the whole church. 2. The men required for this work are not young men just entering on their ministerial labours, but men of experience, standing, and established influence. Such men are not to be classed with the general missionaries of the Board. And 3. As this title is established, being given by other organizations to similar officers, it operates to our disadvantage to refuse this designation to the honoured servants of our Board. So great and complex are the interests with which the Board of Missions has to deal, that a new effort is to be made to modify the system. The Assembly appointed a Committee to report next year to recommend such measures as they may deem necessary to promote the greater efficiency of the Board. This Committee consists of Dr. John C. Backus, Dr. W. M. Paxton, Dr. George Marshall, Dr. S. J. Niccolls, and Rev. A. M. Woods.

Foreign Missions.

The Rev. Dr. Lord, from the Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, stated that, with much care and interest they had examined this annual exhibit of the Board, touching its condition, means, and operations. From this it appears that we have about sixty different stations—or centres of evangelistic effort in the foreign field—scattered among our Indian tribes, in South America, in Africa, in India, in Spain, in China and among the Chinese in California, among the Jews, and in France, Belgium, and other portions of Papal Europe. In connection with these various stations, there are engaged in the great work of evangelization three hundred and forty-five missionaries and assistant missionaries. Of this whole number seventy are ordained American ministers, twelve are ordained native ministers, and eight are native licentiates, making altogether ninety employed in the distinctive work of preaching the gospel.

In view of the facts they condensed from the Report of the Board, the Committee on that Report would recommend for adoption by this General Assembly the following resolutions:—

Resolved, 1. That the Report of the Board, so full of matter of deep interest to the church, be approved and published.

Resolved, 2. That the thanks of the General Assembly are due to the members of the Board, and especially to the members of the Executive Committee, for the zeal, wisdom, and Christian love and fidelity with which they have conducted this great work of Foreign Missions, so far as it has devolved upon them.

Resolved, 3. That we reverently and gratefully recognize the favour of the Great King and Head of the church to his cause and his people in the work of his Spirit in our Theological Seminaries; inciting the students in them to renewed inquiry as to their duty relative to the foreign field; stimulating a fuller consecration to Him who came to seek and save that which was lost; and enabling so many of them, when they hear the voice of the Lord, saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" willingly to answer, "Here am I; send me." This General Assembly would affectionately press upon all our candidates for the ministry a loving and supreme devotion to Christ.

Resolved, 4. That we renewedly assure our brothers and sisters, working among the heathen, of our tender sympathy, our earnest prayers, and our cordial coöperation in every practicable and appropriate way. They are a part of the sacramental host, even as we; and as in their place they carry on the mighty conflict with Satan, in the deep recesses of his wide-spread and horrible dominion, we would send them words of cheer. The night is far spent; the day is at hand. Our glorious Emmanuel is coming, and to every consecrated one he graciously says, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

Resolved, 5. That with all the earnestness demanded by the exigency, we would call upon God's people in the churches at home to rise to a truer conception of their duties and privileges as redeemed sinners, and as co-workers with that precious Saviour who redeemed them; to gain also a more adequate conception of the nature, the vastness, and the difficulties of the work to be done, before the kingdoms of this world can become the kingdom of our Lord; and by prayers of faith and labours of love, and gifts and sacrifices like those of Jesus, to furnish the material and the spiritual supplies needed to wipe out that debt; to send forth those waiting

young men; to replenish the treasury of the Board with liberal means for the present year; to enlarge along the future the sphere of our operations and the array of our aggressive forces, and to do our whole duty, on the one hand to a world lying in sin, and on the other to the King of kings and the Lord of lords. The spirit of missions is the spirit of Christ; and the spirit of Christ, pervading and energizing his whole mystical body, will be alike the salvation of the world and the power and glory of the church—of the church militant and of the church triumphant.

Dr. Irving, one of the secretaries of the Board, made an impressive address, in the course of which he said:

“The greatest difficulty under which the Board now labours is the debt of \$35,000. It has been occasioned not by extravagance, but by economy—economy during the whole war, and economy still. Four years before the war, and since that time, we have had an average of seventy-eight ordained ministers in the field, and in the last two years we have had besides, an average of fifty-four native assistants. During these two years we have been carrying on this work with the sum of \$23,000 less than the amount spent on an average during the three years preceding the war. For the last five years \$240,000 have been expended for exchange alone. The church has not recognized this, and we have been compelled to reduce the outlay by just that amount. Had the contributions been in gold, we would have had, during those five years, about \$240,000 more than we did have. During the last year we have spent about \$50,000 for exchange. It thus appears that we have received from the 240,000 communicants of the church, in the aggregate, the sum of \$186,000, and out of that \$80,000 were given by New York and the churches in its vicinity. The whole church, then, outside of that state, gave us during the last year a little over \$100,000. We begin this year not only with an empty treasury, but with a debt of \$35,000 hanging over us. How are we to carry on this expanding work unless there be a correspondence between the contributions of the church and these providential demands? We cannot go forward with an empty treasury. There are men here who have been labouring in China, and one from Brazil, and one just returned after

twenty years of labour at Lahor. It would be unnecessary to dwell further upon these subjects. They are spread out in the Report of the Board."

Mr. William Rankin, Treasurer, dwelt specially on their financial difficulties. As an encouraging fact he mentioned that Dr. Irving preached a sermon in Newark, and we took a collection of \$1700 for the cause. A day or two after, a Sabbath-school teacher said to me, "This is a great work in which you are engaged. But it is an easy thing for our Sabbath-school to support a missionary. Give us the name of one." So I gave them a name, that of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Siam, for whose support they agreed to raise \$800 a year. The first quarter, the school raised \$300. So we have \$1200 from this school, which will pay Mr. Wilson his salary, with exchange, and leave a small surplus. Now, if there are one hundred Sabbath-schools as able and willing as this, we will send out all the missionaries that are willing to go. Will not your Sabbath-schools take up this subject in earnest, and support not a child, whom they can send to school, and from whom they can get occasional letters, but a missionary whom I will name to them? Why very many Sabbath-schools could do it. The Sabbath-school of the Second Presbyterian Church, in St. Louis, has supported a missionary for years. It is a good way to excite an interest in this matter.

The Rev. J. K. Andrews, in view of this subject, as presented by Dr. Irving, offered the following resolutions:

In view of the appeal now made by the Board of Foreign Missions to this Assembly, and of the demand made, and the debt resting at present on it,

Resolved, 1. That the church should take efficient measures for liquidating this debt promptly.

Resolved, 2. That in order to do this, the Secretaries of the Board be instructed to make a direct appeal, by circular, through the pastors and sessions, to all our people, for a voluntary contribution, to be given outside and independent of their ordinary contributions, which shall be at once a thank-offering to the Lord for his great goodness to us in pouring out his Spirit on many portions of the church, and also a contribution to the Board of Foreign Missions, for paying this debt.

Resolved, 3. That to render this effort more prompt and efficient, each Presbytery be requested to hold, at its approaching meeting, a brief conference in reference to the present condition and demands of our foreign missionary operations; and that it shall be the duty of the Commissioners to this body to bring this action of the Assembly before their respective Presbyteries, in connection with their reports as Commissioners.

Mr. C. A. Spring presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That it is the deliberate and solemn sense of this General Assembly, that the children of the Presbyterian Church are her peculiar charge and care. That it is her especial duty, and one that has been too much neglected, to see that they are trained up in orderly and systematic habits of benevolence, to love the Boards of our church, and our church's great commission to preach the gospel to every creature.

Resolved, 2. That in view of the alarming condition, present and prospective, of the treasury of our Board of Foreign Missions, a committee of this Assembly, to be nominated by the Moderator, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to address a circular letter to all the Sabbath-schools, Bible-classes, children and youth in our connection—to all children who meet to talk of and sing about Jesus—and tell them of the immediate and pressing wants of this Board; that it is \$35,000 in debt—that the fathers turn to them because they are commanded to do so—and because they believe that there is power in prayer; power in littles; power in concerted action; power in the children and youth of the Presbyterian name, when properly directed, to pay off the whole debt in a single day.

Resolved, 3. That to this end, and in view of all the blessed influences that cluster around it, the General Assembly recommend to all pastors and superintendents to set apart the second Sabbath in July next, when, in all our Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes, after appropriate services, a collection be taken up to extinguish this debt.

Resolved, 4. That in their circular to the children, the Committee press upon them to begin at once to prepare for the great day of the children's free-offerings, by self-denial, and by

saving every penny, and by earning something every week for the great object.

All these resolutions were adopted. The interest manifested in the Assembly when the affairs of this Board were under discussion, is an omen for good. We have no fear that the funds required to relieve it of all embarrassment, and to carry on all its operations, will be withheld, if the people can only be reached. But such is the ignorance on the subject, and the pre-occupation of the public mind, that unless the demands of the Board can, by pastors, secretaries, or agents, be urged on the heart and conscience of the people, comparatively little will be done. We neglect the means for such direct appeals, and then complain that the agents of other societies stop it, and gather in the money which would naturally flow into our own treasury. The thing to be done, whether by systematic organization or by travelling agents, is personal application and appeal. All experience shows that this is necessary, and that this is effectual.

Board of Education.

The Rev. Dr. Williams presented the report on this Board, recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Report of the Board of Education be approved, and that it be published under its direction, and that a copy be sent to all our ministers and church sessions.

Resolved, That the Assembly gratefully recognizes the gratuitous and faithful services of those members of the Board, and especially of the Executive Committee, who have devoted much of their time and attention to the business of this Board.

Resolved, That in view of the continued paucity of candidates for the ministry, it be earnestly recommended to all ministers, ruling elders, and Christian parents, to press frequently upon the attention of pious young men the duty of considering the question of personal consecration to the work of the gospel ministry.

Resolved, That the day of prayer for colleges, schools, and the youth of the church, on the last Thursday of February, be observed, so far as possible, in all our churches; and that the

first Sabbath of March, immediately following, be improved by such instruction from the pulpit as may awaken in parents a deeper concern for the salvation of their children, and may lead the children and youth to consecrate themselves to Christ; also, that appeals be made at the same time for enlarged contributions to the ministerial fund of the Board.

Resolved, That the Assembly is much encouraged by the reports of the large number of young men who have been brought into the church by revivals, and by the knowledge that an unusually large proportion of the candidates under the care of the Board have the work of foreign missions in view, and they hail it as an indication of God's special favour toward this department of the church's work.

Resolved, That the Board be directed to continue its fostering care over the colleges, academies, and parochial schools already established, and to make such appropriations in their aid as the funds contributed for this purpose may warrant.

Resolved, That the missionary work of the Board, in the way of parochial and other schools for the benefit of our foreign population, which cannot be reached by our ministers, be vigorously prosecuted; and especially would the Assembly recommend to the patronage of our churches the German Theological School of the Rev. Professor Van Vliet, of Dubuque, as a much needed agency for the training of a German-speaking ministry for this rapidly increasing class of our population.

Resolved, In view of the extraordinary necessities of the coloured congregations in the South, and in order to afford aid to a number of pious, sensible, and experienced men, selected by our Presbyteries with a view of training them for preachers of the gospel, the Board of Education is permitted, at its discretion, in their case, temporarily to relax the rule (§ I. art. vi.), requiring that no person shall be received by the Board unless he shall "have spent at least three months in the study of the Latin language."

Resolved, That in view of the limited success of the efforts to secure the general introduction of the system of parochial schools, it be earnestly recommended to ministers and ruling elders to give more attention to the common schools in their neighbourhoods, frequently visiting them, and encouraging

both teachers and pupils; endeavouring to secure the appointment of teachers of moral and religious character, and the introduction of suitable books, and especially of the Bible, into the schools; and, in every way proper and prudent, labouring to elevate the standard of common school education in the regions where they dwell.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Board to consider the expediency of preparing for publication a volume of permanent educational documents, in such a way that it may be brought within the reach of our churches generally; this volume to be composed of choice selections from the Annual Reports, in which are many valuable and elaborate discussions of important topics connected with the cause of education, but not now generally accessible; and also of such other documents as may seem most suitable.

Resolved, That in the case of those who, after having been educated in whole or in part by the Board, shall fail to enter the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, the Board be instructed to insist upon the obligation to refund, with interest, the money which they have received, according to section 3, article vi., of the Rules and Regulations of the Board.

Resolved, That the Board be instructed to withhold the appropriations, except in extraordinary cases, to schools and academies, in those Presbyteries, none of whose congregations have contributed to the funds of this Board.

Freedmen's Bureau.

Dr. Richardson presented the Report on Freedmen, recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That the records of the Committee on Freedmen, for the past year, are hereby approved, and the Second Annual Report, now before the Assembly, is hereby ordered to be published and distributed through the churches.

Resolved, 2. That the Assembly expresses its approbation of the fidelity and wisdom with which the affairs of the Committee have been administered, and tenders its thanks to all who have contributed in any way to its success.

Resolved, 3. That the Committee on Freedmen be continued in the location and the work hitherto assigned to it, and that

the Boards of the Church be requested to coöperate with it, in their several departments, in such manner as may seem best fitted to promote its ends.

Resolved, 4. That the patient continuance in well-doing on the part of the ministers and teachers under the charge of the Committee, in the face of so much to discourage them—and especially in the face of so great social discredit and isolation, and even of ridicule, reproach, and persecution—is worthy of the commendation and sympathy of the church; and that the Assembly takes pleasure in the acknowledgment of this claim, and in the expression of its due appreciation thereof.

Resolved, 5. That in the constitutional character of the coloured people—their impulsiveness and readiness to receive impressions, both good and evil—and in the fact that various influences and agencies of evil are striving to gain the mastery over them, the Assembly find abundant reason not only to do, but to do at once, all that may be in its power, for their intellectual, moral, and religious enlightenment.

Resolved, 6. That the recent legislation of the national Congress, conferring upon the Freedmen of the South all the rights and privileges of citizenship, calls upon as patriots, not less than as Christians, to use our utmost endeavours so to educate and train them that they may be prepared judiciously and safely for all the interests involved, to enjoy the immunities and discharge the duties to which they are called.

Resolved, 7. That inasmuch as in the injury and injustice long inflicted upon this people, all sections of the country were more or less implicated, and for them all were more or less responsible, we recognize it as a righteous obligation, binding upon all, to repair and compensate for the wrong done them by the use of every means in our power to promote their social and spiritual welfare.

Resolved, 8. That in no way can we so properly express our gratitude for the providential answer to the prayers which for long and weary years went up from Christian and humane hearts for the deliverance of this people from servitude, as by continual prayer and persistent efforts for their rescue from the worse bondage of ignorance and sin, knowing that if the Son shall make them free, they shall be free indeed.

Resolved, 9. That the Assembly hereby expresses its approval of the measures taken by the Committee to establish schools and other institutions of learning among the Freedmen; and would especially commend to the interest and aid of the churches the Biddle Memorial Institute, established for the training of catechists and other religious teachers, that it may be enabled fully to meet the important purposes of its foundation, and to fulfil the designs of its generous founder.

Disabled Ministers' Fund.

Rev. Dr. Smith, Chairman of the Committee on the Disabled Ministers' Fund, submitted the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees of the General Assembly, in relation to the Disabled Ministers' Fund, beg leave to report. Your Committee find reason for congratulation and devout thanksgiving to God in the fact that the cause is steadily growing in favour with the churches, as is manifest from their constantly increasing contributions to its funds. During the past year its receipts amounted to upwards of \$27,000, an increase of upwards of \$5000 on those of the preceding year. Fifty-four disabled ministers, and seventy widows, and eight families of orphans were relieved, an advance in each of these classes upon the numbers previously obtaining relief.

The Trustees have been enabled to meet fully every demand made upon them by the Presbyteries, and have a balance on hand sufficient, and perhaps not more than sufficient, to meet their accruing obligations until the annual collections in September shall replenish their treasury. Gratifying as this result is, the church, it is manifest, does not fully realize her obligations to those who have spent their strength in her service. Their claims for an adequate support address themselves not to our charity, or brotherly kindness alone, but to our sense of justice. They have a right to such support. In this the children of this world are wiser than the children of light. The state provides a pension for her disabled servants. Beneficial societies, which have multiplied so greatly among us, find their bond of union, their means of growth, their very life itself, in the provision they make for the relief of their disabled members and

their orphan families. And the church, whose glory it is that she was the herald of charity to the nations, in whose very organization the great principle was recognized that none of her members should suffer lack while others had a superfluity, cannot be behind them in this labour of love. What appeal speaks more eloquently to the hearts of God's people? Who can adequately realize all that is represented by the figures of this report? Fifty-four ministers, twenty-four of whom are above seventy years of age, worn out in the service of the Master, with no provision for their declining years, feeling daily the pinchings of poverty—who can tell the value of your benefactions to them? How touching is the story of each of these seventy widows, and each of these eight orphan families; and how many more, at this hour, are suffering want?

The Committee further recommend the following resolutions for adoption by the Assembly:

Resolved, That this Assembly approves of the diligence and fidelity of the Trustees and Secretary in the management of the important interests entrusted to their care.

Resolved, That this Assembly urges upon the churches continued and increased contributions to this fund, and upon all the individual members of our churches to whom God has given an abundance of this world's goods, the duty of making donations and bequests for the increase of its permanent fund.

Resolved, That this Assembly reiterates the instructions of the last;—that the Presbyteries be instructed to adopt such means as will bring this cause to the attention of all the churches; and they are also instructed to take especial pains to discover and present to the attention of the Committee on the fund the claims of all who are in need, and for whom the church designs this provision, not only that there may be no misappropriation of the funds, but that none who are entitled to aid may be neglected and allowed to suffer for want of it.

Resolved, That the Report of the Trustees on this subject be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes.

Theological Seminaries.

Rev. Dr. Breed, Chairman of the Committee on Theological Seminaries, presented the following report:

The Committee on Theological Seminaries report that there has been placed in their hands full reports from the Theological Seminaries at Princeton, Allegheny, and Danville.

The Directors of the Seminary at *Princeton* report the reception of fifty-three new students during the year, and the actual attendance of one hundred and thirty-five. Of these, fifty passed the usual examination and received the usual certificates. The uncommon degree of missionary spirit manifested in this Seminary during the year is exceedingly gratifying, nearly one-third of the senior class having signified their intention to engage in the work of foreign missions.

The Board of Trustees report the completion of the endowment, an addition of six scholarships, and generally encouraging condition of the finances.

The Directors of the *Western* Theological Seminary report that during the year twenty-one new students were admitted, the whole number on the roll being seventy-three. Of these, twenty-seven have completed their course and gone forth into the field. A full statement of the condition of the finances is made in the report of the Trustees.

The Report of the Directors of the Seminary at *Danville*, asks:

1. That the Seminary be re-opened at the earliest practicable period.
2. That the annual sessions begin on the first Thursday in May, and close on the first Thursday in November.
3. That the number of the Board of Directors be largely reduced.
4. That the vacant chairs be filled, and a fifth chair created.

The Trustees report a very satisfactory condition of the finances of the institution; and in view of this fact, as well as from other considerations, ask:

1. The early re-opening of the Seminary.
2. That a meeting be held during the sitting of this Assembly, within the State of Kentucky, to elect Professors, Directors, and Trustees.

Accompanying these reports is a paper from Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, stating that in accordance with the order of the

last Assembly, he had taken charge of the interests and affairs of this Seminary during the year, and directing attention to various matters affecting its interests. This paper the Committee recommend to the attention of the Assembly.

The Committee further recommend:

1. That the chapter entitled "Of the Board of Directors," in the "Plan of the Danville Theological Seminary," shall be, and is hereby so amended, as that each of the three classes of Directors—one of which is chosen by every General Assembly—shall consist of five ministers and five ruling elders: and any six members present at any meeting of the Board shall be a quorum to transact business.

2. The Committee recommend that measures be taken for the re-opening of this Seminary at the earliest practicable day.

3. That the following be elected to fill the professorships now vacant, viz.,

Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D. D., Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History; Rev. S. Yerkes, D. D., Professor of Oriental History and Literature; Rev. R. W. Landis, D. D., Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology.

4. That the change of time in opening and closing the sessions of the Seminary be referred to its Board of Directors.

5. That the fourth chapter of the Plan of the Seminary, entitled "the Professors—the Faculty," be and hereby is so amended as the Professors in said Seminary shall hereafter receive \$1750 a year instead of \$1500 as heretofore, the salary to be paid in half-yearly instalments.

6. That the Assembly during its present sessions proceed to fill the chairs now vacant in this Seminary.

7. That a fifth professorship be and hereby is established in said Seminary; the title of this professorship and its duties to be fixed by the Faculty as filled by this Assembly, and reported to a subsequent Assembly.

8. That the Reports of the several Seminaries, together with that of Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, D. D., be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes of the Assembly.

The gentlemen above nominated were duly elected to the several chairs designated in the Seminary at Danville, and on recommendation of the Committee, Dr. Willis Lord, of the

Seminary at Chicago, was transferred from the chair of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History to that of Polemic and Didactic Theology.

Systematic Benevolence.

The Rev. Mr. Fraser brought in the report on this subject, concluding with the recommendation of the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That we reiterate the injunction of the last General Assembly, making it the duty of pastors and stated supplies to instruct the people of their several charges in the principles of Christian liberality, as they are taught in the word of God, and interpreted in the standards of our church, and the deliverances of the General Assembly.

Resolved, 2. That all our Presbyteries be enjoined to require of all the churches under their care regular contributions to all the objects recommended by the General Assembly; and that ministers and sessions be especially inquired of as to their faithfulness in giving the people the opportunity to contribute.

Resolved, 3. That special pains should be taken to train up the children of the church in the principles and practice of Christian liberality.

Resolved, 4. That the Secretaries of all the Boards be appointed a committee, with the Rev. D. Irving, D. D., as Chairman, and that they be requested to take this whole subject into consideration, and report to the next Assembly such measures as they deem best for the more efficient working of the benevolent operations of the church.

The Committees to whom the reports of our several Boards are referred, have gradually, as it seems to us, adopted an erroneous view of the object for which they are appointed. That object is first, to see that the Boards are faithful in their several vocations; and secondly, to bring up any salient points which merit special attention or definite action on the part of the Assembly. Instead of being confined within these limits, their reports are becoming extended dissertations, discussing the various topics which the Reports of the several Boards bring to view, interspersed with moral and religious remarks. This is all very well, but it is out of place, and swells the

Minutes to an undue size, and accomplishes, we fear, very little good.

Death of the Rev. Thomas D. Hoover.

The following minute was adopted as a tribute to the memory of one of the members of the Assembly who died during its sessions:

Whereas, This Assembly has heard with profound grief of the death of the Rev. Thomas D. Hoover, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Cranberry, New Jersey, a commissioner to this body from the Presbytery of New Brunswick; therefore,

Resolved, That we devoutly recognize the providence of God in this solemn event, whereby one of our number has been suddenly removed from his place here to "the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven."

Resolved, That it is our earnest prayer that this solemn dispensation of Providence may be sanctified to ourselves personally, and to the entire church, of which the deceased was a useful and honoured member.

Resolved, That we express our heartfelt sympathy and condolence with the bereaved widow of our deceased brother, and pray that the same sustaining grace which was granted to him during his illness may be vouchsafed unto her in this hour of her sore bereavement.

Resolved, That this General Assembly record their grateful sense of the kind attentions so gratuitously rendered by Drs. Thornton and Carson, of this city, during the illness of our brother; that we also appreciate the spirit of liberality manifested by the proprietors of the Spencer House, in connection with this sad bereavement.

Resolved, That our Stated Clerk be directed to communicate a copy of these resolutions to the widow of the deceased, to the proprietors of the Spencer House, and to Drs. Thornton and Carson.

Mr. Hoover had for years been a great sufferer from asthma, which enfeebled his constitution, and rendered him less able to contend with the acute disease which was the immediate cause of his death. He was highly respected and loved by his

friends, his people, and his co-presbyters. The cheerfulness which he maintained under protracted bodily suffering, his mild and gentle spirit, his fidelity and energy in the discharge of his pastoral duties, will cause his memory to be affectionately cherished by all who knew him.

Overtures.

Among the numerous overtures presented to the Assembly there are some of general and permanent interest.

Overture No. 3.—The Committee report “an overture from the Presbytery of Saline, in favour of the enactment of a law requiring that, in the election of pastors, none be permitted to vote except communicants in good and regular standing;” also “that when any candidate is before a church, the church shall determine whether he shall be called to the pastorate before any other candidate shall be heard.”

The Committee recommend for answer, That in regard to the first point, the enactment of such a law would prohibit a usage quite extensive among the churches founded upon an interpretation of the present law, which has heretofore been sanctioned by the General Assembly.

It is therefore deemed inexpedient, upon the application of a single Presbytery, to recommend such alteration in the Form of Government. In regard to the second point, it need only be said that the authority asked for is now possessed by each congregation, and may be exercised or not, at its pleasure; while, to make such exercise binding, by positive law, would deprive all congregations of a present liberty, the use of which seems wisely left to their discretion. Adopted.

The idea that all church power should be confined to communicants rests on the Puritan or Independent notion of the church, as a company of regenerate men bound together by a voluntary covenant. The Protestant and Presbyterian doctrine is, that the visible church consists of those who profess the true religion, together with their children, and that baptized persons are members of the church (although not necessarily entitled to all its privileges), until in some regular way they are separated from it. On this principle our church has always acted in the election of pastors and other church officers. There is danger

also that the doctrine of the supreme power of the Assembly may be run into the ground. The rightful authority of the Assembly is limited in many ways; among others by the Constitution. And one of the stipulations of the Constitution is, that no acts of the Assembly shall be binding as permanent or constitutional rules, until submitted to the Presbyteries, and sanctioned by them. This calling on the Assembly to make laws permanently to bind the churches or church courts, is calling upon it to exercise a power which it does not possess. Suppose some one should overture the Assembly to enact that all our churches should stately use in public worship the Liturgy of the Church of England, what would we say? While resisting the doctrine that the Assembly is a body of delegated powers, having no authority not specifically granted, we must guard against the opposite extreme of ecclesiastical omnipotence.

Overture No. 13—Being the action of the Presbytery of California upon the subject of employing more efficiently the private members of the church as teachers, and catechists, and expounders of the word of God among the destitute portion of our population. The Committee recommend that this subject be referred to the Presbyteries and church sessions, and that the General Assembly urge upon pastors, and elders, and all private members of the church to coöperate in the use of all legitimate means to bring the gospel more extensively within the reach of the poor and spiritually destitute, especially among the population of our large cities.

The report was adopted.

Overture No. 18—Being the action of the Presbytery of Chicago upon the subject of infant baptism, viz.,

Whereas, The neglect of infant baptism is an evil growing to an alarming extent, and whereas our church is bound to do what it can to arrest it; therefore

Resolved, That we overture the General Assembly to enjoin upon all the Presbyteries within our bounds to ascertain the number of unbaptized children whose parents are members of our communion, and report to the next Assembly.

The Committee recommend that the injunction suggested in this action be sent down to the Presbyteries.

The report was adopted.

Overture No. 25—From the "Southern Relief Committee," of Cincinnati, asking the coöperation of the Assembly's churches.

The Committee recommend the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That it be urgently recommended to all our congregations to aid generously in the efforts now being made to relieve the destitution existing in the southern portions of our common country, by contributions in money, provisions, or in any other manner that may be most advisable; and that all pastors of churches under the care of the General Assembly, where contributions have not already been made, be requested to bring this subject before their congregations at the earliest day possible.

The report was adopted.

We rejoice that the General Assembly has acted upon this subject. If the reports in the public papers as to the present destitution at the South, and the disastrous effects of the recent floods, be correct, the largest liberality will be demanded to meet the wants of our suffering brethren.

Report of the Committee of Ten on the Declaration and Testimony.

The Rev. Dr. Stanton, Chairman of the Committee to whom was referred the papers relating to the contested seats from several Presbyteries, and sundry other papers relating to the Declaration and Testimony, presented the following Report:

The Committee to whom were referred sundry papers relating to the division of the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, and of the Presbyteries under their care, which has resulted in two sets of Commissioners claiming seats in this General Assembly from several of these Presbyteries, and also sundry papers concerning the signers of a paper entitled a "Declaration and Testimony," &c., together with the citation of the said signers who were summoned by the last General Assembly to appear before this present Assembly, beg leave to report:

That they have had the matters committed to them under consideration, and have had full personal conference with the several claimants for seats, and recommend to the General Assembly for adoption the following propositions:

I. The ecclesiastical judicatories hereinafter named, are the true and lawful judicatories in connection with and under the

care and authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, namely:

The Synod of Kentucky, which met at Henderson, Kentucky, in October, 1866, and adjourned to meet and did meet in Lexington, Kentucky, in November, 1866, of which Synod the Rev. J. T. Lapsley is now the Moderator, and the Rev. S. S. McRoberts is the Stated Clerk; this Synod having under its care and authority, and within its ecclesiastical boundaries, the following Presbyteries, viz., the Presbytery of Louisville, of which the Rev. J. P. McMillan is now the Moderator, and the Rev. R. Valentine is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Ebenezer, of which the Rev. J. F. Hendy is now the Moderator, and the Rev. R. F. Caldwell is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of West Lexington, of which the Rev. Stephen Yerkes, D. D., is now the Moderator, and the Rev. J. K. Lyle is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Transylvania, of which the Rev. G. J. Read is now the Moderator, and the Rev. S. S. McRoberts is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Muhlenburg, of which the Rev. A. D. Metcalf is now the Moderator, and the Rev. S. Y. Garrison is the Stated Clerk; and the Presbytery of Paducah, of which the Rev. J. P. Riddle is now the Moderator, and the Rev. James Hawthorn is the Stated Clerk; and these several Presbyteries having in their connection and under their care and authority and within their ecclesiastical boundaries, respectively, the ministers, churches, licentiates, and candidates belonging to and claiming to belong to, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The foregoing described judicatories, namely, the Synod, Presbyteries, and church sessions, within their respective jurisdictions, are to be respected and obeyed as the true and only lawful judicatories possessing the names above recited, within the State of Kentucky, which are in connection with and under the care and authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; and the Commissioners sent to and enrolled in this General Assembly from the above described Presbyteries, are true and lawful Commissioners.

The Synod of Missouri, which met at Boonville, Missouri, October 10th, 1866, of which Synod the Rev. J. P. Finley

was elected Moderator, and the Rev. J. A. Paige was elected the Stated Clerk, and which adjourned to meet in Kansas City on the second Wednesday in October, 1867; this Synod having under its care and authority and within its ecclesiastical boundaries, the following Presbyteries, viz., the Presbytery of St. Louis, of which the Rev. J. F. Fenton is now the Moderator, and the Rev. H. C. McCook is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Palmyra, of which the Rev. A. Steed is now the Moderator, and the Rev. J. P. Finley is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Potosi, of which the Rev. G. W. Harland is now the Moderator, and the Rev. A. Munson is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of Lafayette, of which the Rev. Charles Sturdevant is now the Moderator, and the Rev. George Fraser is the Stated Clerk; the Presbytery of South West Missouri, of which the Rev. William R. Fulton is now the Moderator, and the Rev. James A. Paige is the Stated Clerk; and the Presbytery of Upper Missouri, of which the Rev. Mr. Pinkerton is now the Moderator, and the Rev. W. C. McPheeters is the Stated Clerk; and these several Presbyteries having in their connection and under their care and authority and within their ecclesiastical boundaries, respectively, the ministers, churches, licentiates, and candidates belonging to and claiming to belong to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The above described judicatories, namely, the Synod, Presbyteries, and church sessions within their respective jurisdictions, are to be respected and obeyed as the true and only lawful judicatories possessing the names above recited, within the State of Missouri, which are in connection with and under the care and authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; and the Commissioners sent to and enrolled in this General Assembly, from the above described Presbyteries, are true and lawful Commissioners.

II. While this General Assembly herein declares, as above set forth, that certain Synods and Presbyteries, or bodies claiming to be such, within the States of Kentucky and Missouri, bearing the same names and claiming to exercise rightful jurisdiction over the same churches and people and within the same territory as those above recognized as lawful, are in no

sense true and lawful Synods and Presbyteries in connection with and under the care and authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, these said unlawful Synods and Presbyteries having been dissolved by their own act under an order of the last General Assembly, and being now organized in open defiance or disregard of said order; yet, this General Assembly, acting in accordance with the decision of the last General Assembly, hereby asserts its jurisdiction and authority over the ministers and churches within and belonging to these unlawful ecclesiastical organizations; and the Presbyteries and Synods herein declared lawful, are directed to call, at their next stated meetings, their entire rolls as they existed before these divisions were made. This General Assembly, therefore, directs those ministers and churches belonging to any of the aforesaid unlawful organizations, who may desire to remain in connection with the Presbyterian Church under the care of the General Assembly, or who, having withdrawn, may desire to return, to report themselves to the Presbyteries respectively within whose bounds they are located; and the said Presbyteries are hereby directed to receive them in the manner and upon the conditions hereinafter stated, as follows:

1. Upon the appearance in person or on application by letter of any minister or ministers who have not signed the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," but who have acted with the said signers in the aforesaid unlawful organizations, the Presbyteries are directed to enroll them upon their simple expression of a desire to remain in, or to return to, as the case may be, the Presbyterian Church under the care of the General Assembly; and upon the application of any church or churches now embraced within any of these unlawful organizations, the Presbyteries are directed to receive them upon their expression of a similar desire.

2. Upon the application of any minister or ministers who signed the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," before, during, or since, the meeting of the last General Assembly, the Presbyteries shall require, as a condition of their enrolment, that they subscribe, upon the records of the respective Presby-

teries to which they make application, a declaration to the following effect, viz.

"I, *A. B.*, hereby declare my desire to adhere to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and do now promise to render due obedience in the Lord to the authority of all its courts, embracing the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly; and, to this end, inasmuch as the last General Assembly pronounced the aforesaid 'Declaration and Testimony' to be 'a slander against the Church, schismatical in its character and aims, and its adoption by any of our church courts an act of rebellion against the authority of the General Assembly'—I do hereby disclaim that I had any intention to rebel against or renounce the authority of the General Assembly in signing the 'Declaration and Testimony,' and I hereby withdraw all language deemed by the General Assembly offensive or disrespectful, in which its sentiments are expressed."

In case any ruling elder who is a signer of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," shall express a desire to remain in or return to the Presbyterian Church, he shall be required to subscribe a declaration to the same effect, embracing the session as a court, upon the records of the session of the church where he may apply to be enrolled, whether or not he be an acting elder in that or any other church; and in case any ruling elder who is a signer, as aforesaid, should now belong to a church not embraced in any of the aforesaid unlawful organizations, whether an acting elder or not, he shall subscribe the same declaration upon the records of the church wherein he is enrolled, as a condition of his remaining in good and regular standing.

3. The same requirements shall be made, as last above specified, of any minister or elder who is a signer of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," now belonging to any other Presbytery or church in any other Synod than those of Kentucky and Missouri; that is to say, any such minister or ruling elder shall subscribe the declaration above recited, upon the records of the Presbytery or session, as the case may be, as a condition of his remaining in good and regular standing.

4. All the lower courts of the church, as sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, are hereby enjoined to see that these direc-

tions of the General Assembly are faithfully observed; and if in any case or cases arising out of the conduct of the signers of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," or out of the conduct of any of those, not signers, who have acted with them in organizing unlawful Presbyteries or Synods, any of the lower courts deem it their duty to institute process, they are hereby enjoined to exercise forbearance, and study the things that make for peace and harmony.

5. In case any person or persons belonging to any of the aforesaid classes, now embraced in any of the ecclesiastical organizations herein pronounced unlawful, shall not make application for membership in any of those judicatories herein pronounced lawful, or in any other judicatories under the care and recognizing the authority of the General Assembly, at or previous to the next spring stated meetings of the aforementioned lawful Presbyteries, the said Presbyteries shall thereupon drop the names of such ministers, and the said churches shall drop the names of such ruling elders from their respective rolls, as having voluntarily withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America under the care of the General Assembly, and they shall thenceforth be regarded as being no longer ministers in or members of the said Presbyterian Church; and in case any minister or ruling elder belonging to any other Presbytery or church now in our ecclesiastical connection, who is a signer as aforesaid, shall not subscribe the aforementioned declaration, at or previous to the next stated spring meeting of the Presbytery under whose care he is as a minister, or, if a ruling elder, under whose care his church is placed, his name shall be dropped in like manner and with like effect.

III. This General Assembly deems it proper, furthermore, to declare, authoritatively, the following principles, and to set forth the following statements, to the end that peace and harmony may be restored to the church at large under its care, and that all persons in its connection may be well and faithfully informed of their duty:

1. In the provisions hereinbefore announced, for the purpose of restoring to the church, under proper ecclesiastical relations, ministerial brethren, elders, and churches, whom we regard as having put themselves in antagonism to the just authority of the

church, and especially of the General Assembly, this supreme judicatory has endeavoured to do this in such a manner as, on the one hand, to recognize and maintain the just authority of the General Assembly, and, on the other, to extend the hand of fraternal kindness and welcome to brethren who have erred.

2. This present action severs no one from the church, but leaves the responsibility of final separation upon those who fail to give heed to the provisions now and herein made for their remaining in or return to the church of their fathers, whether they be ministers, ruling elders, churches, or any organizations claiming to be Presbyteries and Synods.

3. The plan now proposed, and recommended to this General Assembly for adoption, recognizes, on the one hand, the authority of the last General Assembly in citing the signers of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony" to appear before this present General Assembly, while, on the other hand, it remits their cases to the lower courts for final disposition in a way which every minister and member of the church must regard as regular, and with the simple requisition that the said signers comply with the terms above specified. This course does not even require the said signers to renounce the principles of church order which they affirm they conscientiously entertain, nor is it the wish of the General Assembly to interfere with their conscientious convictions; nor, furthermore, does this plan come in conflict with some good and wise brethren who have denied or seriously doubted, while fully adhering to the church, the competency of the last General Assembly to issue the summons to the signers of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony" to appear at the bar of the present General Assembly, "to answer for what they have done in this matter." This, however, is clear to the whole church: that the last and present General Assemblies stand in a very different relation to this whole matter. When the last Assembly issued its citation to these brethren, such was notoriously the condition of the lower courts, almost universally, in the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, as subsequent events have but too well shown, that it would have been nothing less than vain trifling with sacred interests, which were greatly imperilled, for that General Assembly to have remanded the cases of these brethren to

those courts; but now, the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, with the Presbyteries in their connection, as herein recognized, adhere to the Presbyterian Church through the General Assembly, and there is every reason to believe that the directions herein made will be faithfully executed by them.

4. This General Assembly regards the refusal of many of those cited by the last to appear before the present Assembly, as a grave violation of their duty, while, at the same time, it respects the conscientious, though, as it judges, the mistaken, conviction of duty, which has led them to decline obedience. It duly regards the declarations of some of these brethren, that, in signing the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," and in their declining to obey the aforesaid citation, they intend no disrespect to the General Assembly, but have taken this course because they deem the last and previous General Assemblies to have exceeded their constitutional authority. It ought, however, to be clear to these brethren, and to the whole church, that when a court of the highest grade and jurisdiction has made a decision or issued an order, it is the duty of all good and law-abiding men to yield it due respect and obedience, until it is repealed by the proper authority. This is a principle on which all good government rests, in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and without its due recognition, anarchy would reign in church and state. In the present case, according to the principles of our system, no lower court or body of men is competent to set aside the acts of the General Assembly, for it is a court of last resort. If men, from conscientious scruples or otherwise, cannot abide its deliberate, well-considered, and solemn decisions, instead of persisting, during a series of years, in open defiance of its authority, they should, as Christian men and in the exercise of their Christian liberty, quietly withdraw from the church. From the present condition of things, however, this General Assembly is not disposed to take any further notice of the offence of the signers of the aforesaid "Declaration and Testimony," or of their refusal to obey the aforesaid citation of the last Assembly, than is provided for in the plan herein set forth for the restoration of peace and harmony and the return of these brethren to their proper relations in the church.

5. In regard to the two brethren who have obeyed the citation aforesaid—the Rev. J. A. Quarles, who signed the aforesaid “Declaration and Testimony” before the last General Assembly met, and the Rev. William C. Handy, who has signed it since, and who appears before the present General Assembly in obedience to a supposed “order of the Synod of Baltimore”—this General Assembly expresses its gratification at their manifest spirit of obedience, and feels called upon to take no further order in their respective cases than to enjoin them to repair to their respective Presbyteries and comply with the requisitions hereinbefore set forth, Mr. Quarles to appear before the nearest Presbytery which adheres to the General Assembly.

Finally. Your Committee have been animated, in the measures proposed in this report, simply by the desire to maintain the authority and restore peace and harmony to the church, and they are fully convinced that the same desire pervades the bosom of every member of this General Assembly. They only therefore, in addition, recommend the following resolution, as in their judgment conducive to this end, viz.

Resolved, That upon a motion to adopt this report, if such shall be made, the persons claiming seats upon the floor of this General Assembly, and those cited to appear here by the last General Assembly, shall be heard in discussion upon any part of this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

R. L. STANTON, *Chairman*,
WILLIS LORD,
W. P. BREED,
A. T. RANKIN,
JOHN T. DUFFIELD,
JAMES I. BROWNSON,
SAMUEL GALLOWAY,
D. L. COLLIER,
T. NEWTON WILLSON,
W. S. GILMAN, JR.

On the motion to adopt the foregoing report, a protracted debate ensued. The leading speakers on the side of the dissentients from the acts of the Assembly of 1866, were Rev.

J. A. Quarles, Rev. Dr. Brookes, Rev. R. L. Breck, and Rev. Dr. Yantis; and on the side of the Assembly, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, Prof. James Matthews, and Rev. S. J. Nicolls. These speeches were characterized by ability, research, courtesy, and a fraternal spirit. The report was ultimately adopted by a vote of ayes 261, nays 4. Excused from voting, 1. We do not dwell further on this subject, because the ground gone over was necessarily the same as that so strenuously contested in the last Assembly. The report was a compromise. It was to be taken as a whole, or not at all. Viewed in this light, it will, we doubt not, be regarded as eminently wise and conciliatory. It was evidently designed to heal the breach produced by the action of the last Assembly, and to render it consistent with the honour and conscientious convictions of those who dissented from that action to retain their connection with the church. In the first place, it requires the renunciation of no constitutional right. All concerned are allowed the right of protest and dissent. The signers of the Declaration and Testimony are not required to withdraw their names from that document, or to repudiate any principle which it contains. The report respects the conscientious convictions of all affected by its action. In the second place, it does not require to approve of the past acts of the Assembly. It calls for no assent to the wisdom, correctness, or constitutionality of any of those "deliverances" from 1861 downward, which have been the subject of so much discussion. And thirdly, it does not call for the recognition of the binding force of unconstitutional enactments. The principle that an unconstitutional law is no law, the Assembly neither itself denies, nor calls upon any man under its jurisdiction to deny. All that the report demands is, first, that the judicial decisions of the court of last resort, whether wise or unwise, constitutional or unconstitutional, must be submitted to. This is what is required of necessity in all well-organized societies. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States are final in all cases in which it adjudicates. No man is required to regard its decisions as wise, right, or according to law; but they must be submitted to. Such decisions do not bind other coördinate branches of the government in their future action, nor the court itself in deciding other cases of the like kind.

When that court decided in favour of the constitutionality of a national bank, and of internal improvements conducted by the general government within the limits of the States, no man was required to agree with the learned judges. Opposition to the bank continued, and it was finally overthrown. And when the same court decided that slavery was not an institution depending on the *lex loci*, and that therefore the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional, a decision which shocked the common sense and revolted the conscience of the whole north, no one resisted the judgment of the court, or refused to recognize Dred Scott, whose status was involved in the decision, as a slave. So these brethren are not required to approve of the acts of the Assembly of 1866, or to regard the assumption of jurisdiction which they involved, as constitutional. All that the report demands is, first, that these judicial acts, of dissolving and recognizing certain church courts, and citing certain individuals, be in those cases submitted to. Any one may oppose the passing of any similar act in the future, and do all he can to bring his brethren to agree with him in his construction of the constitution. But the decision of the highest court is of necessity final, in the particular case. These brethren say that the act of the Assembly declaring a Presbytery or Synod *ipso facto* dissolved, should such body admit any of the signers of the Declaration and Testimony to sit as members, is unconstitutional. They have a perfect right to their opinion. But if the Assembly so enact, there is no help for it. A man might believe the act of Congress creating a national bank unconstitutional, and therefore that the bank had no legal existence, and could not collect its debts. On this conviction he might refuse to pay his note to the bank. The case would then go to the courts, and if the Supreme Court decided that the bank could legally sue and be sued, there would be an end of that case. Any other man, or the same man, might try the experiment over again in hope that the court would reverse its decision; but until it is reversed, the decision, whether right or wrong, must stand. Submission involves no acknowledgment of legitimate authority, and therefore may be rendered with a good conscience.

And secondly, the report requires that disrespect to the Assembly and a schismatical intention should be disavowed by

the signers of the Declaration and Testimony. As they disclaim any intention to be disrespectful or to promote schism, there can be no difficulty so far as this requirement is concerned.

The adoption of this report throws the responsibility of preserving the unity and peace of the church on the dissentients. According to the universally recognized doctrine of schism, no man is justified in renouncing connection with a church to which he has avowed allegiance, unless he is required to profess what he does not believe; or to do what his conscience, as guided by the word of God, forbids. As neither of these requisitions are made of those who are concerned, in this report, we cannot see how they can escape the guilt of schism, should they renounce their allegiance to the church of their fathers. Should a transient majority of a church even apostatize from the truth or order of the gospel, that would be no excuse for the faithful to abandon it, unless they themselves were required to join in the apostacy. What would become of our country if every county should renounce its allegiance to the State, or every State to the Union, every time an unjust or unconstitutional law was passed. We would soon become a Mexico among the nations were this principle acted upon; and our church will become an ecclesiastical Mexico, if such anarchical principles control the action of its members.

Reunion.

Dr. Breed presented the report of the majority of the Committee, which is as follows:

The majority of the Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Committee on Reunion with the other branch of the church, would respectfully recommend to the General Assembly the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That this Assembly has listened with grateful and profound satisfaction to the report of the Committee on Church Reunion, and recognizes in the unanimity of the Joint Committee the finger of God as pointing toward an early and cordial reunion of the two sister churches now so long separated.

2. *Resolved*, That said Committee be continued and directed

to coöperate with any similar Committee of the other branch in furtherance of this object, and to report thereon to the next General Assembly.

3. *Resolved*, That the Committee be empowered to fill all vacancies that may occur in their body during the coming year, whether by resignation, protracted sickness, or by death.

4. *Resolved*, That the necessary expenses incurred by this Committee in the discharge of the duties assigned them be paid from the profits on the sale of books by the Board of Publication.

5. *Resolved*, That the Report of the Committee be published in the Appendix to the Minutes, and in our religious newspapers, and commended to the careful consideration of our whole church, and that the Committee be directed to report to the next General Assembly any modification of the terms of reunion specified therein, which may appear desirable to the Joint Committee, in view of any further light that may have been received during the year.

6. *Resolved*, That the Hon. Daniel Haines, and the Hon. Henry W. Green, LL.D., of New Jersey, Daniel Lord, LL.D., and Theodore Dwight, LL.D., of New York, and the Hon. William Strong and the Hon. George Sharswood, LL.D., of Pennsylvania, be appointed a Committee to investigate all questions of property and of vested rights as they may stand related to the matter of reunion; and that this Committee be requested to report to the Joint Committee as early as January 1, 1868; and that our share of the necessary expenses incurred by this Committee be also paid by our Board of Publication from the profits on its book-sales.

Resolved, That the Joint Committee be requested to consider, and report to the next General Assembly, any specific amendments to our church constitution, which may be required in the government of a body so large as that of the re-united church.

W. P. BREED,
GEORGE MARSHALL,
C. D. McKEE,
A. T. RANKIN.

The resolution referring to a change in the constitution was stricken out.

Dr. Smith then read the following report:

The minority of the Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Committee appointed by the last General Assembly, to confer with a similar Committee of the other branch of the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of an organization between the two bodies, beg leave to report that they have heard, with great pleasure and gratitude to God, of the delightful spirit of harmony which pervaded the deliberations of the Joint Committee, and the gratifying degree of unanimity with which their conclusions were reached, and cannot but hail these auspicious occurrences as the harbingers of that ultimate union between the two bodies, which we all so earnestly desire. The time, we trust, may speedily come, when all branches of the Presbyterian Church in this land, holding the same standards, having the same ancestry, the same traditions, and the same glorious history, will be one in fact and in form, as well as in faith; and the action proposed here to be taken is not designed to prevent or hinder, but to hasten, in proper time, such a consummation.

The subject is one of great difficulty and delicacy. The almost uniform failure of all similar attempts at organization, the frequent exasperations and widening of the breach between the bodies attempted to be united, and the multiplication of the strifes and divisions among them, which have resulted from the best intentioned efforts at union when prematurely urged, warn us of the necessity of moving cautiously, and pondering every step. The reasons which should always inspire such caution, operate with peculiar force in the case before us. The generation which witnessed the disruption, and the men who were the chief actors in it, on both sides, are still among us. The feelings excited by it have not yet passed away.

The traditions of it are still fresh, and many, it is to be supposed, on both sides, still retain the convictions then avowed, and hold fast to the positions then assumed. Under such circumstances, the great danger is, lest by precipitate or unguarded action we kindle the embers of the old strife into a flame throughout our churches and Presbyteries, and so prejudice and procrastinate the result desired. Just emerging from

one sea of troubles, we ought surely to hesitate, lest we plunge into another.

In order that the union between the two bodies, when formed, may be real and permanent, there must be a thorough understanding and hearty agreement between them, as to the chief issues on which they are divided. Nothing should be left ambiguous or indeterminate, to become the occasion of future misunderstanding and strife. It has seemed to the minority of your Committee that the basis of union, as found in the report before us, is not sufficiently detailed and explicit, and they are unwilling that it should go down to the churches, with the implied sanction of this Assembly, to which all look for guidance and instruction as over them in the Lord. The basis of union is reported to you expressly and formally for your action upon it, and it is the prerogative, as it seems to us, the imperative duty of this body, the highest court of the church, to express its judgment clearly and unequivocally, for the guidance of the Committee, and of the church at large, in their future deliberations.

With these views, the minority of your Committee, with great reluctance, but under the stress of convictions they dare not resist, have felt constrained to differ with the majority upon a single point—that of instructing the Committee appointed by the last Assembly and to be continued by the action of this. They heartily concur with the majority in their entire report, and adopt it as their own, and propose to add to it the following instructions to the Committee of Fifteen:

1. That they endeavour, if practicable, to secure a more clear and definite statement of the doctrinal basis. It is well known that the two parties differed in their interpretation of our doctrinal standards upon points which both considered vital, while both professed to receive them as containing “the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures.” There is nothing in the basis as proposed in the first article to show in what sense, or in the sense of which party, or in what higher sense, which is supposed to harmonize both, our standards are to be interpreted. What is their true historical sense, is the very question to be settled. Both parties disclaim all the

extremes from which they are formally distinguished: if accepted by the two bodies in the same sense, then either can define that sense for the other, and there can be no possible difficulty in the way of agreement upon a clear and definite statement as to the main points at issue, particularly the great decisive doctrines of imputation, and the atonement as to its nature and extent.

2. As on the basis proposed, committee-men, *i. e.*, unordained men, are allowed to sit in all church courts except the General Assembly, the Committee are further instructed to secure, if possible, such an amendment or modification of the second article as will insure the speedy and thorough presbyterial organization of all the churches, and the admission of none but ordained ministers or elders to a seat in any church court.

3. The Committee are still further instructed to obtain, if possible, a distinct and formal recognition of the right and obligation of every Presbytery to be satisfied as to the soundness of every minister it receives. With these instructions the minority concur in the recommendation, that the Committee of Fifteen be continued as provided for in the report of the majority.

JOSEPH T. SMITH,

E. ANSON MORE.

The report of Dr. Smith was finally laid on the table by a vote of *ayes*, 152; *nays*, 64. On motion of Dr. J. I. Brownson, an additional resolution was unanimously adopted, in the following words:

Resolved, That in submitting the Report of the Committee on Reunion to the consideration of the churches and Presbyteries, the Assembly is not called upon at this time to express either approbation or disapprobation of the terms of reunion presented by the Committee in its details, but only to afford the church a full opportunity to examine the subject in the light of all its advantages and difficulties, so that the Committee may have the benefit of any suggestions which may be offered, before making a final report for the action of the next Assembly.

On motion of Rev. P. D. Young, the Moderator was requested to appoint a member of the Reunion Committee of Fifteen to fill the virtual vacancy occasioned by the illness of the Rev.

John M. Krebs, D. D. In accordance with this request, the Moderator appointed the Rev. J. E. Rockwell, D. D., of the Synod of New York.

The vote in favour of laying Dr. Smith's resolution on the table is not to be taken as indicating the opinion of the Assembly as to the programme of the Committee. Many voted for that motion, not because they disapproved of Dr. Smith's report, but because they thought this Assembly was not called upon to do anything more than to send out the report of the joint committee for the consideration of the churches. The unanimous adoption of Dr. Brownson's resolution shows that the Old-school General Assembly was not prepared for the surrender at discretion which the report of the joint committee calls upon it to make. General Lee, at Appomatox Court House, might as reasonably have called on General Grant to lay down his arms, and concede everything to the Southern secessionists for which we had been so earnestly contending. The surrender, at any rate, has not yet, we are thankful to say, been effected, and we greatly mistake the character of Presbyterians if the plan of the joint committee, when it comes to be understood, be not nearly unanimously rejected by our branch of the church. We speak only of the programme of the Committee. The question of reunion, in proper terms, is a different matter.

The Rev. Dr. Smith, in advocating the adoption of his report, avowed himself in favour of union with our New-school brethren and with other branches of the Presbyterian Church, but was anxious that such union be on principles consistent with our doctrines and obligations, and on conditions, which would produce harmony and efficiency. Of the plan of the Committee, he affirmed that "this basis of union surrenders every principle for which we and our fathers have been contending these last thirty years." To prove this, he reviewed the several articles of the proposed plan. First, as to the doctrinal basis, he showed that it leaves the matter just as it was. The New-school before the disruption professed to adopt the system of doctrines contained in our Confession of Faith; and they are willing to make the same profession now. But it is to be adopted in the "sense in which it is accepted by the two

bodies." But all the world knows that it was accepted by the New-school on the "broad church" principle, which allowed of what the Old-school conscientiously believed was the rejection of that system. Then, secondly, as to the admission of churches not presbyterially organized, the plan provides that such churches may be represented in all our courts except the General Assembly. As to the latter, it proposes "that only such persons shall be chosen commissioners as are eligible according to the constitution of the church." That is, it is proposed that the constitution shall be violated in all our courts except the highest. Honest men, who have vowed to sustain that constitution, are asked to assent to its violation. This, to say the least, is a most extraordinary proposition. Well might Dr. Smith say, "Never, never, will the Old-school Presbyterian Church give their consent to abjure all its convictions, thus to roll back the whole tide of its history, thus to renounce everything which had distinguished it as a religious body."

Another article provides for the appointment of a committee of seven by each body to revise the catalogue of the books published by the two churches, and no book is to be retained on the catalogue of publications to be issued by the united church, which is not approved by at least five members of each committee. Our Board of Publication have a thousand books on their catalogue; the New-school Committee have thirty on theirs. We are asked to agree that they should revise our list, and strike out every book which five of their committee may object to. Dr. Smith regards this as saying, "Brethren, whatever is not acceptable to you; whatever is not in accordance with the New-school theology, cast away."

Another article provides that the theological seminaries belonging to the Old-school shall be allowed to put themselves under the care of the Synods; and those belonging to the New-school, may, should they prefer it, remain close corporations. We invite them to take part in the control of our institutions for theological training, and consent that we shall have no control over theirs.

Once more, the proposed programme declares that "all ministers and churches in the two bodies shall be admitted to the same standing in the united body which they hold in their

respective bodies up to the consummation of the union. This Dr. Smith argued, does away with the constitutional and natural right of the Presbyteries to judge of the qualifications of their own members. Every Old-school Presbytery will be bound to receive without questioning any minister of any New School Presbytery, who may present himself with clean papers.

The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, as might be expected from his antecedents, was opposed to this whole scheme of reunion. He said he did not intend to argue the case. In his view any such union was impossible. We cannot absorb a church as a whole. The only method of union between the two bodies was that its members individually should come in through the Presbyteries, as all the rest of us had come. He insisted also, that such an union as that proposed would work the forfeiture of all our endowments.

The Hon. S. Galloway, a member of the joint committee, spoke earnestly in favour of the plan. He urged the obvious practical advantages of reunion, and made very light of the objections which had been urged against it. The New-school, he maintained, were as orthodox as the Old-school, at least in Ohio; and as to the admission of Congregationalists into our church courts, that he regarded as a trifle.

The Rev. Mr. Marshall avowed himself opposed to the programme of the joint committee, but regarded all discussion of its merits as premature. It was not yet before the house. It is here only to be published to the churches. In the next Assembly the plan would come up on its merits.

Mr. H. K. Clarke, who also was a member of the joint committee, made a long and forcible speech against the proposed plan. He said the Committee had transcended its powers. It was appointed to ascertain whether a union with the New-school could be effected on the basis of agreement "in doctrine, polity, and order." Instead of this, the Committee propose a new basis, which provides for diversity in doctrine and order. The Old-school Committee did all they could to induce the Committee of the New-school to agree to the basis which they proposed, which intended to provide for agreement in doctrine and order. Every effort to that end was opposed, and what he regarded as the broad-church principle was insisted upon, and

finally conceded. Our Committee urged that the Confession should be adopted in its "obvious, fair, historical sense." They insisted that it should be adopted "in the sense in which it was received in both churches." It is however notorious that the one church has been strict in its construction of the Confession of Faith, and the other satisfied with its being adopted as to substance of doctrine. The result of the whole discussion in the joint committee, according to Mr. Clarke, was the adoption of the broad-church principle.

Another proposition from the Old-school Committee was, that no church, not presbyterially organized, should be represented in our church courts. This, although admitted to be just and reasonable, was, on the grounds of expediency, stricken out. Mr. Clarke also dwelt on the unfairness of the article relating to the Board of Publication, and showed that it allowed any three men on the New-school Committee to strike from the list any book they pleased. The same inequality characterizes the proposed plan as it regards our seminaries. Our Committee proposed that seminaries which are close corporations should be *requested* to place themselves under ecclesiastical control. Even this was denied; and it is simply said, they shall have the privilege of so doing. Mr. Clarke expressed his firm conviction that if this plan were adopted it would lead to a division of the church, and increased contention instead of harmony.

Dr. Gurley, the Moderator, was requested to explain the action of the joint committee as to the points to which Mr. Clarke had referred. As to the doctrinal basis, he said that between the extremes of Antinomianism and Fatalism on the one hand, and Arminianism and Pelagianism on the other, there is a system of doctrine known as Calvinism, and on that system the plan proposes that the two churches should unite. Anything more definite than this, he said, was unattainable and undesirable. As to the representation of Congregational churches in our courts, he admitted it to be irregular, but regarded it as only a temporary arrangement to be tolerated in order to secure a great good. In reference to the Board of Publication, he said the great mass of our books were as acceptable to our New-school brethren as ourselves. He did not believe that one in a hundred would be stricken out. As

to the seminaries, their hands were tied; all they could do was to intimate a preference for ecclesiastical control. "On the subject of presbyterial examinations," he said, "we had a long conference. Many of the New-school Committee (Dr. Adams among others) acknowledged that this right is among the inherent and inalienable rights of Presbytery. The only question is as to the *expediency* of exercising it. And so we leave the matter with the Presbyteries. I have never felt that it was wise to enjoin this rule upon Presbyteries. In our Presbytery we examine simply because the rule requires it, and the matter is pretty much one of form. It seems to me the wisest and best basis is to leave the matter with Presbyteries, and let them examine, if they please—and that is just where it is left in these terms of union. It was the usage to receive brethren with clean papers, and we now propose to return to the old usage, unless convictions of duty prevent.

"The Committee is not authorized to propose changes in the Constitution. If we are coming together, the changes can be made by the united church. Some change in the basis of representation in the Assembly will be necessary—and this, I think, will ultimately be made."

It will be observed that Dr. Gurley did not advert to any one of the great principles involved in this question. What he said, however, virtually terminated the debate, and Dr. Smith's report was laid on the table by the vote above stated.

The importance of the question submitted to the churches by the action of the last Assembly cannot be overestimated. It concerns our very existence. Not the existence of a Presbyterian church, but the existence of a church professing and acting upon the principles which have always distinguished us as an ecclesiastical body. We are called upon to renounce that in which our special identity consists. It is not a mere change of name. The term "Old-school" is not simply to be dropped before the word Presbyterian in our designation; but the historical reality known and revered as the Old School Presbyterian Church will cease to exist. Another body with different principles, as well as with a different name, will take its place. With the opponents of the proposed union it is therefore a matter of conscience. With its advocates it cannot be a matter

of conscience. It is a matter of expediency, or at most of sentiment.

With regard to the great body of those who advocate the reunion of the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church in this country, the obviously controlling consideration is the advantages to be expected from the union. These are great. They are patent. They affect pressing interests in the pecuniary or business operations of the church. Weak congregations would be able to combine. Energies worse than wasted in mutual opposition might be directed to common ends. Instead of presenting a divided front to others, and, in our view, more or less erroneous bodies, we should form an unbroken phalanx. The strength of the united body for good would be far greater than of either portion separately, or even of the whole as it now is. A great weight would be lifted from our public, and especially from our giving men. The number of shoulders added to the wheels of our system would cause them to revolve easily and rapidly. We should indeed be, in the eyes of the world, glorious as an army with banners. These considerations have deservedly great weight. They ought to produce an effect. They are specially operative in the minds of our laymen, who cannot be expected to take into view the doctrinal and ecclesiastical principles involved in the question. They say, "The clergy made the quarrel. We have nothing to do with it. If they are ready to stop fighting, so much the better. We are for peace and coöperation."

Others are influenced by principles true in themselves, but which are not applicable to the question which we are called upon to decide. They insist that the visible church ought to be one organization, that the seamless robe of Christ ought not to be rent; that sects are a great evil and a great wrong. All this may be readily admitted. The division of the inhabitants of the earth into different and conflicting nationalities is a great evil. It would be far better, if all men would dwell together as one family, under one father God, obeying his laws and promoting each other's interests. But how worse than Utopian would be any practical attempt to carry this scheme into operation. Fourierism is beautiful as a social theory; but what is it in its application in the actual state of the world. If all Christians

were really one—one in faith, one in their intelligent knowledge of the Scriptures, one in spirit, then they might be, and should be, externally one. But if in order to external union, we must renounce the truth; cease to profess it, not only individually, but collectively; then we sacrifice the substance for the shadow; the reality for the semblance; a living man for a wooden image. We violate conscience for expediency. We serve man rather than God. This is a question not as to what would be right in an ideal state of the church, but as to what is right in the actual condition of things; some men acting on one set of principles and another upon the opposite; one believing that the church should be ruled by bishops, others that prelates are usurpers of an unscriptural authority, and that God has committed the government of his church to presbyters; and others again, that all power is of divine right in the brotherhood. It is plainly impossible that republicans and monarchists can live and act harmoniously together. It is far better in the state that those who agree should act together, and live peaceably with others. So it is plainly impossible that Papists and Protestants, Prelatists and Independents, should form one harmonious ecclesiastical organization. If Old and New-school Presbyterian bodies agree, they should be united, but if they differ in what both conscientiously believe and feel bound to carry out into practice, then they must either sacrifice their consciences, or remain asunder.

There is another false stand-point taken by the advocates of this union. They contemplate the matter as though there were no distinct Christian churches with their peculiar creeds and constitutional rules. They speak as though they were dealing with the subject *in thesi*; and discussing the question, On what principles should the disciples of Christ be externally organized? Should it be on a broad doctrinal platform, such, as the Apostles' Creed, which would allow all Christians to be merged in one ecclesiastical organization. This broadest of broad church principle is openly advocated even by some Old-school men. They would have the absolutely essential doctrines of Christianity, and nothing more, made the doctrinal basis of church-union.

Now, admitting that this would be scriptural and wise, it is

not the question we have to deal with. We are not called upon to decide what would have been the wisest course for the church in the first centuries. We may admit that it was narrow-minded bigotry to frame a stricter creed than that of the apostles—that the determinations of the Councils of Nice, Chalcedon, and Constantinople, were unnecessary theological niceties. Few indeed will be latitudinarian enough to take this ground, or will undertake to censure the church for repudiating the followers of Pelagius, who could with good conscience repeat the Creed, the Lord's prayer, and the Ten Commandments. But admitting that the church has ever been wrong in resisting heresy, still it is not now the question what would have been right centuries ago, but what is right under the existing state of things. How are churches professing distinct and opposite systems of doctrine and order to come together in one ecclesiastical organization? The only honest answer to this question is, Let them alter their creeds—let them strike from their confessions everything distinctive, retaining only what is common to all Christians, or at least to all Protestants. There would be honesty and fair dealing in this. But this is not what the advocates of union have ventured to propose. What is practically advocated is, that men believing one creed should profess another; or that those who do not adopt a certain system, should avow before God and man that they do adopt it. We have a distinctive system of doctrine presented in our standards, the proposal is that we should agree that all who adopt the Apostles' Creed should be allowed to say that they adopt the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession. Others do not go quite so far. They, however, insist that men should be allowed to say they adopt our system, who notoriously do not adopt it. It is not a new creed, but a latitudinarian principle of subscription which is now urged upon us. It is a revival of the doctrine of the famous Oxford Tract, No. 90, which asserted the propriety of signing a creed in a "non-natural sense."

We would not knowingly or willingly do injustice to any of our brethren. But this is actually the doctrine advocated in some of our public papers, Old-school as well as New-school; and what is more to the point, this is the very principle which

constitutes the sum and substance of the Plan of Union proposed in the report of the Joint Committee of Fifteen. We are well aware that it is not so understood by many who signed that report; nor by many who advocate its adoption. Nevertheless it is its true import and spirit, and this we will endeavour as briefly as possible to demonstrate.

Every minister at his ordination is required to declare that he adopts the Westminster Confession and Catechism, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the sacred Scriptures. There are three ways in which these words have been, and still are, interpreted. First, some understand them to mean that every proposition contained in the Confession of Faith is included in the profession made at ordination. Secondly, others say that they mean just what the words import. What is adopted is the "system of doctrine." The system of the Reformed churches is a known and admitted scheme of doctrine, and that scheme, nothing more or less, we profess to adopt. The third view of the subject is, that by the system of doctrine contained in the Confession is meant the essential doctrines of Christianity and nothing more.

As to the first of these interpretations it is enough to say, 1. That it is not the meaning of the words. There are many propositions contained in the Westminster Confession which do not belong to the integrity of the Augustinian, or Reformed system. A man may be a true Augustinian or Calvinist, and not believe that the Pope is the Antichrist predicted by St. Paul; or that the 18th chapter of Leviticus is still binding. 2. Such a rule of interpretation can never be practically carried out, without dividing the church into innumerable fragments. It is impossible that a body of several thousand ministers and elders should think alike on all the topics embraced in such an extended and minute formula of belief. 3. Such has never been the rule adopted in our church. Individuals have held it, but the church as a body never has. No prosecution for doctrinal error has ever been attempted or sanctioned, except for errors which were regarded as involving the rejection, not of explanations of doctrines, but of the doctrines themselves. For example, our Confession teaches the doctrine of original sin. That doctrine is essential to the Reformed or Calvinistic

system. Any man who denies that doctrine, thereby rejects the system taught in our Confession, and cannot with a good conscience say that he adopts it. Original sin, however, is one thing; the way in which it is accounted for, is another. The doctrine is, that such is the relation between Adam and his posterity, that all mankind, descending from him by ordinary generation, are born in a state of sin and condemnation. Any man who admits this, holds the doctrine. But there are at least three ways of accounting for this fact. The scriptural explanation as given in our standards is, that the "covenant being made with Adam not only for himself, but also for his posterity, all mankind, descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression." The fact that mankind fell into that estate of sin and misery in which they are born, is accounted for in the principle of representation. Adam was constituted our head and representative, so that his sin is the judicial ground of our condemnation and of the consequent loss of the Divine image, and of the state of spiritual death in which all men come into the world. This, as it is the scriptural, so it is the church view of the subject. It is the view held in the Latin and Lutheran, as well as in the Reformed Church, and therefore belongs to the church catholic. Still it is not essential to the doctrine. Realists admit the doctrine, but unsatisfied with the principle of representative responsibility, assume that humanity as a generic life acted and sinned in Adam, and, therefore, that his sin is the act, with its demerit and consequences, of every man in whom that generic life is individualized. Others, accepting neither of these solutions, assert that the fact of original sin (*i. e.*, the sinfulness and condemnation of man at birth) is to be accounted for in the general law of propagation. Like begets like. Adam became sinful, and hence all his posterity are born in a state of sin, or with a sinful nature. Although these views are not equally scriptural, or equally in harmony with our Confession, nevertheless they leave the doctrine intact, and do not work a rejection of the system of which it is an essential part.

So also of the doctrine of inability. That man is by the fall rendered utterly indisposed, opposite, and disabled to all spiritual good, is a doctrine of the Confession as well as of

Scripture. And it is essential to the system of doctrine embraced by all the Reformed church. Whether men have plenary power to regenerate themselves; or can coöperate in the work of their regeneration; or can effectually resist the converting grace of God, are questions which have separated Pelagians, the later Romanists, Semi-Pelagians, Lutherans, and Arminians, from Augustinians or Calvinists. The denial of the inability of fallen man, therefore, of necessity works the rejection of Calvinism. But if the fact be admitted, it is not essential whether the inability be called natural or moral; whether it be attributed solely to the perverseness of the will, or to the blindness of the understanding. These points of difference are not unimportant; but they do not affect the essence of the doctrine.

Our Confession teaches that God foreordains whatever comes to pass; that he executes his decrees in the works of creation and providence; that his providential government is holy, wise, and powerful, controlling all his creatures and all their actions; that from the fallen mass of men, he has from all eternity, of his mere good pleasure, elected some to everlasting life; that by the incarnation and mediatorial work of his eternal Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the effectual working of his Spirit, he has rendered the salvation of his people absolutely certain; that the reason why some are saved and others not, is not the foresight of their faith and repentance, but solely because he has elected some and not others, and that in execution of his purpose, in his own good time, he sends them the Holy Spirit, who so operates on them as to render their repentance, faith, and holy living absolutely certain. Now it is plain that men may differ as to the mode of God's providential government, or the operations of his grace, and retain the facts which constitute the essence of this doctrinal scheme. But if any one teaches that God cannot effectually control the acts of free agents without destroying their liberty; that he cannot render the repentance or faith of any man certain; that he does all he can to convert every man, it would be an insult to reason and conscience, to say that he held the system of doctrine which embraces the facts and principles above stated.

The same strain of remark might be made in reference to the

other great doctrines which constitute the Augustinian system. Enough, however, has been said to illustrate the principle of interpretation for which Old-school men contend. We do not expect that our ministers should adopt every proposition contained in our standards. This they are not required to do. But they are required to adopt the system; and that system consists of certain doctrines, no one of which can be omitted without destroying its identity. Those doctrines are, the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the consequent infallibility of all their teachings;—the doctrine of the Trinity, that there is one God subsisting in three persons, the Father, Son, and Spirit, the same in substance and equal in power and glory; the doctrine of decrees and predestination as above stated; the doctrine of creation, viz., that the universe and all that it contains is not eternal, is not a necessary product of the life of God, is not an emanation from the divine substance, but owes its existence as to substance and form solely to his will;—and in reference to man that he was created in the image of God, in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness, and not *in puris naturalibus*, without any moral character;—the doctrine of providence, or that God effectually governs all his creatures and all their actions, so that nothing comes to pass which is not in accordance with his infinitely wise, holy, and benevolent purposes;—the doctrine of the covenants; the first, or covenant of works, wherein life was promised to Adam, and in him to his posterity, upon condition of perfect and personal obedience; and the second, or covenant of grace, wherein God freely offers unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all who are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe;—the doctrine concerning Christ our Mediator, ordained of God to be our prophet, priest, and king, the head and Saviour of his church, the heir of all things, and judge of the world, unto whom he did, from eternity give a people to be his seed, to be by him in time redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified, and that the eternal Son of God, of one substance with the Father, took upon him man's nature, so that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the

Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion; that this Lord Jesus Christ, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father; and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven for all those whom the Father hath given to him;—the doctrine of free will, viz., that man was created not only a free agent, but with full ability to choose good or evil, and by that choice determine his future character and destiny; that by the fall he has lost this ability to spiritual good; that in conversion God by his Spirit enables the sinner freely to repent and believe;—the doctrine of effectual calling, or regeneration, that those, and those only whom God has predestinated unto life, he effectually calls by his word and Spirit from a state of spiritual death to a state of spiritual life, renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining their wills, thus effectually drawing them to Christ; yet so that they come most freely;—and that this effectual calling is of God's free and special grace alone, not from any thing foreseen in man;—the doctrine of justification, that it is a free act, or act of grace on the part of God; that it does not consist in any subjective change of state, nor simply in pardon, but includes a declaring and accepting the sinner as righteous; that it is founded not on anything wrought in us or done by us; not on faith or evangelical obedience, but simply on what Christ has done for us, *i. e.*, in his obedience and sufferings unto death; this righteousness of Christ being a proper, real, and full satisfaction to the justice of God, his exact justice and rich grace are glorified in the justification of sinners;—the doctrine of adoption, that those who are justified are received into the family of God, and made partakers of the spirit and privileges of his children;—the doctrine of sanctification, that those once regenerated by the Spirit of God are, by his power and indwelling, in the use of the appointed means of grace, rendered more and more holy, which work, although always imperfect in this life, is perfected at death;—the doctrine of saving faith, that it is the gift of God, and work of the Holy Spirit, by which the Christian receives as true, on the authority of God, whatever is revealed in his word, the special

acts of which faith are the receiving and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life;—the doctrine of repentance, that the sinner out of the sight and sense, not only of the danger, but the odiousness of sin, and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, does with grief and hatred of his own sins, turn from them unto God, with full purpose and endeavour after new obedience;—the doctrine of good works, that they are such only as God has commanded; that they are the fruits of faith; such works, although not necessary as the ground of our justification, are indispensable, in the case of adults, as the uniform products of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers;—the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, that those once effectually called and sanctified by the Spirit, can never totally or finally fall from a state of grace, because the decree of election is immutable, because Christ's merit is infinite, and his intercession constant; because the Spirit abides with the people of God; and because the covenant of grace secures the salvation of all who believe;—the doctrine of assurance; that the assurance of salvation is desirable, possible, and obligatory, but is not of the essence of faith;—the doctrine of the law, that it is a revelation of the will of God, and a perfect rule of righteousness; that it is perpetually obligatory on justified persons as well as others, although believers are not under it as a covenant of works;—the doctrine of Christian liberty, that it includes freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemnation of the law, from a legal spirit, from the bondage of Satan and dominion of sin, from the world and ultimately from all evil, together with free access to God as his children. Since the advent of Christ, his people are freed also from the yoke of the ceremonial law. God alone is the Lord of the conscience, which he has set free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship;—the doctrines concerning worship and the Sabbath, concerning vows and oaths, of the civil magistrate, of marriage, contain nothing peculiar to our system, or which is matter of controversy among Presbyterians. The same is true as to what the Confession teaches concerning the church, of the communion of saints, of the sacraments, and of the future state,

and of the resurrection of the dead, and of the final judgment.

That such is the system of doctrine of the Reformed church is a matter of history. It is the system which, as the granite formation of the earth, underlies and sustains the whole scheme of truth as revealed in the Scriptures, and without which all the rest is as drifting sand. It has been from the beginning the life and soul of the church, taught explicitly by our Lord himself, and more fully by his inspired servants, and always professed by a cloud of witnesses in the church. It has moreover ever been the esoteric faith of true believers, adopted in their prayers and hymns, even when rejected from their creeds. It is this system which the Presbyterian Church is pledged to profess, to defend, and to teach; and it is a breach of faith to God and man if she fails to require a profession of this system by all those whom she receives or ordains as teachers and guides of her people. It is for the adoption of the Confession of Faith in this sense that the Old-school have always contended as a matter of conscience.

There has, however, always been a party in the church which adopted the third method of understanding the words "system of doctrine," in the ordination service, viz., that they mean nothing more than the essential doctrines of religion or of Christianity.

That such a party has existed is plain, 1. Because in our original Synod, President Dickinson and several other members openly took this ground. President Dickinson was opposed to all human creeds; he resisted the adoption of the Westminster Confession, and he succeeded in having it adopted with the ambiguous words, "as to all the essential principles of religion." This may mean the essential principles of Christianity, or the essential principles of the peculiar system taught in the Confession. 2. This mode of adopting the Confession gave rise to immediate and general complaint. 3. When President Davies was in England, the latitudinarian Presbyterians and other dissenters from the established church, from whom he expected encouragement and aid in his mission, objected that our Synod had adopted the Westminster Confession in its strict meaning. President Davies replied that the Synod required candidates to

to adopt it only as to "the articles essential to Christianity."*

4. The Rev. Mr. Creaghead, member of the original Synod, withdrew from it on the ground of this lax rule of adoption.

5. The Rev. Mr. Harkness, when suspended from the ministry by the Synod for doctrinal errors, complained of the injustice and inconsistency of such censure, on the ground that the Synod required the adoption only of the essential doctrines of the gospel, no one of which he had called in question.

While it is thus apparent that there was a party in the church who adopted this latitudinarian principle of subscription, the Synod itself never did adopt it. This is plain, 1. Because what we call the adopting act, and which includes the ambiguous language in question, the Synod call "their preliminary act," *i. e.*, an act preliminary to the actual adoption of the Westminster Confession. That adoption was effected in a subsequent meeting (on the afternoon of the same day), in which the Confession was adopted in all its articles, except what in the thirty-third chapter related to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. This is what the Synod itself called its adopting act. 2. In 1730 the Synod unanimously declared that they required all "intrants" to adopt the Confession as fully as they themselves had done. A similar declarative act of their meaning was passed in 1736. Again, in the reply to the complaints of Messrs. Creaghead and Harkness, it was asserted that the Synod never intended that the Confession should be adopted only in those articles essential to Christianity. 3. Over and over again at different periods—in the negotiations for the union of the Synod of Philadelphia and that of New York and New Jersey, both parties declared their adhesion to the whole system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession. The same thing was done in the correspondence of our Synod with that of the Dutch Reformed Church, and in their letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in which that body was assured that we had the same standard of doctrine as they had. 4. Finally, when in 1787 the General Assembly was organized, it was solemnly declared that the Westminster Confession of Faith, as then

* See Gillett's History of the Presbyterian Church, vol. i. p. 130.

revised and corrected, was part of the CONSTITUTION of this church. No man has ever yet maintained that in adopting a Republican constitution, it was accepted only as embracing the general principles of government, common to monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies.*

The Old-school have always protested against this broad-church principle, 1. Because in their view it is immoral. For a man to assert that he adopts a Calvinistic confession when he rejects the distinctive features of the Calvinistic system, and receives only the essential principles of Christianity, is to say what is not true in the legitimate and accepted meaning of the terms. It would be universally recognized as a falsehood should a Protestant declare that he adopted the canons of the Council of Trent, or the Romish Catechism, when he intended that he received them only so far as they contained the substance of the Apostles' Creed. If the church is prepared to make the Apostles' Creed the standard of ministerial communion, let the constitution be altered; but do not let us adopt the demoralizing principle of professing ourselves, and requiring others to profess, what we do not believe.

2. A second objection to the lax rule of interpretation is that it is contrary to the very principle on which our church was founded, and on which, as a church, it has always professed to act.

3. The Old-school has always believed that it was the duty of the church, as a witness for the truth, to hold fast that great system of truth which in all ages has been the faith of the great body of the people of God, and on which, as they believe, the best interests of the church and of the world depend.

4. This lax principle must work the relaxation of all discipline, destroy the purity of the church, and introduce either perpetual conflict or deathlike indifference.

5. There always has been, and still is, a body of men who feel it their duty to profess and teach the system of doctrine contained in our Confession in its integrity. These men never can consent to what they believe to be immoral and destructive, and therefore any attempt to establish this broad-church prin-

* On these subjects see the Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church, by Charles Hodge, vol. i. chap. 3.

ciple of subscription must tend to produce dissension and division. Either let our faith conform to our creed, or make our creed conform to our faith. Let those who are convinced that the Apostle's Creed is a broad enough basis for church organization, form a church on that principle; but do not let them attempt to persuade others to sacrifice their consciences, or advocate the adoption of a more extended formula of faith which is not to be sincerely embraced.

The next point to be established in this exposition is, That the New-school branch of the Presbyterian church in this country have practically adopted, and still hold, this lax principle against which the Old-school have always protested.

This is not a question concerning the faith of our New-school brethren as a class, but simply as to a rule of church action. We fully believe that a very large part, perhaps a great majority of those brethren, sincerely adopt the system of doctrine contained in our standards, and that they understood themselves to profess that faith at their ordination. But what we hold to be undeniably true as a matter of history, is that the New-school church do not, and never have required the adoption of that system as the condition of admission to their ministry. In proof of this position we appeal—1. To the fact already mentioned. It has been shown that a party existed in the original Synod who desired the doctrinal basis to be, as expressed in the adopting act (so called,) “essential and necessary articles;” “essential and necessary articles of faith.” If a Presbytery deemed “the scruples or mistakes (of a candidate for reception into our ministry) to be about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government,” he was to be admitted.

This was interpreted to mean “articles or doctrines essential to Christianity.” This mode of adopting the Confession, is pronounced, by the Rev. E. H. Gillett, a compromise, in which the stricter Presbyterians yielded much to the New England, English, and Welsh members of the Synod. He says, further, that the Synod in 1736 endeavoured to put a construction on the Adopting Act which it would not bear.” That construction, in the language of the Synod of 1736, is “that they adopted the Confession of Faith and Catechism to be the con-

fession of their faith, except only some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters," which relate to the civil magistrate. These are precisely the words used by the Synod in their real adopting act in 1729. The interpretation which the Synod repudiated was that put upon the language of their preliminary act, (commonly called the Adopting Act itself,) by Presidents Dickenson, Davies, and others, that by "essential and necessary doctrines" are to be understood doctrines "essential to Christianity," and not doctrines essential to the Calvinistic system. These were the two methods of interpretation about which the contention arose. The Synod gave the stricter construction, which, as we understand him, Mr. Gillett says the act will not bear. He further says that the Adopting Act, (as he interprets it,) in spite of this action of the Synod, "still stood as the fundamental and constitutional basis of the Synod, and no possible *interpretation* could supersede it." (*History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i. chap. 4.)* Of the two methods of adopting the Confession which disturbed the original Synod, this work of Mr. Gillett, published officially by the New-school Presbyterian Publication Committee, advocates the lax principle as the fundamental and constitutional basis of the church. The New-school as a church is thus committed to this broad-church principle.

2. It is well known by all familiar with the controversy attending the disruption in 1837, '38, that this was the grand point of difference between the New and Old-school parties. The one contending that the Confession was to be adopted as "to substance of doctrine" only; the other insisted upon its

* The Synod in 1736 say that they did at first adopt and still adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, "without the least variation or alteration, and without any regard to said distinctions," *i. e.*, the distinctions which had been complained of. This Mr. Gillett says was not true. It certainly is not true that the Synod adopted the Confession literally without "the least variation;" for they distinctly excepted parts of the twentieth and twenty-third chapters. What the Synod, however, intended by their language is true—and that is, that they did not intend to distinguish between the articles essential to Christianity and those not essential to it. This was the distinction complained of. This they repudiated. That this is their true meaning, is plain from the cotemporary history of the controversy; from the explanation which they give of the Act of 1736, by quoting the Act of 1729; and from the whole subsequent history of the church.

strict adoption, as containing "the system of doctrine" held by the Reformed churches.

3. The decisive proof however, that the New-school, as a church, do adopt this lax principle, is to be found in the following facts. First, before the division of the church as a party, they uniformly and strenuously resisted the exercise of discipline in reference to doctrines notoriously inconsistent with the Calvinistic system. The Old-school, although averse to the modified Calvinism of New England, as represented by such men as the late Drs. Richards and Griffin, of Newark, New Jersey, and many others who agreed with them; and although still more averse to the hyper-Calvinism of the Hopkinsians, never desired that men adopting those views should be excluded from the ministry in our church. It was not until the rise of Taylorism, or, as it was called in New England, the New Divinity, that it was felt that fidelity to our standards demanded the intervention of church authority.

Every one knows that the fundamental principles of the New Divinity are, 1. That ability limits obligation, and therefore, as man has power only over deliberate acts of the will, all sin consists in the deliberate violation of known law. Hence, there can be no moral character before moral action, and no moral action until there is such a development of reason and conscience, as is the necessary condition of moral agency. If this be so, there can be no hereditary, sinful corruption of nature; and original sin, in the universally accepted meaning of that term, is an impossibility. Here we have, not an explanation of the doctrine that men are born in a state of sin and condemnation, but a bold denial of the doctrine itself. But the denial of that doctrine is the rejection, not only of the theology of the Reformed churches, but of that of the whole Christian church. 2. A second principle is, that a free agent can always act in opposition to any amount of influence which can be brought to bear upon him, short of that which destroys his freedom. In other words, absolute certainty is inconsistent with free agency. From this it follows, that God cannot control the acts of free agents in a moral system. If this be so, there can be no efficacious grace; and no purpose of election, because there is no power to carry that purpose into effect; regenera-

tion becomes, and is avowed to be, not an act of God, of which the soul is the subject, but an act of the sinner himself.

It is on the ground of the principle just mentioned the New Divinity vindicates God in the permission of sin. He cannot prevent its occurrence in a moral system. He does all he can to prevent all sin, to convert all men, to save every human being. It would be a waste of time to prove that these principles are inconsistent with Calvinism. Words must lose their meaning before there can be any dispute on this point. Unless Augustine was a Pelagian, no man holding the above principles can believe the system of doctrine taught in the Westminster Confession. 3. A third fundamental principle of the New Divinity is, that a regard to our own happiness is the ground of moral obligation. We are bound to do whatever gives us most enjoyment. Our whole allegiance is to ourselves. If serving the world, sin, or Satan, would make us happier than serving God, we should be bound to serve sin. This is the system which the eminently devoted Dr. Nettleton spent the later years of his life in denouncing and opposing.

It is an historical fact that the New-school as a party resisted the exercise of discipline in reference to these doctrines; that they not only refused to censure those charged with holding them, on the ground that the charge was not sustained, but they refused to allow the doctrines themselves to be condemned. It is further notorious, that they freely ordained or received into their Presbyteries men who did not hesitate to avow their adhesion to these principles. It was this more than anything else which roused the church to resist the encroachment of errors which threatened its existence; just as the Dred Scott decision and the attempt to force slavery on Kansas, roused the country to resist the encroachments of the slave power.

A second fact which proves the point in hand is, that since the separate organization of the New-school, the advocates of the New Divinity have been freely admitted and ordained. In no case has any censure been pronounced against their peculiar views, and in no case have their advocates been subjected to discipline. Yet it is undeniable, and we presume universally admitted, that these doctrines are publicly avowed and taught by not a few of their ministers.

A third fact is, as Mr. Hovey K. Clarke stated on the floor of the Assembly, the New-school Committee on Reunion strenuously resisted any such statement of the doctrinal basis as would exclude the teachers of these doctrines. Nothing would have been easier than to place this matter in a form which precluded honest misinterpretation. We know Dr. Bushnell has said that such is the chemistry of thought, that any form of words can be interpreted to mean anything; and that another distinguished man has said he could sign any creed any of his opponents could write. These, however, are moral idiosyncrasies. The great majority of good men at least act on the principles of common honesty. As it is known that the original and main dispute between the Old and New-school related to the principle of subscription, it would have been easy to stipulate, 1. Negatively, that the Confession was not to be adopted only as to the necessary or essential doctrines of religion; and 2. Affirmatively, that it was to be received in each and every article belonging to the Calvinistic or Augustinian system, as that system is set forth in the common standards of our church. What that system is, is just as certain as what Popery or Lutheranism is. Instead of anything thus definite, the programme, as submitted to the Assembly, proposes that the Confession should be adopted in the sense in which it is received in both branches of the church. This refusal to be definite, and this insisting on ambiguity, is proof enough that the parties are not agreed as to the terms of subscription; or rather, that it was agreed to concede to the New-school their lax principle of interpretation.

A fourth fact bearing on this point is, that whereas before the report of the committee, strong opposition to union was manifested in the New-school body, as soon as it was seen that the Old-school had surrendered every thing, the proposed plan was adopted by an unanimous vote in the New-school Assembly. What does this mean? Why it means they have sense enough to see that we have abandoned our principles and adopted theirs; and they are of course willing to receive us as repentant sinners. This has been openly proclaimed by their distinguished speakers; and one of their Presbyteries has formally resolved that it is, and must be understood that men

holding the doctrines of Dr. Taylor and Prof. Park are to be received in the united church as of undoubted orthodoxy.

We repeat what we have already said. We are not labouring to prove the prevalence of heresy in the New-school church. We know many of their ministers whom it would be an honour to any church to count among its members. We are willing to receive as true whatever can be even plausibly said as to the general orthodoxy of our New-school brethren. Let this be admitted. It does not touch the question. That question relates to a rule of church action, viz., the principle which is to govern the united church in receiving and ordaining ministers of the gospel. Shall every man who denies any one of the great constituent elements or doctrines of the Calvinistic system be excluded from the ministry in our church? Or, shall we admit men who deny the doctrine of original sin; of inability; of sovereign election to holiness and eternal life; the perseverance of the saints; the doctrine of the atonement as a true and proper expiation for the guilt of sin and a real satisfaction to the law and justice of God, and who represent it as merely didactic, moral, or symbolical in its design and influence? This is the question, and it is one which concerns our life.

We have no belief that any honest Old-school man can approve of the proposed plan of union, if he regarded it in the light in which we have presented it. And still further, we do not believe that there is any real difference among us, as to the principles set forth in the foregoing pages. The difference is not concerning principles, but simply a matter of fact. Those who have assented to this plan of union admit that the Old-school principle of subscription is right, and ought to be adopted in the united church, but they say the New-school have adopted it, and *therefore*, and on that understanding, they are in favour of the union. They have been led into this serious mistake because the New-school members of the committee assured them that as for themselves they did adopt the Confession as we do. This we doubt not is true as to them individually, but it is as clear as day that it is not true of the New-school as a church. This being the case, union with that church, on the proposed programme, would be the renunciation of a principle

to which the Old-school are pledged in honour, in conscience, and by solemn vows.

As to the other great point in controversy, the admission of Congregationalists to sit as members of our church courts, little need be said. It is admitted to be unconstitutional; but it is urged that it is a limited and temporary evil, and ought not to stand in the way of a union which promises such advantages. But the question is, Is it right? Is it right for a church deliberately to violate a constitution which it is solemnly pledged to support? In 1837 the Old-school abolished the old Plan of Union with Congregationalists, on the ground that it was unconstitutional. They justified the excising acts on the ground that it was against their conscience to allow Congregationalists to sit as members of Presbyterian judicatories. Are they now willing to disgrace themselves in their own eyes and in the eyes of all other men, by saying this was a false pretence? If conscience forbade it then, it forbids it now. And it ought not to be done. It is a great mistake to regard this as a small evil. Every moral wrong is a great evil. And that it is morally wrong for men deliberately to violate a constitution which they have vowed to support, admits of no dispute. Suppose it were proposed to allow a British peer to sit as a member of the United States Senate. It might be said it was a small matter, only one member out of sixty-four, and that his presence could do no harm. In one sense this may be true. He might be the wisest and most useful member of the body; nevertheless his admission would shake the very foundations of the government. We cannot believe that our church will ever be brought to assent to a plan of union which involves the surrender of the great principles which we have conscientiously adopted, and to which we stand pledged before God and man.

If the view of this subject given above be correct, it necessarily follows that the Old-school would be guilty not only of a great moral wrong should it accept of the proposed plan of union, but would forfeit the moral right to all endowments, whether of churches, or boards, or seminaries. Those endowments were given to a church professing certain principles, and pledged to support them. If those principles be abandoned, the

moral right to the endowments ceases to exist. We say nothing of the legal question. That is beyond our province. But if property be given to a body pledged to require of its ministers sincere faith in the grand old scriptural Augustinian theology, which has ever been the fountain of life and strength, all moral right to the property is gone, if that body becomes latitudinarian, admitting to its ministry men to whom that theology is a jest or an offence.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Poetical Books of the Holy Scriptures, with a Critical and Explanatory Commentary, by the Rev. A. R. Fausset, A. M., Rector, St. Cuthbert's, York, England, and Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., Professor of Oriental Literature and Biblical Instruction, in Union Theological Seminary, Va. Philadelphia. 1867.

This brief commentary is marvellously compact and is often almost epigrammatic in its terseness. It is suggestive rather than exhaustive, yet it contains more than might have been imagined from its diminutive size. The plan upon which it is constructed, of giving a page of commentary opposite to each page of text, has embarrassed its preparation without promoting the convenience of its readers, for the proposed correspondence has not in actual fact been preserved, and could not be without a detriment far greater than the advantage to be gained. Nevertheless, with this drawback, which is chiefly one of mechanical arrangement, it will serve a valuable purpose and meet the wants of a large class of readers who have not leisure nor inclination to consult more extended commentaries, and who wish to arrive at the meaning of the sacred writers by as direct a route as possible. The exposition of the Psalms in particular is admirably executed. That of Job would probably have been improved, if the writer had consulted some of the later continental commentaries, as those of Hahn, Schlottmann, and others.

The whole is evangelical and spiritual, and a fair measure of attention is paid to whatever is typical and Messianic. In the Song of Solomon, confessedly, one of the most difficult books in the Bible to expound satisfactorily, the Messianic interpreta-

tion is pushed to an extreme. It is divided into five canticles, which are supposed to relate successively to as many distinct periods in chronological order, from the times of the Old Testament to the end of the world. The first canticle, i. 2—ii. 7, is referred to the period preceding the advent, it is the bride searching for, and finding her king; the second, ii. 8—iii. 5, to John the Baptist's ministry; the third, iii. 6—v. 1, to the ministry of Christ on earth, the bridegroom with the bride; the fourth, v. 2—viii. 4, extends from the agony of Gethsemane to the conversion of Samaria; the fifth, viii. 5, 14, from the calling of the Gentiles to the close of revelation. The Song begins with longing for Christ's first coming, and ends with praying for his second coming.

The Fatherhood of God, being the first course of the Cunningham Lectures delivered before the New College, Edinburgh, in March, 1864. By Robt. S. Candlish, D.D., with a Reply to Professor Crawford's Strictures, and a notice of other objections. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1867. Pp. 389.

The Fatherhood of God considered in its general aspects, and particularly in relation to the Atonement, with a review of recent speculations on the subject. By Thomas J. Crawford, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Second edition, revised and enlarged, with a Reply to the Strictures of Dr. Candlish. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1867.

These are two of the most important theological works which Scotland has recently produced. Their authors are eminent men—the subjects discussed are of vital interest, and the ability with which the discussion is conducted is worthy of the high standing of the parties engaged in it. As Dr. Crawford's book has just come into our hands, we are in no position to express the opinion, which, with our measure of light, we should be led to entertain of the points in dispute. We can, however, confidently commend both volumes to our readers, as replete with instruction.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. John McClintock, D.D., and James Strong, LL.D., Vol. I. A, B. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1867. 8vo. Pp. 740.

This is a comprehensive work. Besides the topics directly indicated by the title-page, it is archæological and biographical. As it is to be completed in six volumes, with every effort at condensing, it cannot be so thorough as the more extended work of Hertzog, which is in nineteen volumes. It is, however, not only comprehensive, but learned. It evinces a wide research, and familiarity with the latest and best authorities. It is well arranged, and the matter is compressed into the smallest possible compass. Abundant references to the best sources of infor-

mation are given at the conclusion of every article. It is also candid and impartial in the discussion of controverted subjects. This is a great merit. Being written by Wesleyan Methodists, it bears, of necessity, the impress of its origin; but if prepared by Augustinians it would not be freer from the impress of their characteristic principles. We regard the work, therefore, as giving promise of meeting a very widely extended and pressing demand. It is an honour to its compilers and to the church to which they belong.

The First Epistle of John expounded in a Series of Lectures. By Robert S. Candlish, D.D., Principal of the New College, and Minister of Free St. George's Church. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1866. Pp. 526.

This is not a merely practical and exegetical exposition of this epistle. It is as well a profound theological work, in which some of the deepest themes of religion are discussed. The natural relation between man and God, the relation as determined by redemption, and the relations of the subjects of this redemption to each other, are severally considered. Such subjects discussed by such a writer as Dr. Candlish must be an attraction of unusual interest to all the students of the Scriptures.

An Exposition of the Epistle of James, in a Series of Discourses. By Rev. John Adam, Free Church, Aberdeen. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 654 Broadway. 1867. Pp. 440.

The character of the Epistle of the apostle James determines the character of these lectures. As the apostle deals specially with the practical duties of the Christian, so these lectures are practical, rather than theological. This, however, is by no means a disparagement of their value.

The Progress of Development of Doctrine in the New Testament, considered in a course of eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, on the Bampton Foundation. By Thomas Dehany Bernard, M. A., of Exeter College, and Rector of Walcot. From the second London edition, with improvements. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard & Co. 1867. Pp. 258.

By development in this volume is meant, not the unfolding of the germs of truth by a process of human speculation, but the progressive revelation of divine truth as contained in the writings of the New Testament. That there is such a progressive revelation in the Scriptures, taken as a whole, no one has ever doubted. And that this is true of the New Testament is made abundantly evident by the author of this work, if indeed it had ever been questioned. The exhibition of this subject, in a reverent spirit, is a matter of no small importance. The volume before us has been received with the very highest commendation.

The Doctrine of Justification. An Outline of its History in the Church, and its Exposition from Scripture. With special reference to recent attacks on the Theology of the Reformation. The second series of the "Cunningham Lectures." By James Buchanan, D. D., LL.D., Divinity Professor in New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1867. Pp. 514.

The Scottish theological press has been unusually prolific during the past five and twenty years. Principals Cunningham, Fairbairn, Candlish, Drs. Crawford, Buchanan, the Rev. Henry Wallace, and others, have furnished contributions to sound theology which challenge competition with those furnished by any other portion of the Christian church. German research and speculation have roused the energies of the British mind, and we have abundant evidence that it is not the purpose of God to allow his truth to lack defenders able to cope with its most skilful opponents. The work of Dr. Buchanan on Justification takes its place among the foremost of these defences of sound doctrine, and as such we commend it to the attention of our readers.

Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Franz Delitsch, D. D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German. By Rev. James Martin, B. A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1867. Pp. 461.

A System of Biblical Psychology. By Franz Delitsch, D. D. Translated from the German. Second edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. By Rev. Robert Ernest Wallis, Phil. Dr., Senior Priest-Vicar of Wells Cathedral, &c. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 654 Broadway. 1867. Pp. 569.

Delitsch is a Hebrew by descent, a Christian by profession and conviction, among the first, if not the very first, of living Hebrew and Rabbinical scholars, thoroughly German in spirit and culture. No man can be more simple and scriptural in his defence of Christian doctrine, and no one indulge in more mystical speculative discursions. In the latter of the above works the reader will find illustration of the correctness of the above remark in both its parts. These volumes form a part of the valuable series of T. & T. Clark's valuable Foreign Theological Library.

Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church, for 1866. By Joseph M. Wilson. Vol. VIII. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South Tenth St. 1866. Pp. 450.

We have frequently spoken of this Almanac of Mr. Wilson. Every volume is an improvement on those which precede it. It is becoming more and more important to the ministers and members of our church.

The Reign of Law. By the Duke of Argyle. Fifth Edition. Alexander Strahan, publisher, 56 Ludgate Hill, London. 1867.

The high themes treated in this series of essays, some of which had been previously given to the public in leading reviews, are: 1. The Supernatural. 2. Law; its Definitions. 3. Contrivance a Necessity arising out of the Reign of Law. 4. Apparent Exceptions to the Supremacy of Purpose. 5. Creation by Law. 6. Law in the Realm of Mind. 7. Law in Politics. They are handled in a style well worthy of a nobleman, who in this domain shows himself quite without a peer, at least among the nobility. The duke's style has that classic precision, force, and beauty, which result from a thorough mastery of the topics treated, combined with genuine literary and scientific culture, and especially, a clear apprehension of the issues arising between scientific scepticism and evangelical faith.

The first pages of the work betray the author's insight into one of the great subjects which has been much obscured by the crude definitions of brilliant, but uninformed and superficial writers. He sharply criticises Dr. Bushnell's definition of the supernatural as including all the changes brought about by "God, angels, or men" in the use and guidance of the laws of nature for the production of results, which these laws, without such use and guidance, could not of themselves produce. This makes the ordinary agency of the human will supernatural, and, of course, vacates this term of all significance in the great controversies relative to faith in a revealed and supernatural religion. The duke justly and forcibly says: "In all ordinary senses of the term, Man and his doings belong to the Natural, as distinguished from the Supernatural." This means not only what is above the powers of physical nature, but of man in any use he can make of these powers.

From this subject the transition to miracles is easy. The author is quite strenuous in maintaining that it is not of the essence of a miracle, that it be wrought in violation of, or antagonism to the laws of Nature. It is only essential that a use be made of, and results achieved through, these laws, which wholly transcend all human power, and evince a supernatural interposition. If with or without any use of the laws of nature, works be wrought in attestation of a divine message or messenger, clearly transcending human power, such works, he claims, are miracles. This is a region of no little difficulty. On the one hand, the supernatural, whether in miracles or the gracious operations of the Spirit on the soul, involves the immediate agency of God, over and above the mere forces of nature.

We have been accustomed to regard God's agency in Nature and Providence, as confined to upholding and guiding the forces and laws of Nature: in grace, as working above yet concurrently with them: in miracles, as not only above, but counter to them. We are aware that this distinction is not without its difficulties. No other theory, however, has so few. And there is a sense in which the laws of nature may be so set against each other as to counteract their natural working, and prevent their normal effects.

This volume is especially rich in its unfoldings and illustrations of the "reign of law" in the intricate and complex processes of nature. The third chapter, showing the necessity of contrivance arising out of the very dominion of law, in order to adjust different laws in those mutual relations and proportions requisite to the accomplishment of the great ongoings and results in nature, is one of the gems of the book. The marvellous illustrations discovered by our author in "the machinery of flight," as shown in a vast variety of birds, are most beautiful and convincing.

He deals some heavy blows at the development theories of Darwin, Huxley, and others, in the chapter on "Creation by Law," in which he maintains that creation no less than other procedures of God, however free, may nevertheless proceed according to fixed laws, and, in this sense, the universal reign of law is not inconsistent with the free creation of a personal God. He also proves that no mere evolution by natural laws and forces, could ever evolve new species, and otherwise exposes Darwin's fallacies.

Not the least interesting and weighty chapter is that relating to "Law in the realm of Mind." But it is liable to grave criticism. He has evidently been too greatly influenced by the late speculations of certain physicists in regard to the mutual correlation, convertibility, and essential identity of all forces, material and psychical. He asks: "Are we sure that the Forces which we call material are not, after all, but manifestations of mental energy or Will?...The more we know of Nature the more certain it appears that a multiplicity of separate forces does not exist, but that all her forces pass into each other, and are but modifications of some One Force which is the source and centre of the rest." This view, otherwise objectionable, we think leads the author to exaggerate the mind's dependence on the body and subjection to its laws, as also, at times, to confound in some measure the causality of the mind or will, with the nature of cause and effect in the physical world. It is true no less of mind than of matter, that

all events must have a cause. But each effect must have a cause suitable to its own kind. Moral effects are due to moral causes, to moral agents endowed with freedom and a moral faculty, as influenced by motives acting in a manner congruous with such freedom. The author seems to us to recognize the moral faculty more distinctly than freedom. But he nevertheless gives many fine proofs and illustrations of the great truth, that the only freedom possessed by mortals consists with certainty of actions, the prevalence of the strongest internal and external motives, and the potent influence of our physical, not less than our moral constitutions and surroundings, upon our actions, character, and destiny.

History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.
By John Anthony Froude, M. A. Vols. IX. X.: Reign of Elizabeth
Vols. III. IV. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

The successive volumes of this sterling work fully sustain the interest awakened by the first. For original and exhausting research, graphic delineation, and judicial accuracy and fairness, it has gained a foremost rank, while it sheds important light upon the country and period to which it relates.

The Tripartite Nature of Man, Spirit, Soul and Body, applied to illustrate and explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body. By Rev. J. B. Heard, M. A. Perpetual Curate of Bilton Harrogate. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1866.

This title-page sufficiently discloses the high range of topics discussed in the book before us. It not only runs into the profoundest topics in theology, but of metaphysics and psychology, as related to theology. The fundamental doctrine of the book, aside from its applications by our author, is among the most controverted and unsettled alike in philosophy and theology.

The author not only maintains the dualism of man's nature as composed of body and soul. He also maintains an equally broad distinction between soul and spirit, bringing to the support of this distinction some passages of Scripture, in which they appear to be used, if not in contrast, yet as mutually complementary—especially the *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and *σῶμα* of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 23. While the author displays learning and acumen in the valuable contribution he has here made towards the elucidation of this subject, yet the very cursory glance we have been able to give to portions of his book, assures us that it will not answer to take his opinions upon trust, or without independent and searching examination. The following language seems to teach the doctrine of annihilation. "In that case, which we believe to be the case of the second death referred to in Revelation, *all consciousness and being must cease*

with the disruption of the tie which unites the higher and lower natures together." P. 107.

While the author teaches a trichotomy in human nature, he does not hold to three substances, but to three manifestations of one substance. "The only trichotomy which will stand the test of our advanced school of physiologists is this, that the bodily organism, the intellectual faculties, and that higher spiritual consciousness by which we know and serve God, are not separable natures, but separate manifestations of the one nature. That relation of the Persons of the Trinity which is called Sabellianism, is the best expression of that which we hold in regard to the nature of man." P. 110.

The author however, is no Sabellian with regard to the Trinity. The great doctrine of his book, aside of questionable applications and auxiliary theories, is, that man over and above the mere animal or psychical consciousness (*ψυχή*) common to him with the brute, has what he styles a "God consciousness" (*πνεῦμα*), whereby he is capable of morality and religion. To this we do not object, if only it be understood, 1. That *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα* are often used interchangeably in Scripture to denote the whole immaterial conscious nature in man, [see Matt. xvi. 26, 1 Cor. vi. 20], and that therefore, in man they are not two substances, but diverse manifestations of one substance, the indivisible mind or rational soul of man, wherefore each is at times employed to denote that soul. 2. That body and spirit are two different substances and not merely different manifestations of the same substance, which, although, mysteriously united in man, are nevertheless not confounded or identified. Here then there is a real dichotomy in man, of soul and body. A trichotomy we only recognize to this extent, that the one immaterial soul in man has a rational, moral, and accountable nature which brutes have not.

Homespun; or Fire and Twenty Years ago. By Thomas Lackland. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867. Princeton, for sale by Wm. S. Smith.

Twenty-five years ago is too recent a date for the age of "Homespun." We grew up amid the whirl and buzz of the hand-wheel in our parental home. But it was displaced by the spinning-jenny forty years ago. And the same may be said of the usages, manners, and ideas which the author undertakes to depict as peculiar to that age. They were becoming obsolete under the influence of machinery and steam, before the beginning of the last quarter of a century. As to the descriptions themselves, some of them are fair, and others are very indifferent representations of the habits, customs, and personages of the times to which they refer.

Representative Responsibility, a Law of the Divine Procedure in Providence and Redemption. By the Rev. Henry Wallace, Londonderry. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1867.

In this able work a real and valuable service is rendered to the cause of sound doctrine and evangelical truth, at a point in which they are most widely misapprehended and bitterly impugned. It is shown by proofs most manifold and unanswerable, that the principle of representation runs through the entire constitution of human society, so that man can be a social being only as he acts for others, or is acted for by them. This great principle, therefore, is not peculiar to the two great heads of the race, the first and second Adam. It is not a device got up to explain the fall and recovery of man. It exists independently of, and anterior to, revelation, and pervades the constitution of nature and the administration of Providence. It is no more peculiar to scripture, no more the invention of theologians, than the depravity and debasement of our race, which are facts recognized, but not first revealed, in the Bible. Out of this principle flows the probation of our race in Adam, and the imputation of his sin to his posterity as represented in him; together with the imputation of the righteousness of the Second Adam to his people, and of their sins to him—doctrines clearly enunciated in the word, and underlying the gospel of God, yet by multitudes amazingly misconceived and hated.

These views are presented with great force by our author in this volume, which is well worthy of careful study.

We notice two points in which he varies from the accepted phraseology of Reformed theologians, and as it seems to us, without advantage to his cause. He objects to saying that sin entered by God's permission, as if this implied some Divine sanction or connivance. We do not see how this can be, or how we can escape this view, unless it be conceded that God was unable to prevent the entrance of sin. If he could prevent it, and did not, then he chose to permit it, not in the sense of approving or conniving at it, but of not preventing it for wise and holy reasons. "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." In close affinity to this, he argues, as if the Divine prevention of Adam's sin when on trial would have involved some interference or coercion incompatible with free-agency. But if the effectual preventive of sin by Divine agency militates against free-agency, what becomes of efficacious grace, the perseverance of the saints, and the perpetual fealty and stability of the saints in heaven? We may well refrain from dogmatism here.

It is, however, but little that we except to in this timely volume. The representative characters of Adam and Christ, Original Sin, the Priesthood of Christ, Atonement, and the Witness of the Spirit, are admirably treated. This last topic is the subject of the concluding chapter. It well deserves to be struck off in a separate tract, not so much as a contribution to dogmatic theology, as for its practical utility, in removing injurious misconceptions in regard to the nature of religious experience.

Dictionary of the Bible. Parts II. and III. By Dr. William Smith. American edition. New York: Hurd & Houghton.

An examination of these numbers more than confirms the favourable opinion we expressed in our last issue as to the merit of this foremost of the Bible dictionaries. The American editors-in-chief, Prof. Hackett and Mr. Abbot, display everywhere their admirable qualifications for the work committed to them. The occasional contributions of their co-labourers are also of a high order.

The Christ of the Apostles' Creed: the Voice of the Church against Arianism, Strauss, and Renan. With an Appendix. By Rev. W. A. Scott, D.D. 8vo., pp. 432. New York: J. D. F. Randolph. 1867.

We have recently read with interest a volume entitled "The Church: its Origin, its History, its Present Position," by Drs. Luthardt, Kahnis, and Brückner, of the University of Leipzig—the work being found among the valuable translations made accessible to the English and American public by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh. Dr. Brückner in his first lecture thus sketches in one particular the present problem before the Protestant church. He quotes the saying of Strauss, "They who would clear the church of popes must first clear religion of miracles," and then adds, "Now miracles are of two kinds, physical and mental. Naturalism chiefly attacks the former, because it knows no higher laws than the laws of nature. Rationalism chiefly attacks the latter, because it knows no higher source of knowledge than human reason." "The highest of natural miracles is the incarnation of the Son of God; and the highest of mental miracles, the Divine inspiration of Scripture. We see then that it is at these points chiefly that opposing views and tendencies encounter each other."

In the volume before us, Dr. Scott discusses, in a series of seventeen discourses, the successive phrases of the Apostles' Creed that set forth its doctrine of Christ. The work is designed not for scholars, but for intelligent Christian readers, most of the philosophical and polemical discussion being reserved

for the appendix. The author prepares himself for his work by a special and extended study of the standard English theologians of the present and preceding centuries, and fortifies his positions by frequent references and copious citations. The work is well adapted to revive and confirm the faith of practical Christian men and women, and to deliver from error such others as, having been misled by the subtle and treacherous dealing of modern skepticism, will candidly ask themselves, What is the faith which the church of all ages has drawn from God's word, and by which it has lived? What has it held and found its Saviour to be, and what does it with sure warrant anticipate? We can readily believe that these discourses were useful to those who heard them, and pray that others may be reclaimed, won, and edified by reading them.

The Life of the Rev. William Marsh, D. D. By his Daughter, the author of "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars." 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 580. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

Whatever may come from the pen of this favourite and accomplished author is sure of a hearty welcome. We have here a daughter's loving and graceful tribute to a father, who was eminently worthy of such a biographer. Connected by birth and by marriage with the gentry and nobility of England, Dr. Marsh early became an earnest, evangelical Christian, and was for sixty-four years an honoured and useful minister in the established church. He died a little less than three years since, in the ninetieth year of his age. In each of the important stations which he successively occupied, he wrought a good work for his Master. Loving ardently his own church, he recognized his Master's image wherever it appeared. Writing to one of the Gurney family, he says of the well-known philanthropist, "Joseph John was a scholar—Joseph John was a philosopher—Joseph John was a Christian—Joseph John was an honour to the community of which he was a member. And what made him such, but the Word and the Spirit of God? When Bishop Bedell, an ardent Protestant, but a most loving and benevolent man, died, a zealous Roman Catholic exclaimed, 'May my soul be with Bishop Bedell's!' Joseph John was a Friend, and I am a Churchman, but—may my soul be with Joseph John's!" One of the highest tributes ever paid to Dr. Marsh himself, and one very touching to him when he was about leaving his great parish of sixteen thousand souls in Birmingham, was paid him by Joseph Sturges, the Friend and Radical: "Friend Marsh, if thee leavest Birmingham, the Friends will put on crape." He was a strong opponent of Ritualism and Rationalism, a friend of Simeon, and Legh

Richmond, and Wilberforce, an earnest and valued co-labourer in all good causes, a man whose blessing at his dying-bed the Archbishop of Canterbury was honoured in asking.

We could easily fill pages with characteristic utterances and incidents from the life of this good man, but we choose to refer our readers to the memoir itself. A beautiful Christian home is laid open to our view, and we can the more readily understand the spirit and the power of the author of "Hedley Vicars." Said a friend who opened to the beautiful likeness of the good old man in the first volume, "That is worth the price of the book." We agreed with her.

Aunt Margaret's Trouble. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

A story, reputed to be from the pen of a daughter of Dickens, which may at least claim to be simple and natural; our readers who crave the sensational will pronounce it tame.

Ritter Bell, the Cripple. By Fairleigh Owen. Philadelphia: J. P. Skelly & Co.

A well written and spirited temperance story for children.

The Sunday Question. A Reply to the Rev. Dr. George Junkin's Treatise entitled "Sabbatismos." By Justin Martyr. 12mo., pp. 143. Philadelphia: T. Elwood Zell. 1867.

The title of this little volume sufficiently explains its aims. The question of Sunday cars furnishes the occasion for the discussion. The specific object of the book is to show that the fourth commandment is not now morally binding. We have not discovered anything specially new or convincing in the author's argument. He writes with vehemence, with an extensive knowledge and adroit use of the literature of his subject, (especially where he can array evangelical men against each other on any point,) and is not always sparing of the charge of bigotry and intolerance, and an unreasoning adherence to orthodoxy, on the part of those who differently read the Scriptures and the moral history of the church and world. Such reasonings as those of this author should be well pondered, for the issues are living, practical, immediate, constant, vital.

The Book of Proverbs in an Amended Version, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By Joseph Münscher, D. D. 12mo., pp. lii. 265. Gambier, Ohio. 1866.

This volume should have fared better at the hands of the printer and binder. It hardly holds together while we are examining it. It is a clear, concise, scholarly, and practical commentary, and supplies a want in our exegetical literature.

The English version is followed with such corrections as are necessary to bring out the meaning more fully and exactly. The notes are not so learned as to repel or be unintelligible to our intelligent laity, and yet will attract scholars by their discussions of the original text, and their citation and canvassing of different interpretations. We are confident that the book will win its way to a place in many libraries as the best commentary of its kind that is now easily accessible.

William Farel, and the Story of the Swiss Reform. By the Rev. W. M. Blackburn.

Anthropos. By the Rev. W. P. Breed, D D.

These volumes, issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, escaped notice at the time of their appearing. They are characteristic, and worthy of both authors and publishers.

Studies in the Gospels. By Richard Chevenix Trench, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo., pp. 326. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867.

We have here a collection of sixteen expository articles from the pen of the learned Archbishop. This is a welcome addition to the series of works with which he has already enriched our literature. The articles vary in length from nine to more than sixty pages, but are all, so far as we have had time for their examination, fresh, interesting, and instructive. The most extended and minute discussions are on the Temptation, (pp. 1—65,) Christ and the Samaritan Woman, (pp. 83—138,) and the Transfiguration, (pp. 184—215.)

The volume is brought out in the superior style so characteristic of the publishers.

Yesterday, To-day, and Forever. A Poem, in twelve books. By Edward Henry Bickersteth, M. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

This honoured son of an honoured father is not unknown to our readers as an author. As a poet, he is now for the first time introduced to the American public, in a reprint, if we remember rightly. Three successive years at the University of Cambridge, he received the Chancellor's Prize, and again the Seatonian Prize for a poem. The remarkable poem now before us is by far his most elaborate and ambitious production. Although the composition is recent, the theme has been in mind for twenty years gathering form and proportions. The grandest and most awful revelations of the historical and prophetic Scriptures supply the author's subject. The work has been in our hands too short a time to warrant a judgment to

which we should wish to be held; but passages of great beauty and power have arrested our attention as we have turned to one book after another. The author writes as one anticipating the near and rapid approach of the great events described in the latter part of his poem.

The Culture demanded by Modern Life; a Series of Addresses and Arguments on the Claims of Scientific Education. By Professors Tyndall, Henfrey, Huxley, Paget, Whewell, Faraday, Liebig, Draper, De Morgan; Drs. Barnard, Hodgson, Carpenter, Hooker, Acland, Forbes, Herbert Spencer, Sir John Herschel, Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. Seguin, Mr. Mill. etc. With an introduction on Mental Discipline in Education. By E. L. Youmans. New York: D Appleton & Co. 1867.

We propose nothing more now than to note the appearance of this book, whose title sufficiently indicates its aim and range. We shall doubtless have occasion to refer to it in subsequent discussions of educational questions.

Hieroglyphic and Demotic Dictionary, containing in methodical order the words and groups most frequently used of the Sacred and Popular Language and Writings of the ancient Egyptians—with definitions in French, German, and Arabic, and statement of affinities with corresponding words of the Coptic language, and with Semitic Idioms. By Henry Brugsch. Leipsic. 1867. J. C. Hinrichs, Publisher. Pp. 96.

This is the first instalment of a Hieroglyphical Dictionary by Brugsch, the fruit, as he says, of twenty years' toil, and designed to exhibit the results of all the labours of Egyptologists in deciphering and translating groups of Hieroglyphics up to the present time; thus revealing the existing state of knowledge on the subject, what is certain, what doubtful, and what remains to be unriddled. The vast step forward implied in the possibility of such a work, will make this of great interest to scholars. It is to be completed in twelve parts, at intervals of one or two months.

Bible Prayers, arranged by Jonas King, D. D., Missionary at Athens, Greece. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

The Bible Reader's Help. From the Religious Tract Society, London. Revised and enlarged. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

The Syrian Leper; or the Sinner's Malady and the Sinner's Cure. By Rev. E. P. Rogers, D. D., Pastor of the South Dutch Church, New York City. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

A Mother's Legacy; or Sabbath Evening Counsels to her Sons and Daughters. By Mrs. Nancy Sproat, late of Taunton, Mass. Author of *Poetic Works for the Young*, &c. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

The above issues of the American Tract Society have substantial value, and do not belong to the trash which enters too largely into popular religious literature.

"Out of Harness," Sketches, Narrative and Descriptive. By Thomas Guthrie, D. D. Editor of "The Sunday Magazine." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

Our Father's Business. By Thomas Guthrie, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.

It is enough to say of these volumes that they consist of sketches, essays, and homilies, in that peculiarly rich, fervid, evangelical strain, which characterize all Dr. Guthrie's writings and discourses, and have won for him his great celebrity as a Christian preacher and author. Those who buy and read these volumes will not regret their outlay.

A Week with Jesus, or Lessons learned in his Company. By John M. Lowrie, D. D. Author of "Esther and her Times," "Adam and his Times," and the "Hebrew Lawgiver," and Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Dr. Lowrie in the previous volumes published by him has established his reputation as a writer on Scripture teachings and religious experiences, who is sound and instructive, without being dry and dull. The present volume has these characteristics, and is therefore, a valuable addition to our stock of fresh religious reading.

Bible Pictures, or Life-sketches of Life-truths. By George B. Ide, D. D., author of "Battle Echoes," &c., &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1867.

A perusal of some of the chapters in this book has satisfied us that it has decided merit as a fresh and vivid, yet sound and solid presentation of important scriptural truths. It will rank very well with the book of Dr. Lowrie, just noticed.

Hints and Thoughts for Christians. By Rev. John Todd, D. D. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

A volume beautifully printed, of short, racy articles on various points of practical religion, in Dr. Todd's usual vein, which renders them at once readable and profitable.

When were our Gospels Written? An Argument by Constantine Tischendorf. With a Narrative of the Discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript. Translated and published by the Religious Tract Society in London, under an arrangement with the Author. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

We are indebted to the Tract Society for placing this important little volume within easy reach of all.

Toils and Triumphs of Union Missionary Colportage for Twenty-Five Years. By one of the Secretaries of the American Tract Society. American Tract Society, New York. W. S. Smith, Princeton.

We are glad that Dr. Stevenson has prepared and published this summary of the methods and results of Colportage; thus enabling those who are in doubt to form an intelligent opinion regarding its merits and efficacy.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1867.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*Sanctification.*

SANCTIFICATION is the maintenance and progression of a new life, imparted to the soul, by a direct agency of the Spirit of God, in regeneration or the new birth. Of the latter, Coleridge admirably says that “not the qualities of the soul merely, but the root of the qualities is transcreated. How else could it be a birth, a creation?”* By nature, or the first birth, we are not only destitute of every element of this Divine principle, every spiritual desire or aptitude, we also have within us a principle utterly, and to finite power invincibly antagonistic to it; a deadly, death-working energy, that reigns and rules with a sovereign sway throughout and over our entire nature. It is described by the apostle as a merciless tyrant that rouses himself and asserts his supremacy at the least symptom of resistance to his malignant sway. This is sin, original sin, knowing no infancy, adult in the new-born babe; as Augustine says, *Tantillus puer, tantus peccator*;† the spring-head and ever-flowing fountain of all wrong acts and words and thoughts and feelings; it is like the poison in the viper, which makes it

* Works, vol. v. p. 370, Shedd's edition.

† See South's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 430, Bohn's edition.

a viper the moment it comes into being. This is our native hereditary condition. By the omnipotent agency of the Third Person of the Godhead the believer receives that which, under his gracious and continuous superintendence, strikes a death-blow at the principle of sin, and communicates a power and a life by which he is "renewed in the spirit of his mind," and becomes joyously and intelligently conscious of God's infinite love, tenderness, and grace, as revealed in the Scriptures, accompanied with longings for the fellowship and enjoyment of God and desires after perfect conformity to his will, and a detestation of whatever either in heart or in conduct is contrary to absolute goodness and truth. In possession of this divinely begotten property, he discovers his true relations to God in creation and in redemption; he becomes an inhabitant of a new world, an inheritor of an inconceivable glory; he is a new creature; old things have passed away, behold all things have become new. This property it is the effect of sanctification to perpetuate, enlarge, and mature.

The influence of the sanctifying agency is deeper than consciousness; it is a secret insensible presence abiding in its subject, invisible by any introspection or intuition; it is the *hidden life of God* in the mysterious mechanism of our being. This is one of "those things of God which no one knoweth, but the Spirit of God."* Its existence is discoverable only in two ways; (1) by the testimony of God; the Spirit bearing witness to it in the word; and (2) by its effects or fruits. We cannot better describe it than by saying that it is a spiritual instinct,† a living impulse that "pervades the inmost recesses of the man,"‡ that possesses and vitalizes his soul throughout its every part and faculty, disposing and enabling him unto all goodness. It finds its analogy in that native instinct which is developed in the domestic relations by which a mother loves

* 1 Cor. ii. 11.

† Owen says, "It hath much more conformity unto a natural unchangeable *instinct* than unto any acquired *habit*." Works, vol. iii. p. 475, Goold's edition. John Howe also says, that that which is created in regeneration is "by the very nature of it *instinct*ed into a dependence on God." Works, vol. v. p. 13, London, 1822. Flavel calls it "a kind of supernatural *instinct*." Method of Grace, p. 108, Am. Tract Soc. ed.

‡ Canons of the Synod of Dort, ch. iii., art. 11.

her child, and a child its parent. It is the *filial impulse* drawn out towards God as our father; the *fraternal* towards Christ as our brother. Thus God reproves Israel by Malachi—"a son honoureth his father, and a servant his master; if I then be a father, where is mine honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of hosts."* And this is even more strikingly illustrated in those passages where God blames his apostate people for not knowing and obeying him, even as the brutes know and obey their owners: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."† "Yea the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord."‡

As this Divine principle is beyond our inspection, lying within us, beneath the subtle all-pervasive principle of evil, it is manifest that it is a thing not subject to our will, not under our control, not accessible directly to our thoughts. Believers are "created anew," "born again," vivified, raised from the grave of sin, and made partakers of the Divine nature, "the seed of God." God's law, which is the embodiment of absolute right and goodness, is put into their inward parts, and inscribed on the fleshly tables of their hearts. Christ has given them water which has become within them a well of water springing up unto everlasting life. "He that believeth on me," said Christ, "out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. This spake he of the Spirit which they that believe on him should receive."§ "But as thou knowest not what is the way of the Spirit, or how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not this work of God,"|| this process of sanctifying power.

Hence again, of course, sanctification should not be regarded as a habit, a second nature, an acquired instinct resulting from repetition of acts. There may be very signal instances of "the form of godliness" thus produced. Indeed, the appearance of piety may be more marked, and in some sense more effective,

* Malachi i. 6.

† Isaiah i. 3.

‡ Jeremiah viii. 7.

§ John vii. 38, 39.

|| Ecclesiastes xi. 5.

than the reality: the beauty of holiness in a person truly sanctified is often greatly disfigured by reason of the unpromising struggle with the world, the flesh, and the devil, in which he is engaged; but that habit of religion which results from repeated acts of piety, not originating in God, not being supernatural, however beautiful in appearance, is like "clouds without water;" its "root is as rottenness, and its blossom goeth up as the dust." In sanctification, a Divine habit, a nature increased by the Holy Spirit is truly the proximate cause of all real holiness of life. It inclines and strengthens the subject of it to the performance of whatever acts are congruous to it,—to obedience, and faith, and love, and every grace. It confirms and develops "the right spirit" which God creates in the believer.

In truth this work of God's Spirit in man necessarily antedates, and gives both existence and character to whatever of true goodness the believer may have or attain to. The tree is first made good, and then the fruit is good: without this sanctifying work, thus preceding and forming the ground of right action, we are not sufficient to do, say, or think anything acceptable to God. Therefore it is that primarily and fundamentally, it is not under our control. It is not ours to watch, manage, or direct. This sacred treasure, the purchase of the blood of Christ, is not entrusted directly to our guardianship and care. It is too precious a thing to be committed to the frail bark of the human will. The holiness with which God endowed Adam and the angels in their creation was intrinsically the same as that which is given to us in sanctification, but its maintenance, nay, the very continuance of its principle, was made dependent upon themselves, upon their own wills; not so with those who are new created in Christ: their wills, all their particular acts and exercises of holiness are made dependent on their primordial antecedent, sanctification: not, as we shall presently see, that they are mere machines herein, not that they have no agency or responsibility or duty in relation to it; but that God is first and sovereign, the primal cause and constant preserver of this "new heart," this "Divine nature," this principle of celestial spontaneity implanted by himself within them. He so upholds and energizes it that nothing is more

certain than that it will never perish; no power, whether their own or others, can destroy it or separate it from them. Nothing is more expressly or emphatically declared in Scripture than that this product of the Divine power, this "life of God in the soul of man," is in the special keeping and watch of the Holy Spirit. He evermore guards, cherishes, and renews it. By his quickening influence it is kept vital and active, sanctifying them in their spirit, soul, and body. Comparing our spiritualized nature to a vineyard, the prophet says, "I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment, lest any hurt it; I will keep it night and day."* Thus they are "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation,"† and all things which pertain unto life and godliness are given them; they are strengthened more and more with all might by the Spirit in the inner man. The Bible can teach us nothing as certain, if it be not an absolute certainty that sanctification in its principle and essence is a work of God's free and sovereign grace, wrought and eventually perfected by the immediate and continued operation of the Holy Spirit.

There is another and most instructive aspect in which this subject is presented to us in Scripture: it is based upon the inter-relations of the several Persons of the Godhead with each other. It is unnecessary here to state what these relations precisely are.‡ It is the office work of the Third Person in the Godhead to *unite the believer to Christ*. In order to sanctification he must be joined unto the Lord, made one with Him, as the branch with the vine, the members with the body, the body with the head, the house with its foundations. The Holy Spirit does not accomplish the work of sanctification apart from Christ. The subject of this work must be "in" Christ, and Christ must be "in" him in a mysterious ineffable union, a union not only like those unions already named, but like that most wonderful of all unions, the union of the Persons of the adorable Trinity, "as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."§ It is in the execution dis-

* Isaiah xxvii. 3.

† 1 Peter i. 5.

‡ The reader will find them succinctly set forth in the October No. of this *Review* for 1866—Art. II.—*The Trinity in Redemption*.

§ John xvii. 21.

tinectively of the Holy Spirit's office work that this transcendent union is effected. He creates, cements, and perpetuates it; making the believer and the Lord Jesus Christ most intimately, vitally, may we not say, divinely, one. We are taught in the Scriptures that this union is constituted in the mutual participation by Christ and the believer of the same eternal Spirit. The Holy Ghost is in Christ, his Spirit; the Holy Ghost is in the believer, his Spirit; and thus the Holy Ghost, the Third Person of the Godhead, the *vinculum Trinitatis*, is the vinculum, the bond of the mysterious union between Christ and the believer.

The effect of this union of the subject of sanctification with the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Bible, is the communication and reception of the fulness of Christ. "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, and of his fulness do we receive and grace for grace."* As Christ is the Head of the Church, so "from Him the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth according to the effectual working in the measure of every part maketh increase of the body."† "We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones;"‡ "he that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit."§ He is "our life," we are "dead," and He "liveth in us." Thus it is that our Lord communicates to us his life, image, grace and strength by the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son; and God the Father, in the economy of grace, has put the Spirit under Christ, that Christ concurrently with the loving heart of the Spirit may impart, maintain, and perfect this new and Divine nature in his people.

In accomplishing this wondrous result, the Holy Ghost becomes (1) an *Indwelling* Spirit: that is to say, an abiding presence, a Personal resident, with reference to a revelation of Christ within us, a living, dwelling of Christ in us by faith. As in the old dispensation Christ dwelt in the temple by the Shekinah, so we, being inhabited by the Holy Spirit are consecrated as His spiritual temples in which Christ dwells and lives as at home. If any man have not thus the Spirit of Christ, he

* John i. 17, 16.

† Eph. iv. 16.

‡ Eph. v. 30.

§ 1 Cor. vi. 17.

is none of His.* “Know ye not that ye are the temples of the Holy Spirit who dwelleth in you.”† “The Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwells in you.”‡ In this manner Christ Jesus the Lord is enshrined and enthroned in us by his Spirit, making us “all glorious within”§—and becoming unto us our Wisdom and Righteousness and Sanctification and Redemption. This Indwelling in its influence and effect is that Divine nature, that spiritual instinct of which we have spoken: by his Personal residence the Spirit becomes the immediate cause, pledge, and guarantee of its being, its continuance, and its final perfection.

For (2) the Holy Spirit does not *dwell* in believers only; He also *works* in them mightily and incessantly. He works all their good works; the springs of their goodness are in him. By his internal operations he enables and inclines them unto all right desires, thoughts, words, and actions. The renewed soul would apostatize and perish, even as did Adam and Eve and the angels, were it not that the Spirit sent by Christ to reside in us, actuated us in all our duties, struggles, and temptations. “He works in us to will and to do.”|| He makes and keeps us willing and active. He imparts strength so that we can do and suffer all things according to the will of God. Paul could say, “I love and serve and glorify God, yet not I, but the grace of God that is with me. I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.” So he teaches us that holy living, in every case, is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. Believers are led, guided, moved “by the Spirit;” they walk and live and pray “in the Spirit.” God the Spirit makes all grace abound towards them so that they always have a sufficiency in all things. This antecedent, fundamental, causative presence of the Holy Spirit, is, according to the Scripture, the secret of the beginning, progress, and end of the work of sanctification.

If this account of the elemental character and cause of sanctification is just, then may we apply to sanctification what the Psalmist says of the Divine omniscience, “such knowledge is too wonderful for me, it is high, I cannot attain to it.”¶

* Romans viii. 9.

† 1 Cor. iii. 16.

‡ Romans viii. 11.

§ Psalm xlv. 18.

|| 2 Cor. ix. 8.

¶ Ps. cxxxix. 6.

The subject of it, as President Edwards says, has "a higher privilege than the blessed Virgin herself had in having the body of the Second Person of the Trinity conceived in her womb, by the power of the Highest overshadowing her: Luke xi. 27, 28; 'And it came to pass as he spake these things, a certain woman of the company lift up her voice and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps that thou hast sucked! But he said, Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.'"*

A matter of great practical importance, to which reference has already been made, here requires a brief consideration. Such questions as the following will indicate it. Is sanctification, as it has now been described, in any proper sense within the power of the believer? Can a renewed person do any thing of himself to promote or retard it? Is it not so absolutely within the sphere of Divine sovereignty that we must leave the work exclusively to His will and pleasure? In reply, we remark, that if the distinction just made between the *Indwelling* and the *Inworking* of the Holy Spirit is correct, then it would appear that believers are under most solemn relations and responsibilities in respect to it. As to the former, before men become believers, they of course do only resist the Holy Ghost who offers to be their guest, yet even then, by occasion of this offer they are under the highest responsibility; and in not fulfilling it as they ought incur most fearful guilt. But the actual inhabitation of the human soul by the Eternal Spirit is of the purest sovereignty of Divine grace, the free electing love of God in fulfilment of the covenant of redemption, and until in fact effectual, is against the nonconcurrence of the will of its subject.

The operations or *Inworking* of the *Indwelling* Spirit on the other hand, while just as purely sovereign as his inhabitation, are generally put into relations to our own agency, in such a manner as to make us personally answerable for the increase or hindrance of our sanctification. If we are stones fashioned for incorporation into the spiritual temple by the plastic hand of grace, we are lively stones, rational spiritual agents. And

* Edwards' Works, New York ed. 1843. Vol. i. p. 557.

while every believer is absolutely secure against apostasy; while the seed, the life, the celestial instinct of holiness implanted in the advent of the Divine inhabitant, is incorruptible and ineradicable, there is a most intrinsic coincidence between our free, rational, and moral faculties, and the influences and operations of the Holy Spirit in our sanctification. In this respect the omnipotent energy of the Holy Spirit in imparting and maintaining holiness in the believer is distinguished from his miraculous and prophetic agency. There is no forced suspension or abrogation or violation of the laws and relations of our being, no interference with our freedom. While our consciousness cannot reach to the working of the Divine Spirit within us, it can and does recognize the *effects* of his presence and power: these now, as always, are instances of moral liberty. The soul is conscious of entire untrammelled freedom in all its spiritual preferences and acts. As we have seen it belongs to the nature of the work of the Spirit to impart a new *life* to the soul, new tastes and dispositions, a new ability and self-activity unto holiness; as the Synod of Dort says, the renewed will “is not only actuated and influenced by God, but in consequence of this influence becomes itself active.”* While the origin of our holiness is Divine, once originated, it is *ours*; it is holiness in our souls, in our wills, in all our faculties, just as truly our own, as the instinct of the ox or the ass or the crane is theirs; just as truly as the instinct that makes and marks a mother is her own.† Now as holiness

* Canons of the Synod of Dort, ch. 3d. art. 12.

† This is that which chiefly distinguishes Sanctification from Justification. A distinction so broad and so marked, that its clear discernment will ever forbid and forestal the papal doctrine of subjective justification; a doctrine widely prevalent under various modifications in the Church of England, and fast gaining ground in this country through the Ritualistic and Realistic tendencies of worship and of philosophy. The Scriptures always regard the righteousness on the ground of which we are justified as not our own, but that which is of faith, the righteousness which is of God by faith. The obedience of Christ, which is his, and only his and never ours, is the basis of justification. The righteousness and true holiness which are created within us in regeneration and maintained and advanced in sanctification, are ours in the strictest sense. Nothing, no part of our being, body or soul, no faculty or power or disposition is more truly our own than is the spiritual life, the Divine nature imparted to us by the Holy Spirit.

by its essence is not a thing of force or physical necessity; and as we are still in the flesh weak and depraved, we may, under the force of unconscious habit or subtle temptation or remaining corruption, so act as to abridge more or less the inworking of the indwelling Spirit of Christ. In the language of the Bible, we may "limit," "resist," "grieve," "quench" his sacred influences, or, on the contrary, we may respond to and receive and cherish them. The fruit or effect of the inworking of the Spirit is love, joy, faith, etc.; unless we by freely acting out these motions of grace do love, rejoice, believe, we are without these gracious affections; we are not growing, we are declining in grace. The germinating seed of grace is not in a mummy, but in a vital spirit, in a rational nature, through the personal exercise of which they become in the most perfect sense its own and not anothers.

There are three factors that concur in actual sanctification. These are (*a*) the person sanctified, (*b*) the word of God, and (*c*) the Holy Spirit. So intimate and essential is this concurrence in the life of believers, that the result is indifferently ascribed to either or all of them. The Spirit is evermore the causal or prime agent, as such working all, effecting all, that is wrought. We need not repeat the quotations already made in confirmation of this. If anything is clear in the Bible it is that the Holy Spirit is the author and finisher of our sanctification.

The person sanctified is called upon to do what by the above statement the Holy Spirit alone can do;—"make you a new heart and a new spirit;"* "keep thy heart with all diligence;"† "strengthen the things that remain;"‡ "keep yourselves in the love of God;"§ "be ye filled with the Spirit;"|| "grow in grace."¶

Not less explicit is Scripture as to the agency of the word; of this it is said, "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever;"** "the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls;"†† "the word of his grace, which is able to build you up,

* Ezek. xviii. 31.

‡ Jude 21.

** 1 Peter i. 23.

† Prov. iv. 23.

|| Eph. v. 18.

†† James i. 21.

‡ Rev. iii. 2.

¶ 2 Peter iii. 18.

and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.”*

In the process of sanctification neither the believer nor the Holy Spirit acts independently of the word. The former believes, repents, loves, hopes, fears, prays through, and according to, the word. By and through the same word the Holy Spirit begets, renews, illumines, convinces, restrains, guides, sanctifies the believer. The responsible and happy activity of the saint is therefore in vital connection with the word; and at the same time he is entirely and constantly dependent upon the inward working of the Spirit, who uses the word as his instrument in producing holiness of heart and life. Hence the study of the Bible is indispensable in our sanctification. Through it all our progress in the Divine life is made. Without it any progress is impossible. The Saviour prays, “sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth.”† The Bible must be seen and felt to be the very word of the true and living God, “in a furnace of earth purified seven times,”‡ and “magnified above all God’s name.”§

It is the Book of God. What if I should
Say God of Books?
Let him that looks
Askance at that expression, as too bold,
His thoughts in silence smother,
Till he shall find such another.—HERBERT.

Then and only then does it secure the sanctifying coöperation of the Holy Spirit when it is regarded as veritably Divine. Thus the apostle teaches—“for this cause thank we God without ceasing, because when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God which effectually worketh also in you that believe.”|| This efficient working is of course that of the Holy Spirit, for in themselves neither the will of the believer, nor the word of God can produce holiness in the soul. This is the peculiar prerogative of the Spirit.

But this word, the medium or instrument of sanctification, is

* Acts xx. 32.

† John xvii. 17.

‡ Psalm xii. 6.

§ Psalm cxxxviii. 2.

|| 1 Thess. ii. 13.

no bare letter, when it is used by the Spirit. It is itself spirit and life, a fire and a hammer, quick and powerful, an engrafted word able to save the soul. Let a renewed person receive the truth of God as verily that truth, adapted by its own nature to produce the fruits of holiness; its efficiency will now seem to be entirely within and of itself; and were it not for the positive testimony of God to the contrary, he would deem the coöperating, sealing, illuminating, renewing work of the Spirit not only unnecessary, but unreal. The supernatural *truths* and *statements* so received would be regarded as producing faith, the fontal grace, absolute trust in the revelations of the spiritual and eternal worlds; the commands and precepts would be thought to work obedience and submission and penitence, with their kindred graces; the *promises* would be looked upon as the source of hope, joy, consolation, strength, and gratitude; the *threatenings* and *cautions*, as producing awe, reverence, and watchfulness. Each and every declaration of God would be accounted as themselves fruitful of blessings to the believer sitting at the feet of Jesus and saying with Samuel, Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth. But this view of the independent efficacy of the word is, as we have remarked, contrary to the explicit testimony of God. The revealed facts concerning the nature and working of original sin in the believer, and the supreme place attributed to the Holy Spirit in sanctification render it an illogical as well as an unscriptural hypothesis.* The spirit and energy that are ascribed to the word are not of themselves competent to sanctify. On the contrary, unless the living word is accompanied with creative omnipotent power it serves only to blind and harden and condemn. Its practical value to the believer is to be estimated only in connection with this Divine agency. To separate the Holy Spirit from the word, is to make the latter a savour of death unto death. It is still armed with infinite authority. Not being the word of Moses or Paul, of David or John, of prophets or evangelists,

* A failure to recognize the distinction above indicated is the fault of such works as that of Jenkyn on "The Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church," and of all "moral suasion" theories in modern Divinity. In this connection, see Turretin, vol. ii. p. 463, et seq. Edinburgh ed. De vocatione et fide, Quæst. 4, sec. 23, or "Gratia per verbum" and "immediata gratia."

but of God, having as its author the faithful, the true, the infallible Witness, it is of course above all cavil, or question, or debate. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God."* "Holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."† Not merely *their* opinions, views, and feelings are communicated, but His, whose thoughts are not as man's thoughts, whose justice and whose mercy are past finding out. It is a word of infinite majesty to be scanned not by human logic, or learning, or intuition, but submitted to implicitly by the human will to be the supreme law of conscience and of life. It is thus a word of instant obligation, to be believed and acted upon at once. It is not amenable to the reasoning faculties of man, it commands his reason and his heart. The Holy Ghost evermore saith, "*To-day*, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."‡ "*Now* is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation."§ From its very nature the word of the Bible admits of no delay as to the reception of what it teaches or obedience to its behests. Cavil, hesitation about acceptance and compliance with it, is presumptuous sin against its Author. Prompt, thorough, absolute acquiescence is our duty whenever we hear or read the word of God.

But we never resist the word alone; for the agency of the Spirit in using and applying the word is likewise immediate. The *duty* of the believer created by the word, and the *grace* of God enabling unto that duty go together. The Spirit convicts, enlightens, purifies, consoles, restrains, strengthens, as the case may be, just then, when the word received in simple faith comes into contact with the mind. No sooner does the Divine word touch the soul, whether through the ear or eye, or memory, than the exceeding greatness of the power of the Holy Ghost produces its legitimate effect. On this account, the word of God "never returns to him void, but accomplishes that which he pleases, and prospers in the thing whereto he sends it."|| It always effectually worketh for good in them who receive it as the word of God. Being of Divine authority and of immediate obligation, and the blessed Spirit being both its author and its efficiency in the soul, unbelief, doubt, delay

* 2 Timothy iii. 16.

† 2 Peter i. 21.

‡ Heb. iii. 7.

§ 2 Cor. vi. 2.

|| Isaiah lv. 11.

are perilous to the last degree. And as we are wholly dependent upon the coöperation of the Spirit, as without him the word never quickens, or renews, or illuminates, or comforts, our relations to him are unspeakably tender, delicate, and solemn. His condescension to us in this matter being infinite, our faith and acceptance of him and his word should be simple and hearty and prompt. On this point of signal, essential moment, a few paragraphs from Pascal will not be inappropriate. "As to the mere passing topics of the day, it is doubtless quite enough to have once heard and retained them, but not so with spiritual truths. These must be impressed upon our minds by an internal and Divine influence, and not merely perfunctorily committed to the memory. We may indeed get by heart, and remember as easily, an epistle of Paul, as one of the books of Virgil; but the knowledge and the impression thus acquired are a mere effort of memory: while in order to enter into that sacred language, which is an unknown one to those not taught of heaven, we need the same grace which first opened the understanding to instruction, to preserve and retrace it continually in faithful and docile hearts. . . . The perseverance of the faithful is only the result of a continual supply of grace; and not of such grace as when once imparted ever after subsists of itself; which shows us our perpetual dependence upon Divine mercy; for if that be once suspended, we are instantly reduced to inefficiency and barrenness. For grace once possessed is only to be retained by the acquisition of more. . . . We should never indulge a disinclination for hearing or reading sacred things, however common and familiar they may be; for our memory as well as the instructions committed to it, are like a mere lifeless body without the vivifying influences of the Spirit. . . . Thus a sermon of the most ordinary description will sometimes produce more effect upon those who receive its instructions in a teachable spirit, than the most eloquent discourse heard with the liveliest interest and delight. And we sometimes find that those who thus listen in a right mind, although ignorant and insensible before, will be touched with the mere hearing of the name of the Almighty, or by a few words that convey the threat of eternal punishment, although

these may be all that find admission into their darkened minds.”*

In respect to this matter of the time or season of the sanctifying operations of the Holy Spirit, we submit a few thoughts in connection with the preaching and hearing of the word. Humble, docile, Mary-like *reading* of God's word, and careful David-like meditation on that word, furnish occasions for the working of the blessed Spirit, and we should properly magnify our duty therein. But it has “pleased God by the foolishness of *preaching* to save them that believe.”† Faith and all the graces involved in faith come by hearing. The word, we are told, profits only when mixed with faith in them that hear it.‡ The official ministerial declaration of the word, is one of God's chief means of sanctifying and comforting his people. On the supposition that the preacher is a faithful ambassador of God, if the hearers receive his word with doubt and questioning, if they regard it as the word of the preacher, and not as it is in truth the word of God, if they sit as judges upon it and hesitate and delay to accept it, the Holy Spirit does not attend it with his sanctifying power. He is grieved and offended, and the result must be very different from a blessing. God's word must be heard as God's word in order to God's blessing. If we go to the house of God to be sanctified by his Holy Spirit, if we go to be wrought upon by the omnipotent Spirit in our deepest being, then we go not to hear a man speak, but what God the Lord may speak; we go to listen not to human eloquence or learning, but to the solemn voice of Him whose word called the world from nothing, and it came; to hear, not the preacher, but the word preached. The preacher, though he be a Paul or an Apollos, is only a minister, a servant of the people by whom they believe as the Lord gives to every man. All he does is to plant and to water: “so then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.”§ How few professing Christians go to church for this supernatural purpose? If they went with the desire and expectation of being the subjects of the direct and

* The Miscellaneous Writings of Pascal, Faugère's ed. London, 1849. Pp. 16, 17.

† 1 Cor. i. 21.

‡ Heb. iv. 2.

§ 1 Cor. iii. 7.

most profound operations of the eternal Spirit, how much more frequently and earnestly would they attend upon the ministrations of the house of God? If, with David, the one thing that they desired of the Lord was to see and feel the beauty and power and glory of the Lord in his sanctuary, instead of being half-day Sabbath hearers and demanding short sermons and æsthetic appendages to the services, they would wish to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of their life, and the gospel would come to them not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance.* That preaching which does not first of all commend itself to the Holy Spirit, that does not offer itself to Him as a prepared medium of Divine power to the souls of the hearers, though the preacher be unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well upon an instrument, is unprofitable, wicked preaching. The Holy Spirit sanctifies the people of God through the declaration of the testimony of God; therefore should the preacher come to them not with excellency of speech or wisdom; and his preaching should be not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that their faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.† The less there is of the preacher the better. The counsel of Dr. Payson to a minister illustrates this; "Paint Jesus Christ upon your canvass, and then hold him up to the people; but so hold him up, that not even your little finger can be seen." God only is great in his own house. He is there by his Spirit to work this wondrous work of sanctification through the truth as it is in his written word; and hearers who do not crave and insist upon the real word of God from the ministry, fail to be sanctified through the ministry they attend on. Like the Bereans, they should themselves study the word in the Scriptures, that so they may receive and enjoy the peculiar benediction promised to the oral proclamation of that word. To be pleased, gratified, and satisfied, are very different things from being sanctified. It is not the preacher, but the word of God spoken by the preacher, through which the Spirit graciously operates. When that word

* Psalms xxvii. 4, xxiii. 6; 1 Thess. i. 5.

† 1 Cor. ii. 1, 4, 5.

is faithfully and truly uttered, the opportunity of the Holy Spirit is furnished; and whether the preacher be a Jonah or a Paul, a Noah or a Peter, it depends not on him, but on the Holy Spirit, what use shall be made of the word he preaches.

Besides, as the word is a word of instant obligation, and as the Holy Spirit always recognizes his own authority and majesty by which that obligation is created, and exerts his power in connection with it, *when* preached, we may remark, that the *frequent* proclamation by the preacher, and the *frequent* hearing of that word by the people, is both a high privilege and a solemn duty.* What we have already quoted from Pascal bears strongly on this point; we add to it a few words from President Edwards: "It is objected that when sermons are heard so very often, one sermon tends to thrust out another, so that persons lose the benefit of all; they say, two or three sermons in a week are as much as they can remember and digest. Such objections against frequent preaching, if they are not from an enmity against religion, are from want of duly considering the way that sermons usually profit an auditor. The main benefit that is obtained by preaching, is by impression made upon the mind in the time of it, and not by any effect that arises afterwards by a remembrance of what was delivered. And though an after-remembrance of what was heard in a sermon is oftentimes very profitable; yet, for the most part that remembrance is from an impression the words made on the heart in the time of it; and the memory profits as it renews and increases that impression; and a frequent inculcating the more important things of religion in preaching, has no tendency to rase out such impressions, but to increase them and fix them deeper and deeper in the mind, as is found by experience. . . . It seems to have been the practice of the apostles to preach every day in places where they went; yea, though sometimes they continued long in one place, Acts ii. 42 and 46,—xix. 8, 9, 10. They did not avoid preaching one day for fear they should thrust out of the

* The practice which obtains in some churches of requiring but one sermon of their pastor on the Sabbath, and substituting a prayer-meeting or a Sunday-school service in the place of the second sermon, has the support neither of Scripture nor of a sound philosophy.

minds of their hearers what they had delivered the day before; nor did Christians avoid going every day to hear, for fear of any such bad effect.”*

From the views that have been presented, we readily infer that the *guarantee* of sanctification is the word of God heard and heartily believed; that its *measure* is according to the simplicity and child-likeness of faith; and that its *quality* is derived from the character and kind of the truths received. All the truths of the Bible believed and honoured in their due proportion will make the best balanced, most stable and efficient saint. How many dislike and avoid much of God's truth, and become one-sided, unequal, variable, questionable Christians in consequence?

It is also evident that our sanctification, though in its cause wholly a Divine work, is in a very high sense placed within our own power. The indwelling of the Spirit is constant and assured, but the operations and influences of that Spirit are in such connection with the will and wisdom of the believer and the word, that the believer is invested with a most sacred responsibility. It becomes a *duty* to be sanctified by the Holy Ghost. We sin against God, if, in the active intelligent use of God's word and in dependence on the promised Spirit, we are not dying more and more unto sin and living more and more unto righteousness. The Spirit inclines and enables us to believe and pray and love and struggle, and we may oppose and grieve him therein, or we may cherish and glorify him; and to him that *hath*, that uses and improves what he hath, to him shall be given more abundantly.

Again, subjective sanctification is in no small degree a *fact to be believed*, rather than an experience of which we are conscious. Both the indwelling Presence and the powerful working of the Holy Spirit are alike beyond our inspection and recognition; so that the direct immediate discernment of the gracious work in its progress, is impossible: it is to be known only in a secondary form and manner; and this, as before remarked, is twofold, (a) by an observation of effects and fruits, and (b) by the testimony of God. As to the first, the

* Edwards' Works, New York ed., 1843, vol. iii. p. 342. See also Owen's Works, Goold's ed., vol. iii. p. 389.

saints are apt to judge of their holiness by their comforting experiences, their peace, and joy, and hope in the Saviour; but the Holy Spirit may act as a spirit of sanctification most, when he comforts least. Often the increase of the conviction of sin and hell desert, of self-diffidence and self-abhorrence, are the most manifest tokens of grace; and these humbling experiences are not the most inspiring and pleasant, though probably they are the most profitable. Therefore on God's testimony saints are to believe that they are increasingly sanctified, even when they have many fears and misgivings; for every saint grows in holiness whether he sees and feels it or not. Two of the most noticeable cases of this named in the Bible are Heman and David. The experience of the former is recorded in the eighty-eighth Psalm, for the abounding comfort of broken-hearted desponding believers. That of the latter is thus beautifully narrated by Kitto. After his great sin in the matter of Bathsheba and Uriah, "David appears a much altered man. He is one who goes down to the grave mourning. His active history is past—henceforth he is passive merely. All that was high and firm and noble in his character goes out of view; and all that is weak and low and wayward comes out in strong relief. Of the infirmities of his temper and character, there may have been previous indications, but they were but dimly discernible through the splendor of his worthier qualities; now that splendor has waxed pale—the most fine gold has become dim, and the spots become broad and distinct. The balance of his character is broken. Still he is pious, but even his piety takes an altered aspect. It is no longer buoyant, exulting, triumphant, glad; it is repressed, humble, patient, contrite, suffering. His trust in the Lord is not less than it had been, and that trust sustains him, and still gives dignity to his character and sentiments. But even that trust is different. He is still a son—but he is no longer a Joseph, rejoicing in his father's love, and proud of the coat of many colours which that love has cast upon him; but rather a Reuben, pardoned, pitied, and forgiven, yet not unpunished by the father whose honour he has defiled. Alas for him! The bird which once rose to heights unattained before by mortal wing, filling the air with its joyful songs, now

lies with maimed wing upon the ground pouring forth its doleful cries to God.”*

If the views that have been presented of the sovereignty and causative agency of the Spirit in sanctification and of our responsible dependence upon his operations are correct, the relations of art to worship are easily determined. We build our churches, provide for their services, and attend upon them not to be pleased or moved through any of our senses, or our æsthetic nature, but to be wrought upon by the direct and present power of the Holy Spirit; to be moulded, as clay in the hands of the potter, by his secret and subtle influence into the image of Christ. Whatever assists in bringing the soul of the believer, the word of God, and the Divine Spirit into most intimate conjunction should be earnestly sought; whatever tends to divert and separate the soul from this sacred union should be rejected and condemned. Whatever can be done, in the way of conveniences and adaptations, by which the body is so disposed as not to interfere with the Spirit, by which all things offensive to the eye or the ear are removed, or by which pure taste is violated, should be done; and whatever in architecture, painting, sculpture, or music, in decorations by flowers, curtains, etc., in the vestments of the minister, or the method of worship, attracts attention to itself, and so takes off the mind from God and his truth, should be sedulously avoided. The true object and end of all church arrangements should be to bring into vital relations the entire soul of man, the pure word of God, and the almighty Spirit of grace. The service of the sanctuary is spiritual. *Simplicity* should be the characteristic of whatever material is connected with it.

One other remark this discussion suggests. It has respect to ministers of the word. Sanctification as a work of God's Holy Spirit in God's elect through the word makes their office sacred beyond every other undertaken by man. They are appointed to furnish the materials through which this omnipotent efficiency is exerted. Those materials are the “all Scripture” which is given by inspiration of God. They must faithfully, fearlessly, in loyalty to the Holy Ghost, declare the whole

* Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations, Carter's ed., vol. iii. p. 375.

counsel of God, not consulting the preferences, feelings, opinions, or prejudices of their hearers, but the feelings and wishes of the Divine Spirit. Alas for the souls of men, when the pews give tone and character to the pulpit; when the high, fearful, imperial declarations of the Bible do not find their clear, complete, emphatic echoes from the preacher. As none of the penmen of the sacred volume recorded their private personal views, but wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, so the ministry should speak as the oracles of God; not giving forth their *opinions* on any topic, but evermore profoundly mindful that they are called of God, consecrated by the anointing of the Holy One to the simple and sole function of reproducing the inspired word, and that as the commissioned ambassadors of God, his representatives in the stead of the Lord Jesus Christ, they are to render to God account of their ministry. Well has it been said,* that “their preaching should be abstracted from all the temporal and secular interests of men, and rigorously confined to human guilt and human redemption; upon its face, it should not seem even to recognize that man has any relations to this little ball of earth, but should take him off from the planet entirely, and contemplate him simply as a sinner in the presence of God;” as a renewed sinner, we may add, who through the word, preëminently the preached word of God, is to be called out from the world, and made separate, and then to be powerfully transformed and transfigured into the image of Him who is the brightness of the Father’s glory, the express image of his Person.

* By Professor Shedd.

ART. II.—*A Plea for The Queen's English, Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling.* By HENRY ALFORD, D. D., Dean of Canterbury. Alexander Strahan, Publisher. London and New York. 1866.

The Dean's English: A Criticism on the Dean of Canterbury's Essays on the Queen's English. By G. Washington Moon, Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Alexander Strahan & Co., Publishers, 139 Grand Street, New York.

Good English; or Popular Errors in Language. By Edward S. Gould. New York: W. J. Widdleton, Publisher. 1867.

THE English language is spoken by nearly sixty millions of men, and "appears destined hereafter to prevail with a sway more extensive even than its present, over all the portions of the globe." Jacob Grimm, the highest authority in the Gothic languages, declares that "in wealth, wisdom, and strict economy, none of the living languages can vie with it," that it "possesses a veritable power of expression, such as, perhaps, never stood at the command of any other language of man." Its simple syntax, the small number of its grammatical forms, its nervous power, and its massive strength, point it out as a "world language," which has already fulfilled the prophecy of its earlier days:

"Who knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory may be sent
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May come refined with accents that are ours?"*

A language of such richness and power, the vehicle of more free thought and earnest truth than any other living language, is worthy of our most diligent study. And yet it is only within a few years that the attention of scholars has been directed to the thorough investigation upon philosophical principles of that language, which, within four centuries from the time it ceased to be a mere jargon, produced the greatest poet of modern times. In fact the means for such a study did not

* Daniel, in *De Vere's Studies in English*, page 1.

exist until recently. But the publication of manuscripts and the republication of our early authors is gradually multiplying the facilities for such speculations, and increasing the number of persons devoted to them. Along with the more profound works which have been the result of this movement, a number of small volumes have recently appeared, some of which we propose to notice in the present article.

"A Plea for the Queen's English," or "Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling," is a collection of papers originally delivered as lectures to the Church of England Young Men's Literary Association at Canterbury, by Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury. They were afterwards published in "Good Words," and now appear in a volume under the above title, but considerably modified in form. "The Dean's English" consists of a series of criticisms upon the Dean's Essays as they appeared in "Good Words." They were written by Mr. G. Washington Moon, F. R. S. L., who considered it his duty to expose the errors of the Dean, lest others should be injured by the example of "one of exalted position and reputed learning." The sharp controversy that ensued attracted public attention throughout the English literary world; and although both the disputants lost their temper, and notably the Dean, yet the discussion has been of much service. The verdict of the literary public in England upon nearly all the points in controversy has been in favour of the critic and against the Dean. Mr. Gould's work on "Good English" should be studied by every one who desires to avoid the popular errors in language which often escape the observation of educated men just because they are so common. The lecture upon Clerical Elocution, at the close of the volume, may be read with profit by ministers outside of the pale of the particular denomination for which it was intended.

We read the Dean's work very carefully and made our own criticisms as we read. Upon taking up Mr. Moon's little work we, of course, found that we had been anticipated in most of them, and were pleased to have the weight of his authority to sustain our judgment. There are, doubtless, many excellent things in "The Queen's English," to which we should do well to take heed; the style of the author, however, is not only

inelegant, but even inaccurate and slovenly. Mr. Moon quotes Schlegel's remark as a reason for his criticism of the Dean. "The care of the national language is at all times a sacred trust. Every man of education should make it the object of his unceasing concern to preserve his language pure." It is the duty of every educated person whose vernacular language it is, not only to keep the well of English undefiled so far as he himself is concerned, but also to prevent others from defiling the everflowing stream. We are surprised that the Dean's work should be employed as a text-book in some of our institutions of learning. It contains scores of errors, and surely the text-book should not only inculcate correct principles, but be an exemplification of them. If the Dean's book be employed for purposes of instruction, the Critic's work, which is almost faultless in point of style and rarely incorrect in its views, ought by all means to accompany it; bane and antidote should go together. In a subsequent part of this article we shall present proofs of the Dean's want of qualifications for the position he has assumed, beyond those of any person of ordinary scholarship and correct taste.

In illustrating the intimate connection between the mind and character of a nation and its language, he reveals more of the spirit of the partisan than the calmness of a judge, and shows his ignorance of some of the elements necessary to a fair decision. He reminds us of a distinguished Professor of the Sorbonne, who was greatly surprised when we assured him that English was spoken with more purity and propriety by the great mass of the people in the United States than by the corresponding class in England. His surprise was still greater when we informed him that the best Dictionaries of the language were by Americans. We quietly remarked to him that he had formed his opinion of the *American* language from "Uncle Tom's Cabin," then in the height of its popularity; and he acknowledged that this was the fact! We shall, however, permit our readers to judge for themselves. "Every important feature in a people's language is reflected in its character and history. Look, to take one familiar example, at the process of deterioration which our Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases

which so amuse us in their speech and books; at their reckless exaggeration, and contempt for congruity; and then compare the character and history of the nation—its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man; its open disregard of conventional right where aggrandizement is to be obtained; and, I may now say, its reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world.” In reading this paragraph an American involuntarily thinks of the Opium War in China and the extension of British rule in India. It also brings up anew the question of the English language in the United States, or rather in America.

It is a remarkable fact, and contrary to what we should have expected, that the further we trace a language back, the more divergent are its dialects, both in the form and in the sound of their words, and in their grammatical structure. As we descend the stream, the branches seem to unite, and we doubt not that the numerous dialects or patois that disfigure modern languages will eventually disappear, and that as the written languages of Germany, France, and Italy are now one, so each people will soon be of “one speech.” Is it likely that as the dialects in England are becoming obsolete that the diversities of speech in England and America are either so great now or will hereafter attain such a character as to constitute two distinct dialects? We think not. Despite all the causes of alienations both in our earlier and in our later history the bonds of union between the two countries are growing stronger. The ocean between them does not divide but unites them more closely. They are Anglo-Saxon in their national traits, and their unity is manifest in the essential oneness of the language that exhibits the characteristics of their nationality. This language is a common inheritance, and the nations that speak it have a right to add to its stores. When a language ceases to grow it begins to decay. The English language has not yet reached this stage of its development, and so long as there is vitality in the American people they will contribute to its growth, and much of what originates here must be accepted upon the other side of the ocean as a legitimate outgrowth from the common stock. Even our English critics are beginning to confess the right of America to make contributions to the lan-

guage, and to acknowledge the lawful claims of these new words and phrases to a position in the tongue which is not the exclusive heritage of Englishmen. Considering the nature of language, the character of our people, and the constant infusion of "strange tongues," it is surprising that the language has not suffered greater changes at our hands than it exhibits at present. Englishmen exaggerate the changes, while many Americans either deny them or attempt to explain them, and retort by directing attention to the numerous errors in language prevalent in England. Dean Alford's book certainly shows that not a few solecisms, and these by no means trivial, are to be met with even amongst educated persons in England. The English language as spoken in America undoubtedly has some peculiarities, but to collect all the expressions to be found in American books or newspapers, or to be heard in the colloquial language of this country, that differs from the language of the best English authors, and to call these Americanisms, and to denounce us as corrupters of the English tongue, is manifestly unjust. The colloquial language of the two countries differs much more than the written language. We have common standards for the one, while in the other, the racy, idiomatic expressions have been lost by reason of our separation, and their places have frequently been supplied by the strong but inelegant expressions that may, too often, be designated as slang. Bartlett has gathered from all sources, but chiefly from the humorous writers of this country, many hundreds of words and phrases, which he styles Americanisms. Many of them, however, are really good English; and surely the slang expressions of this country no more represent the language of America than does the *argot* of some of the low characters of Eugene Sue's novels represent the language of the cultivated class of the French capital, or the "flash" language of London low life represent that of elegant society in the West End. Slang and even archaic modes of expression ought to be excluded from any just estimate of the "deterioration which the Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans." And yet these, we think, constitute the great body of the corruptions which we are charged with having introduced.

It is undoubtedly true that the English language is spoken much more correctly by the mass of the people in America than by the corresponding class in England; but it is also true that the best educated people in England deviate less frequently from the standard of good English than do our best scholars in America. In other words, the educated class employ better English in their conversation, not in their writings, than the same class in America. Although dialects do not exist among us, and the language has achieved a remarkable degree of purity and uniformity, yet there are peculiarities that distinguish the different sections of the country. The nasal intonation of New England, the omission of the *h* after *w* in the Middle States, the drawl of the Southern, and the peculiar accent of the Western States, seem to us to mark unmistakably the inhabitants of the different parts of the land.

The Dutch have left only a few words in New York and New Jersey; while the Swedes have left no imprint upon the language. The Germans in Pennsylvania have not impaired the national speech, and the French of the Mississippi valley are destined to a complete absorption; while our immense Hibernian immigration has not even succeeded in obliterating the distinction between *shall* and *will*. In fact the English language in the days of Shakespeare resembled the Irish mode of pronunciation more nearly than does the language of the younger generation of the Irish in this country resemble that of their parents. The assimilating power of the English blood and the English language in this country is truly wonderful. Even "Carlyle" cannot obtain a footing here, and the "*me*" and the "*not-me*," "*stand-point*," &c., we hope will be ignominiously expelled. Only a few Spanish words were annexed with Texas and California, while the poor Indian has contributed only a few words, except geographical names. This, however, is a digression from our main subject.

While noticing the errors either of Dean Alford himself, or those to which he calls attention, it may be well to glance at some of the mistakes that are made even by well educated people among ourselves. In reference to spelling, the Dean is conservative, and desires to preserve those forms of words which recall their origin and etymology, where long usage does not

forbid a change. In the earlier periods of our language, the effort was to express the sounds of the words correctly, so that in many cases the forms do not profess to represent the etymology; each author seems to have written what was "right in his own eyes," or rather "in his own ears," and the printers, then as now, assumed to control the matter of orthography. The attempted reformation by Webster was, in most respects, a complete failure, and we are happy to observe that the last edition of his dictionary is not unlike the play of Hamlet, with the character of Hamlet left out; the notions of Webster have almost disappeared. The Dean, in ungrammatical English, condemns the practice of omitting the "u" in the termination "*our*." He hopes, with Archdeacon Hare, that the "abomination will be confined to the cards of the great vulgar, and to books printed in America." The last edition of his own poems contains the "abomination," but he defends himself by saying that the main part of the work was printed in America.

Recent investigation shows that spelling *honor, favor, &c.*, without the "u" is not an Americanism, but actually prevailed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although sympathizing with the Dean in his view, we think it useless to attempt to stem the current. One word, we trust, will be kept sacred from this innovation. An Englishman once remarked, "We scarcely know our *Saviour* in your American language." "By removing a single letter from the holy word Saviour, you would shock the piety of millions," says Johnson in Lander. Let the word "*Saviour*" at least remain intact; we will yield the others without discussing the question of their derivation from Latin or French originals. We shall notice only one other point in orthography, and that for the purpose of generalizing what the Dean seems to confine to the words *attorney* and *money*. He states correctly that the mode of forming their plurals is simply by the addition of "s." The rule, we think, is perfectly definite as to words ending in "y"; where a vowel precedes the "y," add "s" to form the plural; where a consonant precedes it, change the "y" into *ies*. Thus, *turkey, turkeys*; but, *cherry, cherries, &c.*

The next subject he takes up is that of pronunciation. Any

one who has met Englishmen even casually, has been struck with the difference between their mode of pronunciation and that of Americans. The English *clip* their words, the Americans enunciate every syllable distinctly; the English articulate the consonants plainly; the Americans dwell upon the vowels. These differences are due to the influence of climate, and to the social habits of the people. There seems to be a difference in the structure of the vocal organs, and Mr. Marsh thinks that the contrast between English and American pronunciation is largely due to the fact that we are a nation of readers.

It is certain that we are more easily understood by foreigners, and that we acquire the pronunciation of foreign languages with greater facility. The French say that the English can rarely enunciate the French sounds correctly, while the Americans are next to the Russians and the Poles in the ease with which they acquire a command of the language. Whether this is merely the language of compliment or not, we are unable to say. Whatever may be our faults in pronunciation, we are free from that which the Dean pronounces the worst of all, the misuse of the aspirate, the exasperating "exaspiration," as it has been termed. It is remarkable that the English are not the only people who have engaged in this war of extermination. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans the tendency of the vulgar was to omit the aspirate in the words to which it belongs, and the sound of "h" is no longer heard in the languages of Southern Europe. The best authorities deny this letter any power in French, save that of preventing the elision of the vowel of the article, or the *liaison*, in connection with the words beginning with the so-called aspirated "h." England then does not stand alone in this respect, and the history of the language proves that the error existed several centuries since.

We are familiar with the many amusing anecdotes that illustrate it, and know that it is almost impossible to correct the habit when once acquired. The Dean quotes from *Punch*, the story of the barber who assured a customer that the cholera was in the *hair*. "Then," said the gentleman, "you ought to be very careful what brushes you use." "Oh, sir," replied the barber, "I didn't mean the *air* of the *ed*, but the *hair* of the *hatmosphere*." In paragraph 55, the Dean says, "We still

sometimes, even in good society, hear '*ospital*,' '*erb*,' and '*umble*,'—all of them very offensive, but the last of them by far the worst, especially when heard from an officiating clergyman. The English Prayer-book has at once settled the pronunciation of this word for us, by causing us to give to God our '*humble* and *heart*y thanks' in the general thanksgiving. *Umble* and *heart*y few can pronounce without a pain in the throat; and '*umblanarty*' we certainly never were meant to say; *humble* and *heart*y is the only pronunciation which will suit the alliterative style of the prayer, &c. . . . It is difficult to believe that this pronunciation can long survive the satire of Dickens in *David Copperfield*: 'I am well aware that I am the umblest person going,' said Uriah Heep, modestly, 'let the other be who he may. My mother is likewise a very umble person. We live in a numble (an umble?) abode, Master Copperfield, but have much to be thankful for. My father's calling was umble; he was a sexton.' " We have given the Dean the benefit of this ample quotation, and despite the support afforded him by Mr. Dickens, we think he mistakes in reference to the pronunciation of *humble*, and also of *herb*, while we coincide with his view as to *hospital*, although the almost universal practice of the Scotch and the Irish is against it. The unaspirated pronunciation of *humble* we think can easily be defended. On this point nearly every orthoepist is opposed to the Dean, and one of his critics justly remarks that, "*H* is a hearty letter, *u* is despondent," and that feeling and sentiment would rather dictate a pause after the word *humble* in the prayer, and a warm, cordial utterance of the word *heart*y, and the giving to each word its ordinary mode of pronunciation. Alliteration, upon which he relies so confidently, proves too much; for then we should aspirate the "*h*" in *honour* in the petition, "that we may *honour* and *hum*bly obey her," *i. e.*, the Queen. Moreover, almost the first page of the Prayer-book, which settles (?) the question in his favour, contains the following: "That we may confess our sins with *an humble*, &c." The case is clearly against the Dean. The aspiration of the "*h*" in *humble* arises from two causes; in England, from a desire not to be thought vulgar, in this country from affectation.

Although we do not have the same trouble as the English in

reference to the "h," yet in the Middle States the words beginning with "wh" are very generally pronounced incorrectly. The same error prevails in England, although not to so great an extent. Thus no distinction is made between *when* and *wen*, *whet* and *wet*, *white* and *wight*, *wheel* and *weal*, *which* and *witch*, *whine* and *wine*; although the words contrast ludicrously enough when pronounced together. By recalling the fact that originally the "h" preceded the "w" in the orthography, as it still does in the correct pronunciation, the difficulty will be obviated. The words *shrine* and *shrink*, *shroud*, &c., are also erroneously pronounced without the "h." We are not noticing the faults of the vulgar and ignorant so much as those of educated persons. In the English House of Parliament and in good society in this country, one may hear such expressions as the "*lawr* of the land," the "*idear* of a God," "*Jehovahr*," "*peninsular*," &c., as if persons were unwilling or did not have sufficient energy to cut off the sound when they arrive at the end of a word. In the Southern States, on the contrary, the tendency is to omit the "r" at the end of words, *e. g.*, *doah* instead of *door*, although we believe that even in New York the final "r" is often transformed into "h."

Another fault, which the Dean says is most common in the midland counties in England, he styles "a very offensive vulgarism." It prevails quite extensively in our Northern States. It is the pronunciation of "u" like "oo"; calling "*student*" "*stoodent*"; "*new*" "*noo*"; "*duty*" "*dooty*," &c. We once heard a distinguished statesman speak of the *dooty* of the *individoal* to support the *constitootion*." "We must *edoocate*, we must *edoocate*!" exclaimed one of our most popular preachers and "platform" orators. "That it is very evident," quietly remarked a gentleman in the audience. Persons addicted to this mode of pronunciation should be consistent; but they are not. They may speak of *stoodents*, but they will never say there were only a *foo* present; they may talk of the *noo* church, but they never speak of the *poos* in it; they like to hear the *noos*, but are never *amoosed* by it. Let this error, from whatever cause it arises, be banished from cultivated society.

We may here notice a group of errors in reference to the

sound of "o"; these are *doos* for *does*, chiefly in Connecticut; *nöthing* for *nothing* (*nüthing*), throughout New England; *Lard* for *Lord* also in New England; *hoarse* and *moarning* for *horse* and *morning*, both in New Jersey; *pore* for *poor*, in the South. These may seem small things; and yet they indicate the finished and accurate scholar. The English pronounce the name of God very short, *Göd*, while the Americans prolong the "o" and pronounce the word as if written *Gawd*. The English may be correct, but it is too late for us to rectify the error, if it be one.

In France there is an Academy to preserve the language in its purity and propriety, in Germany the stage regulates the language to a considerable extent, while in England the usage of the learned professions and of Parliament is the ordinary standard of appeal. But in this country, at least outside of our great cities, the ministry exerts more influence upon the pronunciation of the language than any other class of society. It is of the utmost importance then, that they should be "ensamples to the flock" in language, as well as in conduct; and while seeking to amend the life, they should not corrupt the speech of the people. Ministers often pronounce incorrectly the proper names of Scripture. We coincide with the Dean in considering this fault as inexcusable, because a reference to the original at once decides the pronunciation. It would, however, be pure affectation to pronounce Alexandria, Philadelphîa, Samaria, &c., because English usage differs from the original in the pronunciation of these names. It is unpardonable to hear a minister murdering the name of *Daniel* by pronouncing it in two syllables. It is certainly great cruelty to *knock out* its "i", especially as it is a *Cyclops*. *Pharaoh*, on the contrary, is a dissyllable. Some persons through a desire to avoid what they conceive to be a vulgarism pronounce the "t" in "*apostle*," "*epistle*," and "*often*." It is, however, silent, and this "licensed barbarism" is the only correct mode of pronouncing these words. The words "covetous" and "covetousness" are often mangled by inserting an "i" in pronouncing them "*covetious*" and "*covetiousness*", and to these we may add "*heinious*" and "*heiniousness*."

We may mention here, incidentally, that in the attempt to

correct this awful pronunciation the Dean's original paragraph was so ambiguously worded that Mr. Moon demonstrated mathematically that it was susceptible of 10,240 different readings. The Dean had the good sense to amend his sentence in the second edition, and we sincerely wish that he had more frequently heeded the advice of his critic.

The next topic discussed in his work is that of idioms. He defines an idiom to be "some saying, or some way of speaking, peculiar to some one language or family of languages, which can only be accounted for by the peculiar tendency, or habit of thought, of those who use it." We are careful in giving his definition, because the term is employed in a different sense. It is used strictly to denote the sum of the rules of construction, or that general syntax of the language which constitutes its peculiar character, and does not simply mean those forms of expression which cannot be explained by the ordinary rules either of general grammar or by those of the particular language in which the phrases occur.

Accepting, however, the Dean's definition of the term, we do not see how he can argue from an idiom in one language to that in another, or prove that because an idiom obtains in one language that it ought to prevail, or at least is not incorrect in another. Because attraction, direct or inverse, is constantly occurring in Greek, and gives unity to the sentence and beauty to the language, that is not a valid reason for its introduction into English. It is a peculiarity, an *idiom* of the Greek tongue. In reference to the neuter plural* with the singular verb in Greek, to which he alludes, we may remark that the rule was not absolute; when the individuals composing the mass were considered as *one body*, the verb was in the singular number, but when they were viewed otherwise, or possessed life, it was put in the plural. On the contrary, when an infinitive or a part of a sentence is the subject, the predicate adjective is usually in the plural, although the copula is singular. His mode of argument then seems to us to have but little weight in the cases in which he employs it. You may argue

* In certain instances when the subject was not neuter the verb might be singular, provided it preceded its subject, as in the French idiom, *Il y a des hommes*.

from the *general laws* of language, but certainly not from the *idioms* of one language to those of another, except of course in the case of dialects, or even languages having a common and a not very remote origin. This principle, which we think correct, is a sufficient and complete answer to his plea in favour of "*these kind*," and "*those kind*," expressions which even the Dean and those who side with him in his views would not employ in a polite circle or before a cultivated audience.

To notice all the matters which the Dean brings up would extend this article beyond due proportions. There is a point in reference to the so-called double comparative "*lesser*," in respect to which we think he is in error. He regards its use as "an idiomatic irregularity which we must be content to tolerate." We think that "*lesser*" is the original, and "*less*" is the intruder. Our translators did not merely "sanction the usage," but were perfectly correct when they wrote, "God made two great lights: the greater light to rule the day, and the *lesser* light to rule the night;" for *less* and *least* are both contractions of *leaser* (or *lesser*), and *leasest*, regular forms from the now obsolete *leas* or *less*, and the fuller form was the one employed by the best writers of that day. In fact the form *lesser* is always employed in the Bible when it qualifies a noun *following*; and Shakespeare we believe uses it oftener than he does the form *less*. The grammarians whom the Dean takes every occasion to denounce, and for whose rules he announces supreme contempt, do not stand in need of his commiseration so much as he imagines. Had he observed their precepts more generally he would not have been guilty of so many errors, and thus rendered himself liable to so much just criticism. The strict grammarian, who has studied his vernacular language, does not find it so difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the "idiomatic expression" "*methinks*," as the Dean would lead us to believe. The impersonal use of the verb, which he considers so strange, was quite common in the Anglo-Saxon, although it now exists in English only in *methinks*, *meseems*, and *melists*. It was, doubtless, an imitation or rather a relic of the Latin. The Dean may be surprised to learn that *methinks*, in the opinion of some of the best grammarians, has no connection with the verb *to think*.

To think is the Anglo-Saxon *thencan*=*denken* in German, while *methinks* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *thincan*, meaning *to seem*. *Methinks*, therefore, means *it seems to me*, the *me* corresponding to the dative in similar expressions in Latin and in Greek, *e. g.*, *mihi videtur*, *μοι δοκεῖ*; and it was even correct to say *videor mihi*, *δοξῶ μοι*, *i. e.*, *methinks*. *Me-thought* arose from the mistaken notion as to the origin of *methinks*.

In p. 145, he says the verb to "*progress*" is challenged as a modern (*sic*) Americanism. He quotes in favour of it a sentence from Shakespeare and another from Milton, and then acknowledges that the former is "hardly a case in point," and that in the latter "the use of the verb is not exactly that which is become common now." Why then quote them? Shakespeare accents the word on the first syllable, and it is not even certain that it is a verb in this instance, and in Milton it is not intransitive. We never use the word, although it will probably win its way in the end. We notice his condemnation of the use of the word *replace* (from the French *remplacer*, *i. e.*, *remplir la place*), to denote the very opposite of its real meaning, simply for the purpose of calling attention to the use of the word *retire* in a transitive sense, which has sprung up of late years in this country, and prevails very generally upon the stock exchange. It was employed in the days of Shakespeare but had become obsolete, and was re-introduced into the language by the brokers of New Orleans, who used it legitimately in French for withdrawing stock from the market. *Retirer* is *to withdraw*, and *to retire* in its transitive sense is, we believe, used exclusively of stocks.

There is so much in which we differ from the Dean that we are glad to find matters upon which we agree. We cordially unite with him in condemning the colloquial contractions, "*I ain't*," "*I warn't*," and worst of all, "*we ain't*." A mistake of the opposite kind is the resolution of the contraction "*I'd*" into "*I had*," instead of "*I would*," which is, of course, the correct expression. Lander represents Tooke as criticizing Johnson for his error upon this point. "T. Permit me first to ask whether we can say *I had hear*? J. You mean to say *heard*. T. No: I mean the words *I had hear*. J. Why ask

me so idle a question? T. Because I find in the eighth chapter of *Rasselas*, 'I *had* rather *hear* thee dispute.' The intervention of *rather* cannot make it more or less proper. J. Sir, you are right."

The character of the Dean's book, of course, causes our review of it to be rather discursive than systematic, but this may perhaps relieve what might otherwise be a monotonous discussion of dry grammatical questions. The Dean and some of his friends seem to think if they can find in a good author a form of expression violating the ordinary rules of grammar, that such a phrase is correct and must straightway be admitted into "the society of good English." It seems to us that all that such a discovery proves is, that a good writer has made a mistake, just as do ordinary men. Because Byron wrote, "Let *he* who made thee answer that," it does not follow that we are to use the nominative case of the pronoun with the imperative of the third person. All that it shows is that Byron was not correct in his grammar. This by way of preface to the next subject, which is an examination of the Dean's assertion that "*It is me*," "*It is him*," &c., are correct English. The Dean pleads custom in their favour. Custom is undoubtedly high authority. We are all familiar with the dictum of Horace,

Si volet usus,

Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi.

But the custom of whom do we accept as the standard? Of children? of the ignorant and uncultivated? Or does the voice even of the majority of those who are educated determine grammatical rules? Or is it the usage of the best writers and speakers? Really it seems almost childish to ask these questions. But the persistence of the Dean and his followers renders it necessary to go back to the very elements. "For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles." The laws of grammar are not the work of pedants and fools, as some would have us believe, but inductions rigorously made from the facts presented by an examination of the language. Because *c'est moi* is good French is no reason why "*it is me*" is good English, any more than because "*it is I*" is correct in English, therefore *c'est je* would be correct in French. If "*it is me*" is good English, then the French, in order to

correspond, ought not to be *c'est moi*, but *c'est me*; and we hence conclude that *me* is wrong in English as well as in French. The argument from the analogy of the French, to which he and Dr. Latham appeal, entirely fails. The Dean's statement that in Christ's words, "It is I, be not afraid," the use of the nominative is explained by the majesty of the speaker, and his purpose of reassuring the disciples, appears to us to be entirely refuted by other passages in the Scriptures. The sorrowing question of his disciples, "Lord, is it I?" and the interrogation even of the traitor, "Master, is it I?" show that the translators adopted the nominative form because it was correct, and not simply from some sentimental or metaphysical reason.

In this connection we may take up the question whether *than* does or does not govern the objective case. Because in a single anomalous instance, and that chiefly in poetry, it is used with the objective case is no more a proof that it is allowable in other instances than the fact that Dryden, contrary to his own habit in all other cases, and that of the other poets, says *con'tem-plate* instead of *contem'plate* is a proof that it is correct to accent the first syllable of this word instead of the second. The truth is, that leaving out this case, of which it may truly be said,

Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est,

than does not govern a case. We may say "*than I*," or "*than me*," but these forms of expression are elliptical, and so far from meaning the same thing, as the Dean's rule would imply, they differ greatly in their signification. "He loves you better *than I*," i. e., *than I [love you]*; but "he loves you better *than me*," means "he loves you better *than [he loves] me*." He is wiser *than me*, can never be correct.

In illustrating the correct mode of expression from the Scriptures it will be seen that the Dean's statement that solemnity or majesty is the reason why the nominative is used in the Bible in these cases, again vanishes before the test of fact. Christ says, "My Father is greater *than I*"; but Joseph also, when only a servant, says, "there is none greater in the house *than I*." A critic says, "when Solomon asked (Eccl. ii. 25), 'Who can eat more *than I*?' according to the Dean it ought

to have been, 'Who can eat more than me?' Perhaps this would suit the cannibal islands.' The Dean is peculiarly unfortunate both in his quotations and in his appeals to Scripture. He declares (and in this opinion he is not alone,) that the pronoun "*its*" does not occur in the Bible, and Leviticus xxv. 5 is at once cited against him; he founds an argument in favour of his erroneous view as to the correct mode of placing an adverb upon an alleged expression in Scripture, and when it is referred to it is found to sustain the view of his adversary and to be diametrically opposed to his own. It is Numbers xii. 2, "And they said, Hath the Lord indeed spoken *only* by Moses?" *Only* is correctly placed, but not so in the judgment of the Dean, who had it "only spoken." He quotes from Milton,

"Which when Beëlzebub perceived, *than whom*,
Satan except, none higher sat."

But it has been well remarked he did not quote from the same author,

"What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less *than he*."

We may also furnish a quotation or two from Shakespeare.

"Am I not an inch of fortune better than she?"

"Well, if you were but an inch of fortune better than I, where would you choose it?"

The Dean says, "And thus every one of us would speak: 'than who' would be intolerable. And this seems to settle the question." By no means. A poet, whose latest work was highly commended in our last number, and who is also the Professor of Latin at Oxford, and should by reason both of his attainments and his position be an authority in the matter of language, thus writes:

"Æneas was our king, *than who*
The breath of being none e'er drew,
More brave, more pious, or more true."

And again:

"The son of Æolus, *than who*
None ere more skilled the trumpet blew
To animate the warrior crew,
And martial fire relume."

Is it not probable that, as some one has suggested, "*than whom*" is only a traditional typographical error, which has become almost fixed in the language, like "*strain at*" instead of "*strain out*" a gnat in Scripture?

The most amusing thing, however, in connection with this subject is, that the Dean himself fell into the correct grammatical usage upon the very first page of his book, and that he might be consistent with his own views he changed the form of expression. Originally it stood "*than you or I*," and he afterwards changed it to "*any one of us*." Of course the intervention of "*or*" does not affect the principle of construction. Appeal has been made to the construction of the comparative degree with the genitive in Greek and Latin, an idiom which we translate into English by "*than*." But it is precisely in the construction in which the particle corresponding to "*than*" is *omitted* that we employ the oblique case. The particle "*as*" is used in the same manner as "*than*," and we can all recall the amusing mistakes made by our Teutonic friends who are constantly confounding these conjunctions. If the phrase "*than him*" be correct, then so is the phrase "*he is as good as her*"; and the next thing we shall see or hear is some unbreeched Highlander stalking across the English border, as of old, and insisting that he is perfectly correct in saying, "*her is as good as him*." *Than him, than her, than them*, whatever other company they may keep, should be banished from the English of the Queen. It will not do to say that the Dean is pleading only for colloquial English, such as is heard at the fireside and in the family circle. For in paragraphs 124, 125, 126, he gives directions for punctuation, and in 380 and elsewhere he gives advice about style in writing, &c. Even were he advocating the claims of genuine colloquial English, surely that is no reason why ungrammatical or vulgar language should be suggested for our use. Of all places (the Dean would say "*of all other places*,") the fireside is that at which we should speak correctly. In the bosom of the family let no slang expressions, no vulgar colloquialisms, no solecisms, no incorrect pronunciations be heard by our children, or be permitted to issue from their lips without correction, and it will be as easy for them to speak with propriety as for them to act with

propriety. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

In connection with this point we may allude to another error in the use of the pronouns, and one which is by no means uncommon. Persons recalling the impropriety of saying "*you and me*", when these pronouns constitute the subject of the verb, fall into the habit of placing "*you and I*" in the nominative when they should be in the objective in the expression "*between you and me*". So also "I thought it was *him*," instead of *he*; "I took it to be *he*", instead of *him*.

The Dean next discusses the confusion in the use of the tenses. But the discussion would not be a production of the Dean's if it did not contain some blunders in the very outset. He says, "The next point which *I notice shall be* the use of the auxiliaries "*shall*" and "*will*", &c. Here is a confusion of the present and the future upon which Mr. Moon severely comments. Elsewhere he says, "The first remark which *I have to make shall be* on the trick now so (*sic*) universal across the Atlantic." This confusion of tenses is constantly occurring and his critics call repeated attention to it. The distinction between *shall* and *will* as used with the different persons, seems to us very obvious and of considerable importance. We regret to observe that so high an authority as Mr. Marsh considers it as a grammatical subtlety of no logical value or significance whatever, and predicts that the verbal quibble will shortly disappear, while the distinction in meaning between the two words will be retained. He bases this prediction on the fact that the distinction between the two words as used with different personal pronouns is embarrassing, and that in Scotland and in many parts of this country the two words are confounded. We cannot see the force of this argument. Because children and uneducated persons do not speak correctly is no reason why we should imitate their erroneous example. The difficulty seems to be peculiar to the Celtic race, for Irishmen and Frenchmen also make as many blunders in this respect as Scotchmen.* Despite Mr. Marsh's prediction, we think that, "I *will* be drowned, nobody *shall* help me," is not likely to be uttered by

* The Lowlanders of Scotland are, of course, not Celts; but the error has probably crept in among them from their Highland neighbours.

any one who speaks English correctly and who does not contemplate suicide. We have neither time nor space to enter fully into this subject. Latham, ii. 410, quotes Wallis, who thus gives the principles that determine the use of *shall* and *will*, and also of *should* and *would*: "In primis personis *shall* simpliciter *prædicentis* est; *will*, quasi *promittentis* aut *minantis*.

In secundis et tertiis personis, *shall* *promittentis* est aut *minantis*: *will* simpliciter *prædicentis*.

Uram = *I shall burn*,

Uremus = *We shall burn*,

Ures = *Thou wilt burn*,

Uretis = *Ye will burn*,

Uret = *He will burn*,

Urent = *They will burn*,

nempe, hoc futurum *prædico*.

I will burn,

We will burn,

Thou shalt burn,

Ye shall burn,

He shall burn,

They shall burn,

nempe, hoc futurum *spondeo*, vel *faxo* ut sit.

Again—*would* et *should* illud indicant quod erat vel esset futurum: cum hoc tantum discrimine: *would* voluntatem innuit, seu agentis propensionem: *should* simpliciter *futuritionem*."

Briefly; in the *first person*, *shall predicts*, and in the *second and third persons* it *promises* or *threatens*, while in the *first person*, *will promises* or *threatens*, and in the *second and third persons* it *predicts*.

One of the Dean's Scotch correspondents gives an amusing instance of the confusion of *shall* and *will*. A young men's Institute discussed the question, "Shall the material universe be destroyed?" His "correspondent supposes that the decision was in the negative: or that if it was in the affirmative, the society cannot have proceeded to carry its resolution into effect."

The subjunctive mode, the *pons asinorum* of all languages, receives notice, and the general rule is correctly laid down, that when matter of fact is concerned we should use the indicative; when matter of doubt, the subjunctive. As Latham substantially states it, if we can express the meaning of the sentence by inserting *as is the case* after the conditional particle, then we should use the *indicative* mood; but if *as may or may not be the case* will express the meaning correctly, then

we should use the *subjunctive* mood. We are met, however, by the broad fact that this rule has never been observed. In the earlier period of our language the tendency was to the use of the subjunctive, but at present the current sets in the opposite direction, and there is danger that the separate form of the subjunctive will entirely disappear.

We rather incline to the side of the purists in the whole controversy about forms of expression, but we are compelled to dissent, when under the pretence of accuracy we are really introducing a solecism and abandoning a good old English idiom. We refer to the use of the continuing present of the passive voice instead of the active form. While jotting down these notes we met with an excellent example of the present style of writing. It is an extract from an English paper quoted in the *New York Times*. "Great war preparations *are being made* at Mayence, the fortifications of which *are being extended* and repaired, while the arsenal *is being filled* with stores. Loads of needle-guns and ammunition *are being made* to the troops at Baden. In France I can detect no corresponding activity. It is true that the manufacture of the Chassepot rifle *is being carried on*, &c." Here we have the passive form *ad nauseam*, five or six times in eight lines; it might have been changed if only for the sake of variety. Whether the words in *ing* be verbal nouns, as is often really the case, or present participles, the idiomatic English form ought, as far as possible, to be retained. In old English we have, "the temple *was in building* or *a-building*;" "the book *is a-printing*," or simply, "the book *is printing*," and not "the book *is being printed*." The Dean contends for the truth in this instance, and those who oppose this view dare not be consistent and fully carry out their own view. Mr. Marsh, in his *Lectures on the English Language*, page 654, shows the absurdity of the proposed substitute by means of phrases constructed according to the notion of these reformers. "The subscription paper *is being missed*, but I know that a considerable sum *is being wanted* to make up the amount; the great Victoria bridge *has been being built* more than two years; when I reach London, the ship *will be being built*; if my orders had been followed, the coat *would have been being made* yesterday;

if the house *had been being built*, the mortar *would have been being mixed*." It is unnecessary to refer to the classical or other languages to prove that active forms with a passive sense are constantly used.

The Dean is also correct, we think, when he condemns the expression "*to open up*," which is so often seen in the newspapers and is so frequently heard in the prayers of Presbyterian ministers. Much to our surprise Mr. Moon defends the expression, and quotes against the Dean three authors in "Good Words." Unfortunately "*to open up*" is a Scotticism, and the three authors quoted are "Scotch of the Scotch," viz., Guthrie, McLeod, and Caird, and therefore not very good witnesses as to the point in question. The Dean also condemns the use of "*different to*" for "*different from*." This mistake is not common in America, but the very last English book into which we have looked (*Ecce Deus*,) contains it. Englishmen, however, do not make the mistake of saying, "*I differ with you*," when they mean "*I differ from you*," as may be read in every newspaper controversy, or heard in every animated discussion in this country. Neither do they say an event "*transpired in our midst*," when they wish to announce that something has "*occurred in the midst of us*;" and if they happen to be present at the occurrence of anything, they do not say "*we happened in*," or "*we come as it was transpiring*."

In England professors *teach* their pupils, they do not *learn* them, although the Anglo-Saxon *læran* did originally mean *to teach*, and Shakespeare says,

"Sweet prince, you learn me noble thankfulness."

The distinction between the verbs *to teach* and *to learn* had not been so clearly defined as is the case at present. In this passage they are precisely synonymous:—"Unless you could *teach* me to forget a banished father, you must not *learn* me how to remember any extraordinary pleasure."

In England both *donate* and "donation visits" are unknown, the verbs *loan* and *jeopardize* are not employed, but that "vile vocable *talented*," as Coleridge calls it, is stealing into good society and attempting to introduce along with itself, *gifted*, *moneyed*, &c. The English use *grow* in a transitive sense, and

it is already found in our agricultural papers. Not long since we heard an Irishman speak of *labouring* the potatoes. Enough, however, upon these minor points: we add only, that "*once and again*" is correct, not "*time and again*," and that "*got*" is superfluous in the expression, "*I have got*" = *I possess*.

The Dean very justly condemns the use of the terms "party" and "individual" for "man," and yet he is charged by Mr. Moon with being himself guilty of the offence. In "business" circles in New York the term party is constantly employed where it is not desirable to name the person alluded to. The use of the term "*female*" to denote a woman he very justly censures. Applied to a woman, it would be considered, in France, an insult sufficient to provoke a duel. We once heard an Irish minister giving an account of a revival of religion in Ireland. He spoke repeatedly of the number of "*femmes*" who had been converted, and it was some time before we could discover that he meant *women*, who had been the subjects of the revival. "Thus, though some of the European rulers may be *females*, they may," &c., says the Dean, and his critic Mr. Moon condemns this expression in a manner almost too severe. In French and even in English the epithet is usually employed of animals, or simply of the distinction of sex in man, and the Dean should therefore have avoided the use of it. We join him most heartily in his protest against the present fashionable style of sensational writing. Our newspapers are doing much to enlighten us, but they are responsible for no small amount of the deterioration and corruption of the language. The *London Times* is almost an authority in England in the matter of good English, but while the editorials in some of our journals are admirable in point of style, yet many of our papers do not think it necessary to be even grammatical in the expression of their views. De Quincey, in one of his articles, gives an amusing account of the language of a landlady from whom he attempted to hire lodgings. Her speech was in the highest and most ornate style of the newspapers. A consummate master of English style and with a wealth of language that is truly astonishing, he could himself use long words, and he endured her talk for some time; but at length he grew nervous, and when she made use of the adverb *anteriorly* he could

endure no more, and in despair rushed from the house. The same writer states what is very true, that in the nursery is to be found the most idiomatic English, and that the correspondence of educated women contains some of the best specimens of the language.* This is true, perhaps, of all cultivated languages; even the style of Cicero owed much of its excellence to his association with some of the noblest ladies of Rome, while the purity of ancient Greek lingered longest among the women and children of Constantinople.

The English Bible has exerted upon the English language a greater influence than any other book that was ever written, and has contributed more to keep the language pure, and to prevent any divergence in speech from manifesting itself among the distant colonies of England, than all other causes combined. The Dean in his attacks upon the grammarians considers himself the special champion of the language of the Bible and of Shakespeare. He must have been unfortunate in the few grammarians whom he consulted, for we can recall but one who selects his instances of false syntax from the Bible. We condemn the practice, but we cannot agree with the Dean, who thinks that because an expression is found in the Bible it must therefore be correct English. This reminds us of the old controversy in reference to the Greek of the New Testament. One party contended that it was as pure and correct as that of the writers of Attic Greek, because they considered it derogatory to the Holy Spirit to suppose that any grammatical or other errors could occur; while the other party contended that it was utterly corrupt, abounding in Hebraisms, &c. The truth in this case, as in most others, is between the extreme views. It is the current Greek language of the day in which it was written, coloured by the Jewish minds through which the new Christian ideas were communicated to the world by the Holy Spirit. The errors in language did not affect the truth revealed, and they were just such as men in the position of the authors would be likely to make. So with the English

* "Would you desire," he says, "at this day to read our noble language in its native beauty, picturesque from idiomatic propriety, racy in its phraseology, delicate yet sinewy in its composition—steal the mail-bags, and break open all the letters in female handwriting."

version of the Bible. Its translators seem to have been almost inspired, and the English Bible will ever stand as the purest and best specimen of the speech of which it is an ornament and an example. As is the Greek of the New Testament so is the English of our Bible; each is admirable for its purpose, but it is not perfect. We think that a better translation can never be made; but this is not to say that there may not be a few inaccurate renderings of the original, or a few places in which the English may not be improved. We cannot refrain from quoting the eulogy of our English Bible by one who has given up the faith and the Bible of his ancestors. "Who will not say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear, like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. . . . The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft and gentle, and pure and penitent and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. . . . It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."*

But we must hasten to finish this review of the Dean's peculiar views. We are surprised that, after noticing and correcting so many errors prevalent even amongst educated men, he should discourage the study of grammar and rhetoric, and refer men to "common sense, ordinary observation, and the prevailing usage of the English people," as good guides in the matter of writing English. In the earlier stages of education at least, men must receive most of their knowledge upon

* Newman, quoted in Trench's "English Past and Present," p. 84.

authority, and it is only after they have made considerable progress in any branch of study that they can investigate and ascertain principles for themselves. Most men, moreover, do not enjoy the peculiar social and literary advantages which in the estimation of the Dean are better than treatises on grammar and rhetoric. Even Milton is not an authority in orthography, for his delicate ear sacrificed the spelling of words to his magnificent rhythm; while Shakespeare does not hesitate to violate the ordinary rules of orthoepy for the sake of the metre. Transcendent genius like theirs may be pardoned for such faults, but inferior men must not expect forgiveness when they commit similar errors. Because Milton sang:

Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve;

or because Thucydides calls the Peloponesian war ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, we are not justified in using the superlative when the comparative is the correct form. Even with the Dean in our favour we should not be justified in speaking of Thucydides as the one writer of *all other* good Attic writers who is the most ungrammatical. Examples of similar mistakes can be found in all languages, and even in the best writers, but they are none the less mistakes. We know the meaning of the expression of Tacitus, *Ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi*, but we should not imitate it.

Mr. Moon cites the authority of Dr. Campbell, Dr. Blair, Lord Kames, and Lindley Murray in favour of his own views and in opposition to those of the Dean. He replies, "I must freely acknowledge to Mr. Moon, that not one of the gentlemen whom he has named has ever been my guide, in whatever study of the English language I may have accomplished, or in what little I may have ventured to write in that language." The authors above-named are only the representatives of a class, and the Dean's statement in connection with other things shows that like too many educated men in England, and in this country also, he has never made his own language a study; and therefore his authority cannot be of great weight in any matter concerning English where there is much doubt. Some of his commentaries have been described, perhaps unjustly, as

rudis indigestaque moles; his Plea for the Queen's English exhibits proofs of his want of qualification for the office he has assumed. He discards the "so called universal rules of English," and tells his young readers, "the less you know of them, the less you turn your words right or left to observe them, the better." Yet in deference to Mr. Moon's criticisms and in obedience to these rules he has changed nearly thirty passages.* We promised to give proofs of the Dean's errors in grammar and in rhetoric; we have not space to notice them at length. We had noted a considerable number, but must refer our readers to Mr. Gould, who gives a list of nearly sixty errors of greater or less importance.†

Every one who has had even a superficial acquaintance with our schools and colleges knows that scarcely any branch of education is more neglected than the study of our vernacular tongue. Young men can neither spell correctly nor write grammatically, and the deficiency is as great and the evil is as crying in this department as in the classical instruction of many of our schools and academies. It is taken for granted that men will know how to spell and to write their own language without any instruction. Not in America only is this the case, but in England also, where there are loud complaints about the neglect of the study of their own language and literature. Not only are degrees conferred upon men who cannot translate their diplomas; but Senior Wranglers, First Classmen, and others, go forth from the universities with the ability to write faultless Latin prose or perfect Greek Iambics, while they are unable to write even a letter in grammatical English. More attention is paid to the subject of English composition in the colleges of this country than in those of England, but it is impossible for them to remedy the deficiencies of the earlier stages of education. The thorough study of the classical languages need not interfere with attention to our own in the academy, and every college should have a Chair of the English Language and Literature.

Hear the conclusion of the whole matter. We should correct our own mistakes if we are to instruct others with authority;

* See *The Dean's English*, p. 126, sqq. † See *Good English*, p. 132, sqq.

we are not to be a law unto ourselves, rejecting those general laws of language which have been established for ages, and pleading the custom and usage of the unlettered many against the example and the practice of the cultivated few, but we are to accept those things as fixed, which the most diligent students of the language have discovered to be the normal and prevalent modes of expression. If any sneer at grammarians and their rules, a greater than the scoffers thus spoke: "Whoever in a state knows how to form wisely the manners of men and to rule them at home and in war by excellent institutes, him in the first place, above others, I should esteem worthy of all honour; but next to him the man who strives to establish in maxims and rules the method and habit of speaking and writing derived from a good age of the nation, and, as it were, to fortify the same round with a kind of wall, the daring to overleap which, a law, only short of that of Romulus, should be used to prevent."* Thus wrote John Milton.

ART. III.—*The Culture Demanded by Modern Life*: A series of Addresses and Arguments on the Claims of Scientific Education. By PROFESSORS TYNDALL, HENFREY, HUXLEY, PAGET, WHEWELL, FARADAY, LIEBIG, DRAPER, DE MORGAN: Drs. BARNARD, HODGSON, CARPENTER, HOOKER, ACKLAND, FORBES, HERBERT SPENCER, SIR JOHN HERSCHEL, SIR CHARLES LYELL, Dr. SEGUIN, Mr. MILL, etc. With an Introduction on Mental Discipline in Education, by E. L. YOUMANS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867.

Modern Inquiries, Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous. By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., late President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and late a Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1867.

Classical and Scientific Studies, and the Great Schools of England. A Lecture read before the Society of Arts of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 6, 1865. By W. P. ATKINSON. With additions and an Appendix. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1865.

* The Dean's English, p. 100.

Classical Studies as a part of Academic Education. An Address delivered at Andover, February 7, 1866, before the Alumni of Phillips Academy, at the dedication of the new Academic Hall. By PHILIP H. SEARS. Boston: Press of Alfred Mudge & Son. 1866.

Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrews, February 1st, 1867. By JOHN STUART MILL, Rector of the University. Boston: Littell & Gay.

On some Defects in Public School Education. A Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, on Friday, February 8th, 1867. With Notes and Appendices. By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, M. A., F. R. S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Hon. Fellow of King's College, London; One of the Masters at Harrow School; Author of the "Origin of Language," "Chapters on Language," etc. Published by request. London: MacMillan & Co. 1867.

Classical Studies: Their True Position and Value in Education. By the Rev. JOSHUA JONES, M. A., Principal of King Williams College, Isle of Man; late Senior Mathematical, and Johnson Mathematical Scholar, Oxford. Extracted, by permission, from the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. London: Longman, Green, Reader & Dyer. Liverpool: A Holden. 1866.

THIS long series of publications, recently issued, is but a portion of those which the projects for radical innovation or revolution in the studies usually included in a course of liberal education have called forth. The contributions to this controversy, with which the press teems, evince the zeal and persistency of the reformers, who are confronted at all points by able and resolute defenders of the established course of liberal training, in its substantive and essential features, however they may accept modifications of its minor details. The importance and breadth of the subject, invest with high consequence the controversy now waged with such warmth and vigour in regard to it. Although, therefore, we have recently brought to the attention of our readers one phase of this great question, in an examination of the arguments of Drs. Woolsey and Hedge, respectively, for and against classical culture,* we make no apology for inviting their attention to further views upon dif-

* See Biblical Repertory, January, 1867, art. iii.

ferent sides of the subject, which are set forth with various power and skill in the volumes and pamphlets above mentioned. The massive volume of Prof. Youmans, plausible in its confident pretensions, and the vast weight of its alleged authorities; the far abler argument of Dr. Bigelow against the present prominence of classical study in liberal education; the still abler argument of J. S. Mill on the other side, and in behalf of a well-balanced, rounded culture, that have appeared since our former article, have given a progress, a public interest, and a many-sided character to the discussion, which we cannot properly overlook or ignore.

The first of these volumes, entitled the "Culture demanded by Modern Life," is a compilation of Essays, Lectures, and fragmentary extracts from various eminent scientists and educators, British and American, with introductory and concluding articles by the editor, Prof. Youmans. So far as the editor's own deliverances are concerned, they are bold even to audacity in the sweeping revolutions they propose. They go the full length of extirpating classical studies from liberal education, attenuating the mathematical course, and filling the vacuum with studies in physical science. He founds the chief argument for this revolution on Materialism, the advocacy of which forms the leading feature alike of his introductory and his concluding essays, even more than the educational innovations which he proposes to build upon it. It is quite aside of our present purpose to discuss Materialism. We discover nothing new in Prof. Youmans' arguments to establish this grovelling theory. He simply adduces some of the familiar facts which evince the powerful reciprocal influence of mind and body, and the special implication of the various forms of mental action with affections of the nervous and cerebral organisms. Some facts of this sort, which have long been among the common-places, not only of science, but of ordinary intelligence and information, he parades with all the emphasis and pomp of new discoveries. He complains, that, in the past, philosophers have studied the mind as if it were an entity distinct from the body, and hence have failed to reach any valuable results. He even tortures Sir William Hamilton's rhetorical extravaganza, when the latter quotes Lessing's famous avowal of a preference for

the search for truth above the possession of it, if he must have either alone exclusively of the other, into a confession of the advocates of the dualism of mind and body, that they "have actually denied the attainment of truth to be their object; declaring that the supreme aim of philosophy is nothing more than to serve as a means of intellectual gymnastics." "It is now established that the dependence of thought on organic conditions is so intimate and absolute that they can no longer be considered except as unity. Man as a problem of study is simply an organism of varied powers and activities; and the true office of scientific inquiry is to determine the mechanism, modes, and laws of its action."

"My purpose, on the present occasion, is to show that the doctrine which has prevailed in the past, and still prevails, is doomed to complete inversion; that the bodily organism, which was so long neglected as of no account, is in reality the first and fundamental thing to be considered; and that, in reaching a knowledge of mind and character through the study of the corporeal system, there has been laid the firm foundation of that Science of Human Nature, the completion of which will constitute the next and highest phase in the progress of man." Pp. 376, 377. Again, after reciting some facts illustrative of the limitations of intellectual power in the greatest minds, concerning which he alleges that "the old contrast between matter and mind led to the growth of an all-prevalent error;" he tells us:

"These phenomena find no explanation in the old hypothesis of mind as a vague spiritual entity; they throw us back immediately on the organism whose acknowledged limitations offer at once a solution of the mystery. These mental inaptitudes may be either organic deficiencies, or a result of concentrating cerebral agency in certain directions, and its consequent withdrawal from others. Thus viewed, every attainment involves the exercise of brain-power—each acquisition is a modification of the cerebral structure. All sensation of objects and words that we remember, all acquired aptitudes of movement; the associations of the perception of things with visible symbols, vocal actions and sounds, the connections of ideas with feelings and emotions, and the formation of intellectual

and moral habits, are all concomitants and consequents of the only kind of action of which the brain is capable—are all the products of organic nutrition; and the ratio and limit of acquisition, as well as the capacity for retention, are conditioned upon the completeness of the nutritive processes." P. 400.

The materialism of this is bald enough. We repeat that it is no part of our plan to discuss this doctrine now and here. The type of it which is now most rampant and blatant has been ushered in by the Positive Philosophy, and is readily espoused by divers physiological, medical reformers, and pseudo-psychologists. When occasion arises to deal with it directly, it will require to be made the chief, and not the incidental topic of an article. We have to do with it now, as it is made a basis of educational reform. The author educes from it some principles which he undertakes to apply to the support of his pet theories on this subject. On these we remark, that so far as they are true, they are not, in any important sense, new, and still less are they dependent on his materialism for proof and authority, either in themselves or their applications. Nor do they avail for the main purpose for which he uses them—the discontinuance of classical training and culture as a leading element of liberal education.

From the doctrine above stated, that "the rate and limit of acquisition, as well as the capacity for retention, are conditioned upon the completeness of the nutritive processes," he argues that there is such a limitation of mental power as must necessarily set limits to the amount of profitable, or even possible, study and intellectual acquirement: that "if we overburden the brain as in school-'cramming,' nutrition is imperfect, adhesion feeble, and acquisition quickly lost." Hence, as the number of studies must be limited in right education, he urges that those should be dropped, which can be omitted with least injury; and that these least valuable studies are the Latin and Greek languages, which, in his view, have small educating power, in comparison with the vast and increasing range of the physical sciences. Now we agree that it is both true and an important truth, that the mind is of limited capacity, and that, while it is good for it to be fully tasked, it is ill for it to be overburdened or crammed. But this is true, and known to be true, irrespec-

tive of all materialistic theories. And we still further concede and maintain that educational studies must not be encyclopediac, but made up of such a selection as will best develope and invigorate, instead of crushing, the mind. But all this does not prove that the ancient languages should be left out of the curriculum, or that physical sciences taken alone would be equally effective in informing and disciplining the intellect.

Another inference of Prof. Youmans, from the identity of mind and body which he maintains, is the needful alternation of rest and action, the equilibrium of the two being necessary to support the latter. This is brought in aid of the argument for curtailing or wholly eliminating classical studies. That the mind cannot bear uninterrupted continuous action, without ample and periodic intervals of rest, is undeniable. Although this is true of body also, it by no means follows that body and mind are one. And it determines nothing as to the place which the ancient classics should occupy in liberal training.

He also urges that the mind, being material, takes a permanent impression and acquires an enduring bent, from repeated exercises of any given kind,* and that hence, if we would exercise it most effectively for intellectual discipline and invigoration, it should be employed not upon the dead languages, but upon the living facts with which it has to do in the work of life. Now the power of habit, and of repeated exercises of any given kind in forming habits, is unquestioned and unquestionable. But this is wholly independent of materialism. And it settles nothing with regard to the comparative utility of classical studies in liberal education. If the mind is identical with the body, then the true way to study the mind is through the body, and psychology is best mastered through physiology. So Prof. Youmans confidently and strenuously maintains, "that the bodily organism which was so long neglected as of no account, is in reality the first and funda-

* "The basis of educability, and hence of mental discipline, is, therefore, to be sought in the properties of that nervous substance by which mind is manifested. That basis is the law that cerebral effects are strengthened and made lasting by repetition. When an impression is produced upon the brain, a change is produced, and an effect remains in the nerve-substance; if it be repeated, the change is deepened and the effect becomes more lasting." P. 15.

mental thing to be considered; and that in reaching a knowledge of mind and character through the study of the corporeal system, there has been laid the firm foundation of that Science of Human Nature, the completion of which will constitute the next and highest phase in the progress of man." P. 377. "Science now teaches that we know nothing of mental action, except through nervous action, without which there is neither thought, recollection, nor reason." P. 385. "Intellectual capacity is thus at bottom an affair of physical impressibility or nervous adhesiveness. Regard being had to the law that all nutritive operations involve repose, cohesion or completeness of association depends upon repetition." P. 15. "Corporeal agency in processes of thought has an aspect still more marked; the higher intellectual operations may take place, not only independent of the will, but also independent of consciousness itself. Consciousness and mind are far from being one and the same thing. . . All thoughts, feelings, and impressions, when disappearing from consciousness, leave behind them in the nerve-substance, their effects or residua, and in this they constitute what may be called latent or statical mind. They are brought into consciousness by the laws of association, and there is much probability that, in this unconscious state, they are still capable of acting and reacting, and of working out true intellectual results." Pp. 383, 4.

Of course, if the "statical" or permanent mind is a modification of the nerve-substance, which, underneath and independent of consciousness, is "capable of working out true intellectual results," then it follows that "the higher intellectual operations" cannot be ascertained or interpreted in the light of consciousness, which has no connection with them. The study of the mind, its processes, laws, and phenomena, is not therefore the study of consciousness, primarily and in chief. But it is mainly the study of nerve-structure and its modifications, and of physiological phenomena and laws. Also mental is but a form of physical education, and must be chiefly directed by physical or physiological laws.

In regard to all which, we maintain, that every mental act is an act of consciousness, and can only be known or studied as such. An unconscious mental act is absurd and inconceivable.

All acts of mind are acts either of knowing, feeling, desiring, or willing. And the very essence of knowing or thinking is consciousness of so knowing or thinking. Will it be pretended that there can be feeling without consciousness? As well may there be a sphere without roundness, or breathing without living. And the same may be said of desiring and willing. And if there were such acts of unconscious intelligence, feeling, or will, how could we ever know their nature, or in any wise interpret them? How, unless in having them, we know, are conscious, that we have them? Psychological study must therefore be primarily and fundamentally a study of consciousness. Aside of this, mere external, physiological examination of brain, nerves, cranium, spinal columns, etc., never could discover to us the first mental fact. All external inspection, therefore, outside of consciousness, must be subordinate and ancillary to this in psychological inquiries. They never can take a leading and dominant place. It is true that much light may be shed upon the workings and powers of the human mind by the study of the language, laws, history, literature of our race. And why? Because these are the exponents and records of the consciousness of our race. The study of these is but the study of the collective consciousness of mankind. It is true also, that when by the study of the phenomena of consciousness, we ascertain and classify the operations of the human soul, we may investigate conditions, physical or metaphysical, in which they take rise, or to which they give rise, or which they in any manner imply or presuppose.

If it appear, as it undeniably does, that any mental exercises become easier and stronger after successive repetitions, till what at first was burdensome effort acquires the facility and spontaneity of nature, and at length even a tyrannous mastery, then it is a just inference from this, that such repeated exercises of any given kind beget and leave behind them a permanent state of the soul, which constitutes an inward aptitude and facility therefor. But this proves neither materialism, nor that we can learn the phenomena and properties of mind otherwise than through consciousness. It is simply an implication of our conscious experience. So, if it be ascertained that given kinds or degrees of mental actions, whether normal or

morbid, are preceded, attended, or followed by certain conditions or phenomena of the body, whether outward or inward. These are important facts. They should be duly heeded, so far as they have anything to do with conserving or increasing intellectual health and vigour. But these states of the body are not states of the mind, and, taken by themselves, might be observed a life-time by the most accomplished physiologist or phrenologist, without discovering the first mental fact, law, or faculty. Such facts can only be known through consciousness. Any connected or related facts otherwise learned have only a subsidiary and derivative bearing on psychology. They shed no original light upon it. And, although such facts may prove a most intimate and sympathetic union between the mind and body; and that various parts or members of the body are of the nature of organs or instruments through which the mind acts or expresses itself, yet this by no means proves their identity. The union of mind and body is vital and mysterious, but it is without confusion or composition. Surely matter does not think or will. As some one has said, the ink in which a poem is printed is not that poem. So the telescope through which the eye looks is not the eye. And the eye through which the mind sees is not the mind.

It is not strange that they who deem the mind to be matter abjure metaphysics and think psychology best mastered by the study of physiology, should deem the study of the ancient languages useless. For language is but the exponent and record of human consciousness. The physiological psychologist will put but a low estimate on studies whose main merit is that they unfold the workings of the human soul, and train the powers of thought, by exercise upon the finest forms of human thinking, in ways, for which, as will soon appear, the modern languages afford no sufficient opportunity.

We have said all that space will permit of Prof. Youmans' contributions to this volume. They would have little importance of themselves, standing alone, even if amplified to a volume. They owe whatever weight they may have to the lectures, essays, and testimonies of higher men with which they are associated, and which, with slight exceptions, give no sanction to the views of the editor, in support of which they are,

not very honestly, paraded; views which, without such apparent sanction, and resting only on the name and reasonings of their author, are so extreme as to be suicidal. These eminent savants, philosophers, and educators give no countenance to materialism. With slight exceptions, they do not depreciate classical study. Many of them strongly commend it. They simply press the importance of certain scientific studies in education, both for the sake of the useful information, and the intellectual discipline they impart; or they advocate changes in the accepted method and time of classical study, and in that order of antecedence in the various branches usually pursued in a course of liberal education. These are all fair subjects for discussion. Good and not evil will result from an investigation of them conducted with candour and ability. Many of the views propounded by these authors in favour of such studies as Botany, Zoölogy, Physiology, etc., their influence on the Education of the Judgment; much also in the papers on the Development of Scientific Ideas, the Study of Economic Science, the Influence of Scientific Discovery on Education, command our hearty assent. They contain comparatively little which is objectionable. They are the fresh and vigorous productions of able men. The main point which they either establish or emphasize is, that scientific studies not only store the mind with useful knowledge, but are also valuable for their disciplinary efficacy in educating the powers of observation, comparison, judgment, and inductive reasoning, in the sphere of contingent matter. This may be granted, without conceding the comparative inutility of the ancient classics, or of the *literæ humaniores*—an idea which finds little countenance among those illustrious authors, although, along with materialism, it is made to stand in the fore-front of Professor Youmans' book, and in such a way as to convey the impression that these men are its chief authors, and the advocates of its leading principles. Indeed, the placards announcing the book, put up in front of bookstores which we have noticed, drop the name of Prof. Youmans altogether, and represent the distinguished men whose productions he has quoted as its authors. This is an artifice for giving to debasing and disorganizing

theories a surreptitious sanction of celebrated names, that does no credit to the author or his dogmas.

Leaving for the present this volume, the next on our list is that of Dr. Bigelow, already characterized in a short notice in our April number.

Classical and Scientific Studies and the Great Schools of England, by Prof. Atkinson of the Massachusetts School of Technology, is chiefly made up of extracts from the evidence collected in the Report of the Parliamentary Commission to investigate the condition of eight of the leading High Schools of England, including Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Westminster, with a running comment upon them. It is decisive as an argument against the system of exclusive, extreme, and, in some respects, stolid training in the ancient classics current in the great schools of England. But it has little force against the curriculum of our American colleges. Attacks upon it, however annihilating, prove nothing against the classical course which enters into American liberal education. They decide nothing in regard to the questions now in controversy on this subject in this country. But it is in these exposures of the extravagance of the great English schools, that the current objections to all training in the ancient classics find their chief plausibility.

The address of Mr. Sears at Phillips Academy is a hearty and judicious plea for that classical training, which that honoured institution has so signally promoted. It is in some respects a happy refutation of the allegations of Prof. Atkinson. And we hail it as a voice for genuine liberal culture from a region which, greatly as it has been distinguished for classical culture and elegant letters, has of late abounded in vehement attacks upon the study of Latin and Greek in our colleges.

The *Inaugural Address* of John Stuart Mill is by far the ablest of all the publications at the head of this article. The destructive philosophical heresies which he has taken up from the Positive Philosophy scarcely appear in sight, while the views of liberal education, and of the due place of the ancient languages, and the physical and metaphysical sciences therein, are profound, clear, well-poised, in short, every way admirable. We shall have occasion to recur to it.

The lecture of Mr. Farrar on "*Defects in Public School Education*," is very much occupied with a just exposure of the defects and extravagancies of the great English schools to which we have alluded. But it establishes nothing against a rational, balanced classical training, along with proportionate attention to other departments, such as has place in American colleges.

The tract by Principal Jones is a sound and judicious argument for giving the ancient classics a leading and fundamental, but not an exclusive or overbearing place in liberal education. He takes strong ground against the extreme course in the great English schools. He would give a due place to physical sciences and other studies. But he advocates assigning a pre-ëminent place to the ancient classics in a liberal education, with all the power of a penetrating, judicial, and comprehensive mind. This pamphlet ranks, in our judgment, next to that of Mill, in the series under review.

We will now reproduce, chiefly from the pamphlets of Messrs. Mill and Jones, some cogent arguments for a course of classical, mingled with other studies, not differing essentially from that established in our best American colleges. These strongly corroborate, by many additional considerations, the views we have presented to our readers in the article already referred to, and enforce them by arguments which have not been fairly answered. The principal and most plausible answer is, that, conceding the utmost weight to the mental discipline imparted by classical study, the information given by it concerning languages now dead, and the customs of an age which knew far less than our own, is comparatively useless, while the study of physical science is replete with the most useful knowledge, and at the same time has a disciplinary power not excelled by the ancient languages. It is claimed, in short, that scientific studies are not only the most utilitarian, but the most disciplinary. And it is especially insisted by Prof. Youmans, that the most useful and effective discipline is obtained by exercises of the mind directly upon the matters in which it is to be employed in life, and not upon subjects which are never afterward to occupy it, such as the dead languages; that this "vicarious discipline" is as absurd as if one should endeavour to discipline

himself for the work of a smith, a carpenter, or a mason, by swinging dumb-bells, or heaving ten-pins—an argument which, by proving too much, proves nothing; since, if it were sound, all education is faulty which is not immediately professional.

We freely accord to physical science a high place in liberal education, as a source both of useful knowledge and intellectual discipline. We would not lower its position or narrow its sphere in our colleges. But neither would we allow it to crowd out or overshadow the ancient languages, or to sink them from that regal position which makes them most of all the essential and characteristic element in liberal education. We are quite in favour of Scientific and Polytechnic schools, in which science and its applications hold the chief place, while all else is subordinate and ancillary, and the ancient languages are altogether ruled out. They are of great service to those who have not the time or means for a full course of liberal education, as also for those who, whether liberally educated or not, design to qualify themselves for engineering and other professions of applied science. What we insist on is, that there is no substitute for the ancient languages as an integral and leading part of a liberal education.

But, as preliminary to a brief discussion of this point, we wish to clear away somewhat of the confusion of ideas which is conspicuous among those who claim to be the special advocates of utilitarianism, and of utilitarian studies in education. By utility we understand that property or attribute of things whereby they are a means of some good beyond themselves. What is simply good *per se*, irrespective of its being a means to some other good, may be on this account supremely excellent, as virtue or moral goodness. Moral goodness is supremely good in itself, aside of its being a means to any good beyond itself, such as happiness. And therefore it is not to be gauged by any *merely* utilitarian standard. And yet it is a means of the highest possible good beyond itself—even the highest happiness of the rational creature. It therefore realizes all that of which the utilitarians are in quest, who reduce virtue to a *mere* means of happiness, thus debasing and destroying its very nature, whereby alone it can be instrumental of our highest happiness.

Now somewhat of this analysis applies to knowledge. It is a good, an eminent good in itself. It is so in proportion to its thoroughness and the elevation of the subjects to which it relates; and irrespective of its further uses, which are many and great, and vary with its nature. So also is mental discipline or culture, in proportion to its perfection. It is a good in itself, exalted in the ratio of its completeness, while it makes a keen polished instrument for the highest uses in working out exterior results. And, *ceteris paribus*, that mental discipline is best *per se*, and best in its utilities, which is most perfect. A low utilitarianism in education, therefore, as in morals, defeats itself. In opposing all mental attainment and discipline except what is acquired in professional study, or in science and its applications, (in all consistency, the utilitarians ought to limit education to the useful applications of science), they impair the instrument, which is needed, in utmost strength and sharpness, to achieve these practical utilities. And hence, we are prepared for the testimony given by the Professors in schools of Applied Science, that their liberally educated students, who have been well-trained in the classics of the college course are, as a class, far better scientific students than others not thus prepared. Another point deserves consideration here. It is in the search for truth as truth, and not in view of its utilitarian applications, that the discoveries of greatest ultimate utility, or capable of the most useful applications, have been achieved. To be imprisoned in our search for truth within the limits of its perceived utilitarian applications, is to be precluded from pursuing more than a minimum of the most useful truths. Even Prof. Tyndall, in his argument for the study of Physics, published in Prof. Youmans' volume, warns the utilitarian to "beware of attempting to substitute for that simple love with which the votary of science pursues his task, the calculations of what he is pleased to call utility. The scientific man must approach nature in his own way; for if you invade his freedom by your so-called practical considerations, it may be at the expense of those qualities on which his success as a discoverer depends. Let the self-styled practical man look to those from the fecundity of whose thought, he, and thousands like him, have sprung into existence. Were they

inspired in their first inquiries by the calculations of utility? Not one of them." An exclusive utilitarianism therefore in science and education, as in morals and religion, is self-destructive. Did those who made the original discoveries in electro-magnetism, which culminated in the electric telegraph, then have that telegraph in view? Let us eschew that narrow suicidal spirit, which, in its avidity for the golden eggs, kills the bird that lays them—in its eagerness for practical education removes that high symmetrical, independent culture, which alone invigorates and sharpens the mind for the noblest practical achievements.

In regard to the great inquiry before us, our first position is, that the thorough study of language, in some way, is essential to all high and thorough education. It is so, for the simple reason that language is the exponent of the mind, the vehicle of its thoughts, the expression and record of its conscious exercises, its achievements, conquests, and treasures. A knowledge of the workings, laws, products of the human mind, has its first foundations laid, therefore, in a mastery of the language that voices it. It is here that we have brought before us continually all the forms of thought, with its necessary logical relations and conditions; the products of abstraction and generalization in all common terms; judgments and reasonings of every kind, categorical, conditional, disjunctive, dilemmatic; with continual illustrations of every law and every fallacy of logic. Not only so, but language reflects every phase of the soul, and brings to view all the elements of psychology. And still further, in the modifications of verbs and nouns, the connections of clauses and sentences, not only are psychological phases manifestly reflected, but they articulate many metaphysical principles and distinctions. The force of the distinctions of tense and mood, of connective particles, and interdependent sentences, is largely metaphysical, as well as psychological. Moreover, the mastery of language by exact knowledge involves, within certain limits, exact knowledge of the things represented in this knowledge. It has been said that words are things. This is an exaggeration of the truth. In respect to a large class of objects, however, words are in such a sense things, that to know the former is to know the latter. To understand the

words, circle, triangle, acorn, maize, is, so far forth, to understand the things themselves. We understand the one only as we understand the other.

A due mastery of language, in its genius, spirit, laws, import, is therefore the best introduction to the knowledge of the soul, the immaterial, conscious spirit which articulates itself through this medium. In the merest utilitarian view is this knowledge useless, or of less than the highest utility? Is it not the knowledge of our higher being, and of the noblest essence this side heaven? Can such knowledge and the discipline it gives be underrated or degraded below the knowledge of the properties of matter, unless at the behest of the coarsest materialism? Can there be any higher discipline of the mind than to understand itself, its own powers, workings, aptitudes, as these are voiced in language? Can there be a better preparation for the study of physics and material nature, than a knowledge of the properties of the instrument by which we investigate them? Locke was first moved to those psychological investigations which issued in the immortal treatise on the Human Understanding, by the desire to see whether he could not get a clearer insight into some obscure and perplexing inquiries, by learning the exact powers, and limitations of the powers, of the mind, the instrument of investigation. This of course points to the need of direct studies in logic and mental philosophy in order to a good liberal education. But it indicates all the more certainly the preliminary necessity of thorough training in language as the grand manifestation of the soul. Besides, the mastery of language is requisite to that power of precise, elegant, forcible expression, which is the proper fruit and badge of liberal culture, and is one of the great endowments by which educated men facilitate and perfect their own thinking, and the effective communication of it to their fellow-men. But why may not all this be accomplished by the thorough study of our own tongue, the very instrument of expression we need to possess, without wasting precious years in the toilsome, and seemingly profitless study of the dead languages? In answer to this, it is readily granted that the study of our own language is, in its due place and time, an essential part of liberal education: that it is not without disciplinary power: that for those whose

opportunities at school are too short to admit of any important progress in classical studies, it is best to omit them altogether and attend only to the English language. But, after all these concessions, it is still true, that the study of our vernacular is no sufficient substitute for classical studies, in liberal and high education, because, in the words of Dr. Jones,

(1.) "To confine our language-studies to the vernacular is to narrow our range of thought and expression. 'In learning Greek and Latin as boys,' says Dr. Max Müller, (*Survey of Languages*, p. 2), 'we are learning more than a new language, we are acquiring an entirely novel system of thought. The mind has to receive a grammatical training, and to be broken, so to say, to modes of thought and speech unknown to us from our own language.'"

(2.) "Again it is very difficult to arrive at a correct insight into the nature of language, its laws, forms, and analogies, and in a general way to attain to any great power or exactness in the use even of our own language, without acquiring in addition to it some other one as well. For our mother tongue is so identified with our current modes of thought and expression, we use it with such facility, and with the exertion of so small an amount of reflection upon the meaning and force of the words and the structure of the sentences which we utter, that we fail to obtain from its study that knowledge of the principles of language and grammatical forms generally, and that force and accuracy in its own use, which we get from the acquisition of a language learnt only by prolonged and laborious effort. And this absence of effort in the use of the vernacular seriously impairs, in other respects as well as in this, the value of its study regarded as a mental discipline.

(3.) "Our own language would further appear to be inferior to the classical languages for the purposes of education for the following reason; it is singularly simple in the structure of its sentences and in the arrangement of its words, while they are most varied in the collocation of their words and most involved in the formation of their sentences; and hence, to arrive at the meaning of a passage in a classical author requires a much greater exertion of the reflective and analytical faculties, and

consequently involves a proportionately higher and more vigorous intellectual training.

(4.) "Again, the English language, beautiful and expressive as it is, is not as perfect in its grammatical structure and forms as the languages of Greece and Rome, and, accordingly, cannot afford so good a specimen for the language studies of the student as they do. For example, it conveys by a cumbersome array of little words what they convey by a change of inflection; and the abundant use of inflections in a language not only makes it more terse and forcible in itself, but also renders it possible to arrange words in sentences in such a way as to express ideas in the clearest and most striking manner; while a deficiency of inflections often renders it necessary, for the sake of making the meaning intelligible, to place the words so as to represent the ideas much less appropriately and forcibly. The inflection at once shows the proper position of a word as regards the sense, wherever it may happen to be placed in a sentence; and thus in Greek and Latin, each idea can be arranged according to its relative importance, and where its expression will be most striking to the mind, and we may add, most euphonious to the ear; whereas, in English, a certain fixed order of words and clauses must be for the most part observed, or the sentence would become mere unintelligible jargon.

(5.) "Nor must it be forgotten that the classical languages lie at the foundation, and enter largely into the structure of our own language. Many of our words are derived directly from them, and their meaning cannot be rightly appreciated without some classical attainments. 'If,' says the *Edinburgh Reviewer* (July, 1864), 'the knowledge of Greek and Latin among our upper classes were lost, it [our language] would become (as it unfortunately is to women, and to the mass of people already) a strange collection of inexpressive symbols.' It is not then perhaps too much to say that an acquaintance with Latin and Greek is almost indispensable for a precise and correct knowledge of our own language; at all events we may say, with her Majesty's Public School Commissioners, that the 'study of the classical languages is, or rather may be made, an instrument

of the highest value for the purpose' of acquiring 'a command of pure grammatical English.'—(*Report*, p. 33.)

(6.) "Lastly, it may be urged that some classical knowledge is of great value in helping the English student to acquire the humble but important accomplishment of correct spelling; because in the case of words of Greek or Latin origin, one possessed of this knowledge knows, from his acquaintance with the original languages, whence they are derived, how they ought to be spelt.

"For all these reasons we conclude that English is not to take the place of Latin and Greek in our education."

But if language must be studied in another tongue, in order to reap its full educating power, why not use for this purpose the modern continental languages, which have the prerogative of being easily acquired, of giving us access to the vast treasures of modern literature and science which they contain, and of being, particularly the French, as the Latin was before it, the great medium of commercial, social, political intercourse among the cultivated nations—advantages which confessedly do not belong to the dead languages of Greece and Rome? One answer to this is thus given by Mr. Mill, after urging the necessity of knowing French, and the importance of familiarity with German, to all well-instructed persons of this day. "But living languages are so much more easily acquired by intercourse with those who use them in daily life; a few months in the country itself, if properly employed, go so much farther than as many years of school lessons; that it is really waste of time for those to whom that easier mode is attainable, to labour at them with no help but that of books and masters; and it will in time be made attainable, through international schools and colleges, to many more than at present. Universities do enough to facilitate the study of modern languages, if they give a mastery over that ancient language which is the foundation of most of them, and the possession of which makes it easier to learn four or five of the continental languages, than it is to learn one of them without it." This view is confirmed by the highest living authority, Dr. Max Müller, who is quoted by Dr. Jones as saying: "In Latin we have the key to the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian. Any one who

desires to learn the modern Romance languages—Italian, Spanish, and French—will find that he actually has to spend less time if he learns Latin first, than if he had studied each of these modern dialects separately, and without this foreknowledge of their common parent.” A doctrine to which even Prof. Youmans declares his adhesion, when, notwithstanding all his tirades against the ancient classics, he tells us: “The mastery of Latin reduces the labour of acquiring Italian, French, and Spanish, into which it largely enters.” P. 18.

But while the most economical way of mastering the modern languages is through the previous mastery of the ancient classics, they cannot of themselves give that strong discipline and elegant culture which flow from classical studies, and belong to genuine liberal education. That they fall below the Latin and Greek classics in this respect appears from the following considerations, which we give in the words of Dr. Jones, while we should greatly prefer, if space permitted, to quote in full the richer, ampler, and stronger argument of Mr. Mill, with an occasional extract from which we may supplement and complete the former. Says Principal Jones:

(1.) “The very fact that modern languages can be so easily acquired, the very circumstance of their being living languages, and therefore capable of being learnt orally by a mere exercise of memory, without the laborious process by which alone a dead language can be mastered, makes them less suitable and efficient instruments of intellectual discipline; for intellectual development and culture are the results of intellectual effort; and, if you diminish the effort, you proportionally impede that development, and impair that culture.

(2.) “On the other hand, the fact that the classical are ‘dead’ languages, at the present time unused, and therefore unprogressive; that, consequently, we are able to study them in every stage of their progress, from a comparatively imperfect state to their highest point of perfection, and through their subsequent decline; that therefore there can be no difficulty in selecting from them the finest specimens of style, where the language is found in the greatest perfection (a matter most difficult of decision in the case of any living language, which is ever changing, whether improving or deteriorating, not being at

any given time ascertainable)—renders them more serviceable models for the study of language.

(3.) “Then, again, it must be borne in mind that Greek and Latin are in themselves more perfect languages, more logically accurate in the expression of ideas, with a more regular grammatical structure, and with grammatical details more easily traceable to general laws; and that, consequently, to adopt the conclusion of the *Quarterly Review* (July, 1864, p. 21), ‘Latin,’ to which we may add Greek in perhaps a greater degree, ‘though not well taught and less well remembered, leaves behind it more knowledge of general grammar and etymology than the study of any modern language can convey.’

(4.) “To this we may add that they afford a standard of the principles of language and of grammar common to the whole civilized world. Now it is manifest that, in the study of philology, it is important that there should be some common basis of proceeding, and some standard of reference agreed upon by all. It would be plainly inconvenient that each nation should take for its standard its own or some other modern tongue, *e. g.*, that England should take French, Germany English, France German, or Italy any one of the three, or some other language; scholars could not thus compare their labours, and the variation in the point of view would probably produce hopeless discord as to the principles which are the ultimate object of research. Nor could it be expected that all modern nations would combine to elevate any one of their languages into the position of the one standard for them all. But Latin and Greek, being remote from national jealousies and the rivalries of modern life, standing out in the distant past the common heritage of all, to which all are equally entitled, and all are equally, or nearly so, indebted, form a ground of study open to every civilized man, from which the fundamental principles of all language can be educed, and upon which the philologists of every nation can work together and compare the results of their labours.

(5.) “And as they afford the most perfect specimens of language, so also they supply the finest literary models in poetry, history, and philosophy—models which have served as examples of thought and composition to all subsequent ages, and after

the fashion of which all modern literature has taken its form. And, in addition to this fact, observing also that classical, as compared with modern literature, which is practically speaking boundless in extent, affords a limited area for study, containing a few recognized models, upon which all can agree, whereas, to make a selection from modern authors for the same purpose is almost impossible,—we conclude that the literatures of Greece and Rome, no less than their languages, are more suitable for educational purposes than those of modern nations.

(6.) “Nor must this fact be forgotten. Modern literary productions abound in classical allusions, and in thoughts and sentiments either directly copied from the Greek and Latin classics, or framed on the model of similar passages in them. In evidence of this we may refer to the constant classical allusions in the speeches of our great statesmen—allusions which convey no meaning except to the classical scholar. And even in cases where this direct reference is not discernible, the classics have exercised so vast an influence on modern thought, and so many of our current ideas are traceable to that influence, that much of our modern literature cannot be thoroughly understood and appreciated without some classical knowledge.

(7.) “Another argument of considerable weight may be based on the circumstance that, in consequence of their remoteness from our own times, the classical authors are free from any reference to the controversies, religious, political, and social, which agitate ourselves, and with which it is exceedingly undesirable to disturb the minds of the young before they are thoroughly competent to think for themselves, to discriminate between what is true and what is false, and to settle their own principles on the conviction of disciplined reason, and under the influence of sound and well-trained judgment.

(8.) “Further, it must be noted that the classical languages are, or at least the Latin is, as it were, the key to many of the most important modern languages, and that the acquisition of the former makes the acquisition, whenever necessary or desirable, of the latter a comparatively easy task—a fact the converse of which is by no means true.

(9.) “And, as a last argument—an argument, however, which is applicable only to our own times, and may ultimately cease

to be of any force—the classics have so long held possession of our leading seminaries of learning, that they, with mathematics, have secured a monopoly of the most highly trained and efficient masters, so that at present, and for some time to come, it would be difficult to procure a sufficient supply of competent masters of the modern languages.

“For all these reasons, we conclude that the modern languages, important as is the place which they ought to occupy in education, cannot be regarded as having the same educational value as those of Greece and Rome.”

Says Mr. Mill: “The only languages, then, and the only literature to which I would allow a place in the ordinary curriculum, are those of the Greeks and Romans; and to these I would preserve the position in it which they at present occupy. That position is justified, by the great value, in education, of knowing some other cultivated language and literature than one’s own, and by the peculiar value of those languages and literatures.”

After showing with great cogency the importance of looking at things represented in other languages, in comparison with our own, in order to accurate knowledge; also of comparing ourselves, our views, methods, and achievements, with the standards presented by other nations and in other languages, Mr. Mill discourses in this wise:

“But if it be so useful, on this account, to know the language and literature of any other cultivated and civilized people, the most valuable of all to us, in this respect, are the language and literature of the ancients. No nations of modern and civilized Europe are so unlike one another, as the Greeks and Romans are unlike all of us; yet without being, as some remote Orientals are, so totally dissimilar, that the labour of a life is required to enable us to understand them. Were this the only gain to be derived from a knowledge of the ancients, it would already place the study of them in a high rank among enlightening and liberalizing pursuits. It is of no use saying we may know them through modern writings. We may know something of them in that way; which is much better than knowing nothing. But modern books do not teach us ancient thought; they teach some modern writer’s notion of ancient

thought. Translations are scarcely better. When we want really to know what a person thinks or says, we seek it at first hand from himself." Mr. Mill proceeds to apply this principle to the study of ancient history, and to show that antiquity can only be truly known in the historians and authors through which it utters and portrays itself. "There is no portion of our knowledge which it is more useful to obtain at first hand—to go to the fountain head for—than our knowledge of history."

We cannot forbear to make another considerable extract, showing the incomparably superior educating power of the ancient over the modern languages. Keeping in view the extent to which their perfect grammatical inflections enable them to invert the order of thought, so that the student is under the necessity of tracing the meaning through a careful examination and comparison of the grammatical forms, inflections, syntactical relations, and other facts, the following passage is strongly to the point.

"Even as mere languages, no modern European language is so valuable a discipline to the intellect as those of Greece and Rome, on account of their regular and complicated structure. Consider for a moment what grammar is. It is the most elementary part of logic. It is the beginning of the analysis of the thinking process. The principles and rules of grammar are the means by which the forms of language are made to correspond with the universal forms of thought. The distinctions between the various parts of speech, between the cases of nouns, the moods and tenses of verbs, the functions of particles, are distinctions in thought, not merely in words. Single nouns and verbs express objects and events, many of which can be cognized by the senses, but the modes of putting nouns and verbs together, express the relations of objects and events, which can be cognized only by the intellect; and each different mode corresponds to a different relation. The structure of every sentence is a lesson in logic. The various rules of syntax oblige us to distinguish between the subject and predicate of a proposition, between the agent, the action, and the thing acted upon; to mark when an idea is intended to modify or qualify, or merely to unite with, some other idea; what asser-

tions are categorical, what only conditional; whether the intention is to express similarity or contrast, to make a plurality of assertions conjunctively or disjunctively; what portions of a sentence, though grammatically complete within themselves, are mere members or subordinate parts of the assertion made by the entire sentence. Such things form the subject-matter of universal grammar; and the languages which teach it best are those which have the most definite rules, and which provide distinct forms for the greatest number of distinctions in thought, so that if we fail to attend precisely and accurately to any of these, we cannot avoid committing a solecism in language. In these qualities the classical languages have an incomparable superiority over every modern language, and over all languages, dead and living, which have a literature worth being generally studied."

In addition to all this, Mr. Mill maintains with great cogency, "that the superior value of the literature itself, for purposes of education, is still more marked and decisive. Even in the substantial value of the matter of which it is the vehicle, it is very far from having been superseded." In scientific knowledge the moderns of course surpass them, but not in "the treasure they (the ancients) accumulated of what may be called the wisdom of life; the rich store of experience of human nature and conduct which the acute and observing minds of those ages, aided in their observations by the greater simplicity of manners and life, consigned to their writings, and most of which retains all its value. The speeches in Thucydides; the Rhetoric, Ethics, and Politics of Aristotle; the Dialogues of Plato; the Orations of Demosthenes; the Satires and especially the Epistles of Horace; all the writings of Tacitus; the great work of Quintilian, a repertory of the best thoughts of the ancient world on all subjects connected with education; and, in a less formal manner, all that is left to us of the ancient historians, orators, philosophers, and even dramatists, are replete with remarks and maxims of singular good sense and penetration, applicable both to political and private life; and the actual truths we find in them are even surpassed in value by the encouragement and help they give us in the pursuit of truth."

"In purely literary excellence—in perfection of form—the

preëminence of the ancients is not disputed. In every department which they attempted, and they attempted almost all, their composition, like their sculpture, has been to the greatest modern artists an example, to be looked up to with hopeless admiration, but of inappreciable value as a light on high, guiding their own endeavours. . . . They show us at least what excellence is, and make us desire it, and strive to get as near to it as is within our reach. And this is the value to us of the ancient writers all the more emphatically, because their excellence does not admit of being copied or directly imitated. It does not consist in a trick which can be learned, but in the direct adaptation of means to ends. The secret of the style of the great Greek and Roman authors is, that it is the perfection of good sense. In the first place, they never use a word without a meaning, or which adds nothing to the meaning. They always (to begin with) had a meaning; they knew what they wanted to say; and their whole purpose was to say it with the highest degree of exactness and completeness, and bring it home to the mind with the greatest possible clearness and vividness. It never entered their thoughts to conceive of a piece of writing as beautiful in itself, abstractedly from what it had to express; its beauty must all be subservient to the most perfect expression of the sense. The *curiosa felicitas* which their critics ascribed in a preëminent degree to Horace, expresses the standard at which they all aimed. Their style is exactly described by Swift's definition: 'the right words in the right places.' . . . These conditions being complied with, then indeed the intrinsic beauty of the means used was a source of additional effect, of which it behoved them to avail themselves, like rhythm and melody in versification. But these great writers knew that ornament for the sake of ornament, ornament which attracts attention to itself, and shines by its own beauties, only does so by calling off the mind from the main object, and thus not only interferes with the higher purpose of human discourse, which ought, and generally professes, to have some matter to communicate, apart from the mere excitement of the moment, but also spoils the perfection of the composition as a piece of fine art, by destroying the unity of the effect. This, then, is the first great lesson in composition to be learned from the classical

authors. The second is, not to be prolix. In a single paragraph Thucydides can give a clear and vivid representation of a battle, such as a reader who has once taken it into his mind can seldom forget." In the pressure of modern life, men who have anything to say, tend to prolixity, because they have not time enough to elaborate to the utmost brevity. "But they would do far worse than they do, if there had never been master-pieces, or if they had never known them. Early familiarity with the perfect, makes our most imperfect production far less bad than it otherwise would be. To have a high standard of excellence often makes the whole difference of rendering our work good when it would otherwise be mediocre."

The present position of the ancient classics in liberal education being thus vindicated, it remains that we look briefly at some of its other essential ingredients. Next to the languages, Latin and Greek, the Mathematics have had the preëminence among the branches of study conceded to lie at the foundation of a thorough liberal education, a place from which they will not easily or quickly be dislodged. They have an educational power for which there is no substitute. First, as they afford the calculus for the solution of problems involving number and quantity, which are indispensable in several leading departments of Physical Science, and essential to a due understanding of those sciences. This is an instrument, a tool, which every educated man should possess. But it is not so much for information as for discipline, that this study has value for the majority of students. It does a service for the reasoning powers which cannot otherwise be done. It not only trains the power of attention, close and continuous, to abstract and complex chains of thought, a power in which lies half the superiority of educated men; it accustoms the mind to reach certain truth by reasoning aright from right premises; it shows that this can be done and how it may be done; that it requires complete certainty and rigidly exact statement of the premises; the making sure of each succeeding step, in its order onward to the conclusion, which is thus indissolubly concatenated with the premises. It shows how vast bodies of truth can thus be established, and accustoms the student to the process of establishing them. It then trains him to make use of these

processes and results of reasoning as a prolific factor in the discovery of truth in physical science, the realms of actual being in Astronomy, Mechanics, Chemistry, and especially in Applied Science and the Arts. The conditions being once ascertained by observation and experiment which involve mathematical proportions, as the ratio of the resultant of two forces to their sum, of the force of gravity to the distance and mass of bodies, of the angles of incidence and reflection in the reflection of light, innumerable other conclusions can be certainly deduced by irrefragable mathematical reasoning.

But while mathematics exerts this high educating power upon the reasoning faculties, it needs to be supplemented by training in the ancient languages, in order to any adequate and balanced discipline of these faculties. The views which we have expressed in a former article on this point, are more than vindicated in the following quotation from Dr. Jones, which we make, barely remarking that we do not regard these studies as rivals or superiors, the one of the other, but as mutually supporting and complementary. Indeed, we should as soon think of asking whether animal or vegetable food were best for man, or whether he had better live on one to the exclusion of the other, as whether the reasoning powers were most strengthened by mathematical or classical studies, or by either exclusively of the other. Says Dr. Jones:

“Nor must we suppose that the mental discipline which mathematics effect can be accomplished through its instrumentality alone. Indeed, many have doubted whether mathematics is the best subject for training and developing the reason, and whether it is not inferior to the classics in this respect. For it has been urged against it, and with a great amount of force, that it is concerned only with number, quantity, and form, or the intuitions of time and space, and is thus limited to one sphere of existence, and therefore in no way applicable to the diversified phenomena of our intellectual life; and that, inasmuch as it is concerned with *necessary* matter, it incapacitates rather than trains the mind for dealing correctly with *contingent* matter, and so for forming accurate and sound conclusions in questions of common life, and of moral, political, philosophical, or religious truth, when abso-

lute certainty is unattainable, and probability, of greater or less degree of certainty, alone can be arrived at. But classical studies, they argue, while they are free from these defects as being engaged with *contingent* matter, and concerned with most of the problems which occupy the attention of the intellect, are yet a most effective means of cultivating the reason; for the accurate syntax and complex structure of the classical languages require on the part of the student a great exercise of the logical powers, to enable him to comprehend the purport of the language used; to determine which he has to trace out the connection between clause and clause, and sentence and sentence, to weigh conflicting probabilities as to the exact meaning of words and phrases, to apply rules and form conclusions; and all this involves direct processes of syllogistic reasoning, rapidly and almost intuitively gone through, but no less real and valid on that account." While it is thus clearly shown that the classics do for the reasoning powers, what mathematics cannot, we have shown above that the latter do a work in this behalf impossible to the former.

For reasons equally urgent, the Physical Sciences, in their great elements and outlines at least, have vindicated their claim to a place in liberal education beyond dispute; not indeed in derogation or exclusion of the classics, but concurrently with, and as supplementary to them. The study of them is enforced, in the first place, by the extent, variety, and importance of the information they afford in regard to the phenomena and laws of the Material Universe, of nature, and of man in his corporeal constitution, as well as of the affairs of practical life. Ignorance of the great outlines of these sciences is a disgrace to any educated man. Complete knowledge of any of them is impossible to any but experts and specialists therein. While all cultivated men may know something of the whole circle of sciences, seldom can any become masters of more than one or two. It is not the object of liberal education to make men lawyers, doctors, or clergymen, engineers, metallurgists, scientists, or even linguists in the higher sense; but to prepare them to enter with success upon the thorough mastery of any of these departments. At the same time, it is of the utmost moment that this broad, and symmetrical culture, giv-

ing insight into the leading features of all the great departments of physics, and metaphysics, thought and language, should precede professional or other special studies. Otherwise the liberal and learned professions will be filled with narrow and one-sided men. They will have keenness without breadth of vision; like the men who spend their lives in making the point of a needle; and if sharp like that minute instrument, like it also, in having but one eye and one point.

But if the Physical Sciences are essential for the information they give, they are none the less so for the peculiar discipline they afford. They, of course, train the powers of external observation, and of devising experiments for the ascertainment and verification of truth. They, no less than the languages, exercise the memory. They constantly exercise the student in classification and generalization. But still further, they bring the reasoning powers into play, in the due estimation of evidence, the detection of crucial tests, of uncertain criteria, of unproved hypotheses, and unwarrantable assumptions; in inductive reasoning from particular facts to general laws; in determining the conditions which warrant such universal conclusions from a few facts. In short, they accustom the mind to that sort of reasoning, with all its canons, cautions, and limitations, which has yielded such stupendous results in the realms of actual being; which enable us to foretell eclipses for centuries, with absolute accuracy and prophetic certainty; have harnessed the mighty but blind forces of nature into the service of man, and have given a progress to the civilized nations in half a century surpassing that of long preceding centuries. Many students have first had their powers of thought awakened, so as to think as they need to think in the actual world, by accomplished teachers of physical science. On all accounts, therefore, we assign them a high place in liberal education. Which of them shall be more prominently and largely taught, and which in mere rudimental outline, must of necessity vary in different institutions, according to their traditions and usages, and the power of the different professors to impress themselves or rather their departments on their pupils.

We should like to bring before our readers the whole of Mr. Mill's forcible passage on the value of the study of Logic in

educating the reasoning powers. But we want the room and must content ourselves with an extract.

“Of Logic I venture to say, even if limited to that of mere ratiocination, the theory of names, propositions, and the syllogism, that there is no part of intellectual education which is of greater value, or whose place can so ill be supplied by anything else. Its uses, it is true, are chiefly negative; its function is, not so much to teach us to go right, as to keep us from going wrong. But in the operations of the intellect it is so much easier to go wrong than right; it is so utterly impossible for the most vigorous mind to keep itself in the path but by maintaining a vigilant watch against all deviations, and noting all the by-ways by which it is possible to go astray—that the chief difference between one reasoner and another consists in their less or greater liability to be misled. Logic points out all the possible ways in which, starting from true premises, we may draw false conclusions. By its analysis of the reasoning process, and the forms it supplies for stating and setting forth our reasonings, it enables us to guard the points at which a fallacy is in danger of slipping in, or to lay our fingers upon the place where it has slipped in. When I consider how very simple the theory of reasoning is, and how short a time is sufficient for acquiring a thorough knowledge of its principles and rules, and even considerable expertness in applying them, I can find no excuse for omitting to study it on the part of any one who aspires to success in any intellectual pursuit. Logic is the great disperser of hazy and confused thinking; it clears up the fogs which hide from us our own ignorance, and make us believe that we understand a subject when we do not. . . . You will find abundance of people to tell you that logic is no help to thought, and that people cannot be taught to think by rules. Undoubtedly rules by themselves, without practice, go but a little way in teaching anything. But if the practice of thinking is not improved by rules, I venture to say it is the only difficult thing done by human beings that is not so. A man learns to saw wood principally by practice, but there are rules for doing it, grounded on the nature of the operation, and if he is not taught the rules, he will not saw well until he has discovered them for himself. . . . To those who think lightly of

the school logic, I say, take the trouble to learn it. You will easily do so in a few weeks, and you will see whether it is of no use to you in making your mind clear, and keeping you from stumbling in the dark over the most outrageous fallacies."

As we have shown that one great advantage of such careful study of language, as can only be ensured to young persons through the ancient classics, is the introduction which it gives to the knowledge of mind, or elementary Psychology and Logic, it may be added they perform a like service in behalf of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres. Nor does anything more require to be said in behalf of either of these great departments of *literæ humaniores*, which, on account both of the knowledge and the training they impart, have established for themselves an undisputed place in liberal education.

We had prepared some observations on the true way of meeting the claims made by the ever-widening area of science upon liberal education without crowding out the ancient classics: also in regard to the most advantageous age for beginning the study of Latin and other branches. But we rest here for want of space.

ART. IV.—*Preaching to Sinners.*

THERE is a question of no little importance to the mind of the preacher, which he proposes to himself in attempting the work of leading impenitent souls to Christ. This question is one that asks—How shall sinners be most easily convinced of their need? By what teaching shall they be most easily turned to Jesus, and converted from the power of Satan unto God?

It is understood and felt, that the conversion and the regeneration of the soul is through the grace of God. God ever asserts his own power in this blessed work. They who receive Christ, and to whom is given power to become the sons of God, are born not of the will of man, but of God. The *grace* of God, which bringeth salvation, must ever be remembered, and

insisted on, and preached. At the same time it is felt, that this grace of God does not work without instruments, as the very injunction to preach the gospel indicates. Through the instrumentalities of human argument and appeal do the powerful influences of grace work upon the soul. It has "pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." "How shall they hear without a preacher?" The people to whom have not come the messengers of the gospel are yet lying in the regions of the shadow of death. To them must be told the tidings of salvation ere light shall come upon them. This means is blessed by the Spirit of God unto the awakening and conversion of sinners. It is important, then, to know what the preacher shall preach, that he shall preach the truth and not falsehood. And not only is this important, but also that he shall preach the truth with skill, judgment, clearness, and point. He is working with God's tools. He must study to make himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. He is fighting with Divine weapons, and must study that he may please Him who has chosen him to be a soldier. Feeling his dependence for blessing and success upon the presence and coöperation of the Spirit, he will yet consider carefully and earnestly the method of his presentation of the truth.

His aim, as concerns the impenitent sinner, is, in one word, conversion. This is the grand result. But to this there is a previous stage. In order to the conversion of the soul there must be that soul's *conviction* concerning the nature and the application of the truth. Here is the especial work of the preacher. This is the first step. In speaking the word of God, his desire is to produce, by every means within his reach, such convictions in the mind of the hearer as shall seem most effectual towards salvation. But minds differing in habits of thought, in temperament, in disposition, are not all affected alike by one and the same view of the truth. An exposition of gospel teaching, which will to the soul of one man seem as a revelation of his own unspeakable sinfulness, may to another assume the glorious light of heavenly and attractive holiness. A truth which may goad one man nearly to the borders of despair, may to another seem as the loving tones of a Saviour's voice. The experience of every minister of the gospel will

testify to this, and also to a consequent oft-occurring carefulness and study as to what truths should by him be presented, in what most fitting way, to particular minds. In pulpit preparation, in pastoral labour, the minister is often conscious of studying the characteristics of his people, the special wants known to him, in order that he may, under the Spirit's blessing, bring just such medicine as shall effect a cure. If such and such convictions can be forced upon this soul, then he shall have large hope for its entering the kingdom.

And there is *one great and indispensable conviction*, without the production of which all the labour of the preacher will be in vain. Whatsoever may be the doctrine presented, the soul will not be led to the blessed Saviour until there is felt within it the conviction of which we speak. This is the conviction that *the salvation of the soul depends entirely upon the grace of God*. This may be said to include all the convictions of the soul felt in the application to it of the truths of salvation. To this, in fact, does every sinner come, who gives himself to Christ; to this in its substance, whether thoroughly comprehended in its length and breadth, or not, for the soul will not cast itself upon the mercies of the Lord, until the fact is felt that salvation is *given* to the sincere applicant. This may, then, be taken as the special aim of the preacher in opening to the sinner the truth of redemption, in order that immediately, if possible, the sinner may realize that he must in every way depend upon Divine grace. This shall be for the soul the stepping-stone, whence it may rise to the full experience of conversion's joys.

Of this conviction it may be said, in the first place, that it must be a *sincere conviction*, according to the evident meaning of the Scriptures. In other words, it is a conviction in the heart, and not a mere intellectual judgment; for a religion of the head only is no religion, and the command of God is not, "Give me thy mind," but "Give me thy heart." Preaching deals with the mind, and must deal with the mind by every possible and cogent argument, but only thus that it may touch the heart. A thought or truth, which has found its way into the heart, is one that in so doing has become a living reality for that heart. Formerly, as a mere judgment of the mind,

though established by reasoning, it had no substance for the affections, but now, enlisting these, it assumes at once a breathing form and a living energy. The man then looks upon the proven truth as something for himself, and having, as we may say, personal relations to his own well-being. We know well that this is a result not always, or ever, assured to human endeavour, but it is a result to be aimed at, and comes within the field of earnest study and impassioned appeal. The truth being spoken as a thing which *should* move the heart, the argument is such as seems most fitted to that end. The love of God, for instance, is reasoned upon and proved as an actual, ever-living, and powerful fact, but yet who knows anything of the love of God who has not felt it in his heart? And so the grace of God, whereon salvation shall depend, concerning which this heart-conviction is sought, is not only reasoned about as a reality made certain to the mind by the apostolic declaration, "By grace ye are saved," but is described as the attractive, soul-helping, mercy of God, which by its own power lifts the weakest and most degraded sinner out of the mire, and sets him on the Rock of his salvation.

In the second place, this conviction includes four elements, of which the first is that *the grace of God is a free giving*. In other words, what God bestows upon man in grace is a gift outright. There is nothing in it of reward, nothing of debt. Man does not in any way earn it. He only receives it as a free gift. It is not given in consideration for anything whatsoever in man, whether in his condition or in his action. It is not meant as a compensation for his misery, or for a premium upon faithfulness. It is an answer to prayer, but it is not the reward of prayer. It is conditioned on faith and repentance, but it is not their reward. In whatsoever way the idea of a free gift can be expressed, as separate from every thought of debt or of deserving, in such form may be described the grace of God, flowing from his sovereign good pleasure, as an act of favour upon the positively undeserving.

The second element here is, that *God's provision of a salvation and the means of it are thus entirely of grace*. Here we touch, on the one hand, the sin, the misery, and the death which are in the world, and, on the other hand, the mission of

Jesus Christ with its preceding types, its redeeming value, its divine teaching, and its work of the Holy Ghost. All the remedial measures for the evil which has laid hold upon humanity are shown to be of grace. While men may receive the reward of their labour in the death which is the wages of sin, the opposite condition of eternal life must ever be the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is God's salvation, prepared by him, wrought by his dear Son, and applied by his Spirit; and in this labour of love man's only part is to receive, to praise, to follow, and to love.

The third element in this conviction is that *the sinner's own share* in this salvation is a thing of grace. The sinner, beholding the grace which brought salvation to a world, needs also to see that, if his own soul share in that mercy, it must be through peculiar and especial grace to *him*. Redemption is not to be by him regarded as a fund of mercies originally founded by the grace of God, but to which, as thus founded, the sinner can now entitle himself by hard labour or strictness of life. Call it, if you will, a fund of gracious things, and then these shall be distributed by grace. God not only gave salvation to the world, but he also gives it to the soul. The sinner may look upon himself as standing entirely alone in the world, as though there was no other sinful soul under the heavens, as though all this wonderful work of Jesus Christ were done for his good alone, and thus perceive how entirely his salvation depends upon the Lord's grace. One would have a part in the redemption of Jesus. Let him understand that only as he receives it directly from the hand of grace shall he partake of the blessing. The sinner needs to be brought to a consciousness of his own position, hanging over the verge of the abyss, utterly helpless to save himself, dependent for deliverance, and for everything essential to deliverance, upon the grace of God.

The remaining element here is, that *this saving grace is freely offered unto men and promised unto him that seeks it*. The apprehension of this matter as already set forth, is not to appear as setting up a barrier over which no soul can cross, or to attempt the crossing of that which no soul may dare. These things *are* of grace, and for this reason—just because they are

of grace—they are the more to be hoped for and the more to be striven for. What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God did, in sending his own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin. This was grace, and grace has therefore made possible that which otherwise had been for ever impossible, and thence hope should spring up in the bosom of man, and the way of attaining these things should appear. “Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved,” “Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” “Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.” Here is the God of all grace urging men to receive his grace, and promising life and salvation to the soul that truly seeks them in his appointed way. The conviction then concerning this saving grace of God is incomplete, if it sees only that these blessings are for God’s hand to give. With such view only the soul might be overwhelmed, thinking that this salvation held of God were thus for ever beyond its reach. The sinner shall thus see how entirely he depends on grace, but he needs also to perceive how this dependence is of infinite advantage to himself. The complete conviction discerns, not only the hand of grace filled with every needed blessing, but that hand stretched out to bestow these blessings upon anxious and beseeching souls.

We may rightly include these things in this conviction concerning salvation as in every way dependent on the grace of God. These facts give to it its full meaning, as received and in a measure apprehended by every converted soul. The truth of grace, in order that it may excite the sinner, must thus reveal itself in his heart, as a free gift, given to the world, given to the individual soul, and not denied to sincere prayer. And this in its essential features, whether the mind is, or is not, able to define its parts, must work its way into the soul, before that soul will be found at the feet of Jesus. That Saviour must be seen as a gracious Saviour before the soul will cast itself upon him. If you desire to bring a sinner to Christ, you seek to put before him the nature of the Lord’s free grace,—you speak to him of the blessed Christ waiting to receive him, calling to repentance, knocking at the door, and saying, “Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy

laden, and I will give you rest." Other teaching is not sufficient without this. It may describe the terrors of the law for guilty sinners, but this will but drive the sinner to despair, or burden him in sin, unless upon this fearful picture there is allowed to shine the light of God's forgiving grace. It may paint the glories of heaven, and tell of all the joy and pleasure which there have an eternal dwelling, but this will only double the sinner's misery in view of that which seems for ever denied to him, or will cheat him with false hopes of gaining heaven by his own endeavour, unless there is shown the hand of grace held out to help every sinner in his heaven-ward climbing. A simple conviction of sin, even the deepest, is not enough, though it be one fraught with terrible forebodings and quivering with fear, without the knowledge of the grace of Christ. Fear may lead a soul to the extremity of anguish, and may compel him to wander here and there in search of help. He never trusts in anything that can save until he sees the Giver.

This, then, is a working conviction, a life-giving truth. Without it souls will not turn unto Christ. Having this, attended by the Spirit of God, they need no more to lead them. For this, it will be seen, necessarily suggests much that is not stated in its formal proposition. It presupposes all other truths connected with the soul's conversion. It simply speaks of the grace of God, but that grace touches, from its nature and in its statement, the lost condition of sinners and the Divine measures for their redemption. Having this manifold relation, it may be shown as flowing from, or connected with, any of the other doctrines which God has given for the warning, the teaching, and the encouragement of souls. It may, therefore, be taken as a prime object of desire to present the truth before the sinner, in such a manner that this conviction shall be most speedily and effectually wrought within him, that he shall realize that he is in very truth dependent upon his grace, so that grace must save him and not he himself. He is a sinful creature who must derive all help, all life, all holy emotion, all spiritual power, all salvation, from Christ, and from Christ alone. Whatever is taught to the sinner, let this be taught to him. Let him feel this. Let him feel his dependence, and let him therewith see Him upon whom he must depend. Lay

the sinner helpless at the foot of the cross, and teach him to look up.

It would seem to follow from these thoughts that the intention of all preaching to the sinner, looking to his conversion, should have this as its first aim, to lay this as the foundation of the saving work in the soul. This does not require a constant iteration of the word "grace," nor a perpetual recurrence to the statement of dependence thereon. It is not the unvarying teaching of one doctrine, but the drawing the practical lesson from every doctrine. It seeks the resultant of many forces. Urging the soul by every revealed doctrine, and every statement concerning its own condition and necessities, this preaching would so declare the many doctrines of the word, that the glory of grace may force its way into the sinner's heart. To what other end were these doctrines revealed to men, than for the glory of God in their salvation who receive them, and the condemnation of those who reject? How otherwise shall that glory be promoted, and souls be saved, or left without excuse, better than by this converging of all teaching upon the grace which bringeth salvation and applieth it unto men? If this can be brought out and shown plainly to the sinner, will he not by this be placed the nearer to an acceptance of God's mercy?

How this conviction shall be wrought in the handling of other doctrines may be briefly shown. Among the many teachings of the gospel there are a certain few which are ever and necessarily appealed to in this matter of the soul's conversion, having here a peculiar, though not their entire province. Foremost among these, and without which the others cannot be understood, is the doctrine concerning the nature of man's *sinfulness* and the extent of his *guilt*. This is to be taught in all its boldness. The deep depravity of the heart is to be declared. The stain of the first transgression; the corruption of nature; the turpitude of conduct; the ingratitude of life; the open rebellion against God's authority; the flouting of his grace; the deep damnation of which these are worthy; the complete impotence of the soul towards good; the utter ruin which sin has thus brought in and upon the soul; all these are to be taught to the sinner as the doctrine of the word, and as

the doctrine which experience will verify beyond a peradventure. These things are to be so taught to him, that the sinner shall feel himself to be, what he truly is, utterly unworthy of any good, and meriting God's wrath and curse for ever. By all means, let the sinner feel this. If it be possible, bring him to the verge of a dark pool, blacker than pitch, fetid with all corrupting exhalations, and then let him know for a certainty that this is his own God-forgetting and God-dishonouring heart. But do not leave him there. Make him not a lost soul wandering for ever in the darkness where no light dwells. Let him see the light. Let him see that his greatest sin has been against the light. Let him see the light still shining. Let the darkness urge him to the light. Having gotten him to this dreadful view of evil, preach grace to him for his own salvation. Here is the right subject for grace to help. He will never get out of his terrible condition, except grace lift him out. Therefore speak to him in that same hour of grace and Christ.

Again, as direction for a soul asking, "What shall I do to be saved?" we have the doctrine which declares that there must be within the soul "*repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.*" We can never insist too strongly upon this grand necessity. It is contrary even to the human idea of the fitness of things, that sin unrepented of, sin still loved, should be forgiven; or that a soul which refuses to trust in Christ should be saved by Christ. While man's nature is such as he possesses it, and while God's government is such as every teaching reveals it, there is an inherent impossibility that persistent impenitence and unbelief should be set aside as not worthy of condemnation. The conclusion of Paul, "So then we see they could not enter in because of unbelief," is not only a declaration of the Divine will in regard to the sinful Hebrews, but is the logical deduction of reason from the premises. While therefore the sinner is called to repentance and faith by the simple and plain statements of the Scripture, he is taught likewise, that these statements have their foundation in the nature of the sinner himself as a moral agent, and in the nature of God as a moral Governor; that this requirement is not a mere arbitrary decree, but sets forth the natural and necessary conditions without which salvation cannot be. The sinner

must repent. The sinner *must* believe. This is a breaking away from the dominion of sin and coming to the kingdom of God, together with a rejection of all self-righteousness and a placing all hope for life in the mercies and merits of Jesus Christ. But a sinner, learning thus the nature of this demand and the necessity of these things for salvation, is as far away as before, unless he come also in some way to the knowledge that these very things which are needed are *saving graces*. Veil this great fact and tell him only that he must be found with penitence and faith, as though for these he need look only to himself, and you will teach a hard lesson, and one which he cannot obey: you will put into his mouth the mournful cry, "Oh that I could repent! Oh that I could believe!" It is well for him to learn that cry, that his own weakness may be fully realized, but it is not well to leave him without the remedy. Let him see the grace which gives all graces, that his cry may then be, "Lord, turn my heart! Lord, help my unbelief!"

And so, again, when the sublime doctrine of the soul's *regeneration* is declared, with peculiar and yet greater force will the necessity of grace and the *gracious* character of grace appear. Before this necessity the sinner is placed as at the foot of an exceeding high and precipitous cliff, over which he cannot climb, and yet over which he *must* climb, if he shall ever reach the peaceful homes that are clustered at its summit. Here must at once appear to him the need of Divine work. As in the beginning the Spirit of God brooded over the face of the deep ere creation sprang to being, so must the soul be overshadowed by that Spirit before the generating to a new and better life shall appear within it. Let the sinner be staggered, as was Nicodemus, by the bold assertion, "Ye must be born again." Let all his hopes from self, or man, or worldly deeds, or earthly good, be utterly pulverized and given to the winds by the teaching, "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." Verily, the sinner is thus as clay in the hands of the potter. Drive this home to his heart. Make him feel it as the uttermost necessity, out of the deepest sense of his own impotence. But then teach him the blessedness of it. Show him the message of joy that

there is in it. Tell him that this very thing is the gospel of grace, that this, which he cannot do, God can do for him, God is waiting to do for him, God is pleading to be allowed to do for him. Let him hear the voice of grace, saying, "Turn ye unto me—and I will take the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh."

Once more, the sinner is taught that there rests upon him a great *responsibility*, that he is responsible for the mire of his own soul. Duty, as pointing to the laying sin aside and following the commands of God—duty, as declaring the perfect purity of God's law by which he should live and by which he shall be judged—duty, as urging him to penitence and faith in Christ—this duty is at all times and in every way shown. He never can get away from its obligation. And yet this duty is a thing, which, all burdened by sin and chained by habit as he is, the sinner cannot fulfil. Essaying it, as many do, unaided by any help outside of himself, he fails utterly and miserably. Still obligation, not measured by present ability of sinners, remains; for the law is not responsible for the weakness which sin has made the heritage of man, neither is grace responsible for the loss of those who refuse to accept its power. The word remains, and man is still a moral agent, responsible for his choice and for his actions. But notwithstanding this presence of great obstacles and this burdening with undischarged obligation, the use of his free agency is not lost. Because the obligation is greater than his ability, simply because of this humbling fact, is there room for the operation of grace. Otherwise there were no need for its approach. But now there is room for it: and grace has come and offers to the sinner the help, the strength, the wisdom, which he lacks. Human agency shall thus find its field of action, of successful and heaven-bringing action, in the acceptance of the grace, and through grace the attempting and achieving duty. Through that shall the obligation be met, and the duty be done, and the sinner shall do it, and yet not he, but grace that dwelleth in him. So let the sinner understand that grace stands before him as a strength to be received of him. Let him understand that he, having on him the burden of great duty, yet oppressed with great weakness, responsible before God and his own conscience

for the performance of that duty, may do it, may be more than a conqueror, simply by taking the grace which Christ brings to his very touch. To this poor, weak, feeble sinner, speak of this sufficient grace. Describe it in such perfect form, such fulness of Divine means, such abundance of Divine power, such beauty and attractiveness of Divine love, that he cannot turn away, that he must take this grace to his own soul, and so have life. Make him know that the highest use of his own moral agency and the best following of true reason are found in that act wherein he casts himself, with all his sin and with all his weakness, at the feet of Jesus, to receive life from grace alone.

Thus may the grace of God be made to appear the concluding lesson of every doctrine which concerns the awakening and conversion of sinners, so that the conviction of its need and of the soul's dependence on it shall be the first result in the hearer. We have the gospel of the grace of God, and in every line of it you may read the distinct utterance of its mercy and love for sinners whelmed in a common ruin. It is not the law we preach alone, but grace. God, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, displays the soul-attracting charms of his grace, that by its power souls may be drawn to him and saved from the outer darkness. When he would overthrow the stiff-necked and rebellious, he casts the thunderbolts of his condemnation, but when he would win souls to his heaven and his love, he speaks in words of tenderest warning coupled with the language of earnest invitation. He tells of a love that is beyond all price, of a tender mercy that is over all his works. He sends his Son, and the cross is set up on Calvary, and

"Sweeter sounds were never heard,
Than Mercy utters from the cross."

Therefore let them echo and re-echo in the sinner's ears; let them seem the melodies of heaven sung in rapturous strains to golden harps, till the soul is charmed by the celestial music and subdued unto the grace of God and the cross of Christ.

The trouble with many souls is that they have not this conviction, nor anything like it. There is confusion in the mind.

A part of one truth is apprehended—a mere shred of another. They have an anxiety for salvation and they try to obtain it. They have a thought of their weakness and of their need of Divine help, while at the same time they expect to find saving influences in some work or exercise of their own. Grace seems to them as indeed a gift of God, a gift which has sent the Saviour, which will bring salvation at the end, will save from hell and lead to heaven, but it does not appear to them as a gift of God for the present weakness, and sinfulness, and miserable condition of their souls. It is not the grace which bringeth all things. They are casting about for something which shall assure to them the grace which they deem shall operate only in the future. And so, thus misapprehending the truth, they grope in the darkness, and are often content at last to give up all search in the unfounded and unscriptural hope, that at some time grace will find them and drag them into salvation and heaven, as the captive is bound by his pursuers. They need to know that grace has *already* found them; that here it is, all around and about them; that it is grace with which they have been striving; that grace speaks from the word and from the cross; that it calls by the conscience and the Spirit of God; that it brings good for present need, help for repentance and for faith, life for present living as well as life in the hour of death. They need to have this conviction wrought within them, so that at all times and in every way, for all spiritual good, for regeneration, for repentance, for faith, for all true service, they shall, and must, depend upon the grace of God, and upon that alone. They need to understand, that salvation is from God; that eternal life, begun here and continued hereafter, is of grace; root and branch, and flower and fruit, all are of grace, and grace of God. And then forced to the uttermost of self-renunciation and of self-abasement by this truth, they need to know that a sincere prayer is the key that unlocks for any soul the treasury of such transcendent blessing. Thus taught, the sinner will learn that grace is not a thing afar off, but a thing to be laid hold of here and now; that it is not a thing to be feebly hoped for, or to be feared, with despondent tremblings, but a blessing brought to the soul by the Giver of all good, so that

the sinner may come boldly to the throne of grace, to obtain mercy and find grace to help in every time of need.

Therefore, may we thus preach grace to the sinner, grace which for its other name has—Christ. We can strive to present to his mind and heart this vision of its nature. We may preach grace for all wants of human souls, to lead them from darkness to the light of God, to make their weakness strength, and to turn sinners unto the faithful following of Jesus Christ. Grace is given for this ministry, wherein we are ambassadors for Christ, praying of sinners in Christ's stead that they be reconciled to God. Preaching this gospel of reconciliation, we would bring forth the headstone thereof, with shoutings, crying, "Grace, grace unto it"; and before this power of the Lord Jesus Christ shall the great mountain become a plain, and souls that have groped in darkness shall behold a light shining "on the path which leads them to the Lamb."

ART. V.—*The British Churches under Cromwell.*

THE Reformation in England was not permitted to reach the maturity it sought. Royal authority interposed and stopped its course by absolute prohibition. What the brief reign of Edward VI. effected, and not quite all that, alone was tolerated by Elizabeth. Some things the intervening reign of Mary had undone which her sister was not disposed to restore. The leading reformers who survived the Maryan persecution submitted, though many of them unwillingly, to the policy of Elizabeth, thereby accepting a reformation, which, as compared with that of the Continent and of Scotland, was but halfway. Some declined the Queen's authority in that matter, and together with those who unwillingly submitted, constituted a party of great weight in the Anglican church. A few of them separated from the establishment, but were of small moment in comparison with the number of them who remained in it. After the Roman Catholics had been excluded by the papal excommunication of Elizabeth, the state church contained just those

two parties whose aims were on the one hand to stop the reformation where it was, and on the other, to carry it forward to greater purity. Thus by the arbitrary interference of the great Queen there was constituted a strife in the bosom of the Anglican church which has raged there ever since. Throughout her own reign the spirit of difference increased in intensity. Prelatists, who in the beginning were so few that Parker, the primate, found some difficulty in obtaining proper persons to fill the episcopal places, became, in course of time, and under consistent royal patronage, more numerous and of stronger convictions; while the Puritans maintained their cause by diligent study of their Bibles, by intercourse with the reformers of the Continent and of Scotland, and by associations among themselves which the government did not always penetrate. Among them the Genevan translation of the Bible found special favour. In the time of James I. the Prelatic party retained the ascendancy which it had secured under favour of Elizabeth. But his weak despotism both intensified and enfeebled it, by promoting its adoption of preposterous claims, while his harsh treatment of the Puritans prolonged for them the education of adversity. Then why did they not leave the established church? Because they loved it, and were not the less its members in that they desired its greater purity. They held that the advantage of the other party over them was due only to royal favour and acts of parliament. It was entirely consistent with their church-membership to agitate for a change in the laws, which according to their views had biased their church polity and fettered her spiritual progress. The few who had separated had thereby only withdrawn their support from the cause within the church, and brought greater hardships upon themselves; and what good they were to effect did not yet appear. The position of Puritanism within the English church was entirely and nobly consistent with its own aims.

Prelatists, again, as naturally supported the cause of absolute authority in the princes who sided with them, which tendency, the short-sighted policy of the Stuarts turned to the service of their own selfishness, and set aside every guarantee of English freedom. Were the Puritans who stood manfully by the constitutional rights of their countrymen to be regarded

as less true to their national church than that party which sought to ally it with despotism? After more than two generations of wretched misgovernment in that matter, Puritanism had made such progress that a Parliament could not be called without giving organization to its power. The King, at the head of the prelatic party, latterly shunned the conflict with it, and attempted to govern by his own will. But English customs and prescriptive law were not so completely suppressed as to allow of adequate revenue being collected in that way. The evils inflicted by tyranny recoiled upon itself; and when the King stood in need of an army to enforce his unconstitutional measures, he found himself constrained to call a Parliament to provide him with the means. It was certainly not very unnatural that the representatives of an oppressed people should withhold from the tyrant the means of further oppression. True, his immediate object, when the Long Parliament met, was to crush, not England, but the Church of Scotland; but in that Church of Scotland the Puritans recognized their own cause, and knew that every blow which should take effect upon it would damage themselves. In the quarrel which ensued between Charles and the Parliament, the two parties of the English church came to an open separation for the first time. In both Houses, among the lords temporal as well as among the representatives of the people, the Puritan element prevailed; in the latter by an overwhelming majority. Prelacy was abolished, and Presbyterianism, according to the views of the greater number of Puritans, established as the government of the English church, and the bishops excluded from the House of Lords. But the Puritans themselves consisted of two parties, Presbyterian and Independent. Until the Prelatists were overthrown both in battle and in debate, these two were practically one. The completeness of their success opened the way to their division. The Independents were most numerous in the army; the Presbyterians in Parliament. To the former belonged the force of the nation; to the latter the majority of its people. It was the purpose of Parliament, when the war was closed, to disband the army. But that, as its leaders well knew, would have been the humiliation of the Independent party, which, as

•

they believed, most consistently sustained the true cause of God.

The execution of the King was the work of the Independent party; and in order to put themselves in condition to effect it, they had to break with the Presbyterians in Parliament. After the death of the King the most important persons in the kingdom, by virtue of the places they occupied, were Lenthall, speaker of the House of Commons, and Fairfax, commander-in-chief of the army. But the former had his sphere only in the House. He was nothing out of it; and within it only what the rules of the House made him. And Fairfax, who all along had conceded so much to the superior gifts of his Lieutenant-General, was now disabled by the defeat of the Presbyterian party to which he belonged. The real leader, by the inevitable force of events, was Cromwell, who, although he had not been the first to dare the boldest steps, had consistently moved on at the head of his party, which now, and barely by support of his talents, was in the ascendant. Well for the world that such a man stood where he did at that juncture.

Much difficulty has been needlessly introduced into the character of Cromwell. After his death royalists obtained the public ear, and were sustained by imperious fashion in shaping the history for themselves. It did not suit their purpose to admit that he was truly a Christian, and without that admission his whole public life becomes an enigma. Everything having the colour of honesty about him was to be explained as hypocrisy. And in order to throw upon him the reproach of things which occurred in the natural order of human events, they impute to him a superhuman foreknowledge and laying of plans to promote his own ambition in them, with such skill in disguising, that nobody could ever detect them. Within more recent time research has turned back to the writers of the Commonwealth, and especially to the letters and speeches of Cromwell himself, and now set before us, divested of the false colouring and misrepresentations of royalists, he appears to have been a man of great simplicity and openness. In all his correspondence, not the first trace is to be found of the charlatan. On the contrary, the most indubitable marks of a man who lived near to God, shaken as he laments by the trials of his life, but ever

recurring to the merits of the Saviour. Not a letter from his hand, be it a note of affection to his wife or children, or a report of one of his victories to Parliament, fails to bear this testimony directly or indirectly. If some of his acts were neither wisest nor best, it is not more than incident to human nature; but that all in him which seemed to be Christian was the mere fruit of hypocrisy is inconceivable. They who have asserted it, have either not examined the facts, or been singularly blinded by prejudice. In its essential integrity the spirit of his letters was also that of his public life. The basis of his character was its profound religiousness. If not always uppermost, religion seemed to be always undermost in his thoughts. All things occurred to him in the light of their relations to God. And although tinctured, after the fashion of his day, with Old Testament severity, his religion was of that spirit which none ever learned save of the Lord Jesus Christ. With a university education, but without any pretensions to superior scholarship, his strong native powers readily appropriated the knowledge demanded by his duties; and he said of himself that he always did what was given him to do, to the best of his ability. Deep penetration into the motives of men, quick apprehension of the demands of the present, and great promptness and despatch in business, supplied to him the place of forethought. So readily did he adapt himself to emergency, and so abundant were his resources, that people were sometimes tempted to believe that he had laid a train to create the emergency, for which he seemed so well prepared: and could impute to nothing but hypocrisy his solemn averment to the contrary. But it was always so. His decision never wavered when the crisis came. Without a particle of the histrionic about him, the rapidity and daring of his intuitions sometimes affected himself like inspiration. It was to this that the most questionable as well as the greatest acts of his life were due. In the habit of daily prayer, and of taking special counsel with God in view of great duties, he was prone on rising from his knees, to take the idea which had strong hold of his mind as a voice from heaven: when he warmed in debate and new thoughts flashed before his mind, or in the sudden exigencies of battle, the idea of some brilliant and successful movement

darted before him, he knew not whence; he believed to be of God. But this belief, while it led him into some mistakes, gave a singular elevation and splendor to his genius. With the humility of a Christian, and more than ordinary simplicity of conversation and manner, he conceived of himself as a special instrument of God, under special Divine protection and destination to a certain end.

We are not aware of any verified fact of his public life inconsistent with these elements of his character. That masterly combination of practical judgment, energetic fidelity in duty, with quick and startling intuitions in times of difficulty, and that abiding feeling of supernatural guidance and communion with Deity, constituted such an aggregate of character as the world has seldom seen.

His insight in historical cause and effect was sagacious and far-reaching. No other man of his day has left any evidence to such breadth of statesmanship. He alone, among those concerned in it, seems to have apprehended the true historical importance of the revolution in which he was acting so important a part. It was greatly to the embarrassment of his plans and grief of his spirit, that he could not get men to coöperate with him on the level of his own views. How often did he urge—and often in vain—upon his council and Parliaments that their cause was not that of a party, but of the whole three kingdoms; and in and through them, of the whole Protestant world. “All the honest interests,” said he before the Parliament of 1656, “yea, all the interests of the Protestants in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia, and the Cantons, and all the interests of Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God’s interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God’s own.” Such was the spirit of his foreign policy, manifesting itself in protecting Protestants and putting a check upon the aggressions and cruelties of Rome in every direction. At home it was this liberality which procured him abuse from all sides, except from the few, who, like Milton, rightly understood him. He would not narrow himself down to be the champion of any party less comprehensive than the whole Protestant name. Prelacy he

restricted only in as far as it adhered to the practices of Rome. Men of that day deemed it evidence of hypocrisy, that professing Christianity he did not exclusively defend the interests of one denomination; a charge which has been put into most definite form by one of his French biographers of our own time. "Cromwell's neutrality for forms of worship," writes Villemain, "compared with the fervour which he always affected, would of itself be enough to convict him of hypocrisy. In that fanatical age, faith was never distinct from intolerance, and if Cromwell had been sincere, he would have chosen the sect he preferred to follow."* Another such shallow and malignant remark it would be difficult to quote from any respectable historian touching any character which he must have studied. Cromwell viewed himself as raised up by God to be the defender of evangelical religion under every name, against heathenism in Rome and out of it; but especially in it. And when we consider the state of Europe at that epoch, the idea, far from being a craze of fanaticism, proves to have been one of the grandest conceptions of enlightened statesmanship.

On the Continent, the thirty years' war had just closed in the treaty of Westphalia, and Protestant nations for the first time had secured the recognition of their independence. But the Pope could sanction no treaty stipulations going to derogate from his ancient claims of authority, the vexation and wrath of the Catholics were extreme, and the violence of persecution intensified wherever they retained sway. It was then that the Jesuit order was most active and powerful, instinct with the purpose to exterminate Protestants, and recover by stratagem and oppression what had been lost in open war. Catholic princes supported them or submitted to become the executioners of their designs; and the whole was sustained by the wealth and political weight of Spain. Protestant states on the Continent were small as compared with the great Catholic powers. The alliance with France had carried them to success in the war. But France, though in policy arrayed against the house of Hapsburg, could not be relied upon to support the cause of Protestants. Within her own bounds they were subjected to

* Villemain's *Cromwell*, ii. 200.

many hardships. The alliance in which a terrible war had bound them being then dissolved, the Protestant states were exposed to the machinations of unscrupulous enemies. Some strong arm was needed in that emergency to secure respect for the conditions of the treaty.

The spirit and purpose of popery coincided with those of the great monarchies of which we have already made mention. Monarchical despotism had been defeated in England, but was not dead there. In France it had been checked in development by regencies and the necessity of alliance with the liberal cause in order to counteract the overbalancing weight of Spain, but was meanwhile slowly making progress to that degree of absolutism, which a few years after Cromwell's death it boldly assumed, when the King declared himself the state. Of this cause also the King of Spain was the principal champion, and his politics were those of his kinsman on the throne of the empire. What else was to be seen beyond those bounds? To the north, Russia, not yet a European power; to the east and south the Turks, then in all their pride of dominion. In the new world, the colonies of the great popish powers were strengthening themselves over the aboriginal inhabitants by measures the most diabolical. The Puritan settlements upon the northern coast were still but few and feeble.

Against such stupendous strongholds of wrong, what could a nation like Denmark or Sweden, or the disjointed states of northern Germany, or Cantons of Switzerland avail; or what could Holland, though then an arm of greater strength? And now, had the regal policy which ruled in the court of the Tudors and Stuarts, and reached its greatest audacity in that of Charles I. been suffered to continue, and add its influence, if not the strength of the British isles, to the side of despotism on the Continent, civil liberty, now distinctly assigned over to the Protestant states, must have gone down in the extinction designed for them.

The treaty of Westphalia would have been strangled in its infancy, but for certain wonderful providences, among which most conspicuous appeared the Commonwealth of England holding all the British isles, for the first time, bound together in one. And he who had so bound them in one and now stood

at their head, their representative to the world, well understood the import of the place he occupied in all these relations. No man elevated to such office ever estimated more justly its demands and responsibilities than Cromwell. The enemy of despotism in all forms, he was equally opposed to the radicalism of the levellers; and earnestly sought to establish the government of his country upon a regular constitutional basis. Repeatedly did he take measures to return the powers which he held to the hands of representatives of the people. The incapacity of their majorities defeated every such plan; and to save all from ruin, he had to resume the whole weight of the trust. The example which he wished to present to the world was that of a regularly constituted freedom. Not permitted so to do by the disorders of the time, it seems that he did the best which remained for him to do. Power had been put into his hands, to return it was impracticable then; but royalty had become synonymous with despotism, and he steadily refused its rank and title, preferring to be called the Protector of the English Commonwealth, in hope that the day might still come when the Protectorate might be laid down, or regulated to an ordinary office, and the commonwealth go on by force of its own constitution. Notwithstanding his anomalous position, he was on one side; kings on the other. However strongly tempted by the actual possession of power, and the offer of regal honours, he would not betray the cause of freedom, which might still emerge in its true colours in his or some other hands.

War, although a sphere in which he was invariably successful, Cromwell never pursued for either the gains or the glory to be obtained by it, not even for civil liberty alone. If he had any model before his mind, it was neither Cæsar nor Brutus, but Joshua, the captain of the armies of the Lord. The same motives which actuated his conduct in church and state, constituted the key to all his military career; that part of it which pertains to Ireland as distinctly as any other. He appeared in Ireland to put an end to an already long continued war; but he also commanded an army which viewed itself as the avenger of unspeakable barbarities practised upon their fellow Protestants. By two terrific blows he almost extinguished opposi-

tion. The rest of the campaign was little more than a triumphant march through the country. Everywhere non-resistants were spared. The men who had commenced hostilities, and conducted them, as long as unopposed by an adequate force, with the most atrocious brutalities upon multitudes of the unoffending, had provoked a retaliation, which, had their enemy been like themselves, would have been tenfold what they suffered. Cromwell's spirit was not cruelty. It was stern, unrelenting, but wise; and in the end proved to be, as we learn from himself at the time, it was intended to be, the most humane.

No other great general ever took less interest in war for its own sake. His object was always to have done with fighting as quick as possible, and to spare the effusion of blood. But he knew what was needed to that end; not only to cow the hearts of cowards, but what it takes to show brave men the unreasonableness of resisting. In a few months he subdued Ireland more completely than any of his predecessors had ever done, and with less blood than had often been shed in a futile insurrection.

In the neighbourhood of a man's strength lies the region of his weakness. Deeply impressed with the conviction that he was specially called by God to the execution of that work which in the order of events he found put into his hands, Cromwell neither felt free to decline the trust, nor questioned his own capacity or success in complying. In his eyes, it was not his own cause, but the cause of God which he served. No doubt seems to have ever subtracted from the energy of his purpose on that point. But although his clear practical sense precluded the dreamy weakness of fanaticism, it did not prevent him from sometimes taking his own cherished plans and earnest desires for the will of God. Ambition, excluded from his mind at every other avenue, entered by this, but without obtaining recognition. To some men ambition is a source of strength, when they fully admit it, and make the attainment of its ends their aim. Alexander and Napoleon openly professed ambition, and yielded all their energies in its promptings without reserve; and it answered the purpose of concentrating their efforts. To Cromwell it was weakness. For when he gave

way to it, in any instance, it was as a Christian gives way, half unawares, to a strong temptation. It divided for the time being his otherwise far loftier aim. The unprejudiced student of his public career will find facts which suggest the operation of ambition, but not one which can be imputed to that motive alone. Dealing fairly with the subject, he will discover that Cromwell's motive, as known to himself, was something very different. His assenting to the Parliamentary purge, his taking part in the execution of the King, and dissolution of the Long Parliament, have been considered as the most questionable of his public acts, and those into which ambition entered most largely. They were certainly to him the occasion of power, but the cause of weakness, throwing government into his hands, but alienating the body of the people from him, the latter a weakness which would have been fatal, but for the devotion of the army. And yet, even in those cases, he must be a superficial thinker, who does not perceive that there were motives at work with which ambition had little to do—overmastering necessities which make it difficult to conceive of how Cromwell could have taken any other course that would have turned out better. The charge of hypocrisy reiterated against him by royalist writers, but never established in a single instance, later and more critical investigation has finally exploded.

By advocates of the restoration he was persistently represented, or rather misrepresented, as Luther was by papists. Between the two men there is much resemblance in the main; the same was their gradual progress with the progress of events; the same their strong grasp of truth, often in defiance of the ordinary means of reaching it; the same their practical good sense and power in holding a check upon extreme radicalism, as well as in conducting vast and varied designs of reform, and the same self consecration to a special calling in the cause of God. But the piety of the Protector is more consistently reverential than that of the Reformer. Luther occasionally made unduly free with sacred language, Cromwell, never.

In that most valuable of all powers in a ruler, discrimination of character in selecting fit men for places of office and trust, Cromwell has never been surpassed. In this matter he suffered himself to be biased by no party, sect, or relationship. General

Ireton was his son-in-law. But Ireton rose side by side with himself, the nearest rival of his own power both in the army and in Parliament. General Fleetwood was also a son-in-law, but not until he had earned his rank and reputation, and the wars of the commonwealth on British soil were closed. A similar remark will apply to his brother-in-law, General Desborough, whose place in the army was independent of any relationship of affinity to the Protector. And when to these names we add those of Harrison, Lambert, Rainsborough, Monck, Goffe, Whalley, Ludlow, and others, we shall be ready to say that such a roll of officers in command of her forces England never saw before. At sea, the men whom he put or retained in office, did, with little exception, equal credit to his judgment. If Penn and Venables did not satisfy his own expectations of them, England has had no reason to complain. For they added to her dominion the valuable island of Jamaica. And the career of Blake surpasses in brilliant daring and success everything in naval history except that of Nelson. From these men he chose his confidential advisers, and added to them some of the wisest and most learned civilians of the age. The gifted Thurloe became his secretary of state, Milton his foreign, or Latin secretary, the learned Whitelocke commissioner of the exchequer, and Sir Matthew Hale, lord chief justice. And in the regulation of the universities and of the affairs of the church, his selection of leading men was no less judicious. Dr. John Owen he set over the university of Oxford, in which he also assigned the headship of colleges to Goodwin and Wilkins. In Cambridge, Cudworth, Arrowsmith, and Lightfoot owed their places to his patronage or appointment, as well as all others who distinguished those institutions in his time. For the benefit of the northern counties of England, he also erected and endowed a college in Durham, which, abandoned at the Restoration, has, like some other plans of his, been revived of later years. But it was for the purifying, regulating, and support of the church that his most anxious thoughts and most careful attentions were expended.

At the time of the King's death the state of the church in England was still unsettled. Episcopacy had been abolished by authority of Parliament. The Assembly at Westminster,

called to assist in church matters, had drawn up and recommended a Presbyterian system of doctrine, discipline, worship, and government; and the whole had been enacted by Parliament as the law of the land. Accordingly England and Wales had been divided ecclesiastically into provinces, and these again into classes, each of which contained a number of parishes, subject respectively to the authority of parochial, classical, and provincial assemblies: the first to meet once a week, the second once a month, the third twice a year, and, crowning the system, national assemblies were to meet as often as summoned by Parliament. But many difficulties had occurred in carrying out that order. A large number of the people clung to the ancient practice, as far as it was allowed, and did not understand, or did not like the new. Many of the ministers resisted it or imperfectly complied. Some deeming it an unscriptural radicalism, preferred in their hearts the Episcopal forms; others holding it to be not radical enough, demanded that the ultimate authority should be reposed in each congregation, and could take little interest in attending either classical or provincial councils; and others whose hearts were not profoundly engaged in religion, reluctated against the strictness of its discipline. Only in London, which was one of the ecclesiastical provinces, and in Lancashire, was it observed fully and consistently.

Presbyterians themselves further aggravated the evil by their own dissensions, and by an unnecessary urgency on the point of Divine right. Not content with the establishment of their church government, they insisted that the public and Parliament, by authoritative action, should recognize it as alone possessed of the Divine sanction, or as alone expressly and completely revealed under the gospel. Gratuitous offence was thereby given to many who would otherwise gladly have complied with it as consistent with Scripture.

In this excited transition state in the abolishing of the old system, and imperfect enforcing of the new, many congregations were greatly neglected, and improper persons either allowed to remain in pastoral charge of them, or introduced without sufficient scrutiny; and that not from neglect or carelessness, but from the nature of the circumstances.

Political complications increased the difficulty. Scotland and Geneva had furnished the Presbyterian model; and the Solemn League and Covenant with the former was much relied on for support. In the first instance, and for two or three years, it was a tower of strength. But in 1648 the Scotch also divided on the question of restoring the King, and the high royalist party obtaining the majority in their Parliament, sent an army into England to compel the English Parliament into their measures. Defeated by Cromwell, that invasion failed of its object; but was not without effect, reviving in the English breast the ancient dislike of Scotchmen, and alienating largely the adherents of the League and Covenant.

In the meanwhile subordinate sects had grown up or increased. Of these the strongest in learning and intellect, if not numbers, were the Independents. Not yet constituting a separate body or ecclesiastical connection, they were only variants or dissentients within the Presbyterian establishment. It was not until after the death of Cromwell that they came out with a confession of their own, which, after all, differed so little, except in government, from that of Westminster, that it soon fell into neglect. Other variations were created by the Baptists and Erastians, and the founders of the Society of Friends were beginning to attract public notice, and other differences of opinion were laying the foundations for sects which had yet taken no shape. All these, together with a greater number of repressed Episcopalians, were contained within the bosom of the newly established Presbyterian church, but not recognized as having any right to toleration. The greatest excitement of feeling, over all three kingdoms, intensified the tenacity with which conflicting opinions were adhered to and defended. Religion, politics, and local and national prejudices and interests heated and aggravated one another. English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh passions were excited to the utmost by designing leaders, and friends of the King arrayed in deadly animosity against his enemies. Well for the two nations most intimately connected that a real interest in religion, a practically working religion, entered so deeply into the heart of all their purposes, and swayed so much the conduct of their lives. Who shall be found equal to allay the public ferment, and reduce the dis-

cordant elements to harmony? Arduous would have been the task for a government unshaken in itself, and with all its machinery in full operation; what must it be to that fragment of the House of Commons, which has now assumed the burden alone? Nay, even to sustain itself would have been impracticable to that body, but for the coöperation of the army. And the strength of the army was that remarkable man who, without being its commander-in-chief, was morally and virtually the head of it.

The problem to be solved was new. At a time when monarchy was in the full blossom of its power and pride, and passive obedience to kings, as the anointed of the Lord, was the doctrine of the high and the burden of the low, the representatives of the people of England had resisted their monarch, brought him to trial before a court of commoners, and on the fundamental principles of justice had condemned him as a guilty man. The deed was not done secretly, nor timidly, but open, held up, as a lesson to the world, inviting examination and challenging its criticism. Men who took that unprecedented step must have felt well assured of the ground on which they stood. The laws which they contemplated were not the superficial and conventional. All such they obviously designed to subject to a thorough revision. The principles of the English constitution, and beneath them still, the eternal laws of right and wrong, alone did those men regard with veneration; and by the latter were even the practices of the constitution to be tried. In their eyes, the problem was one of radical revolution. This being admitted, it is not to the point to question them for non-conformity to prescriptive rule or mere statute law. They were now in the condition of lawgivers, empowered to abolish the old and create new. If it were asked, who empowered them, the answer would readily be, the people of England, who had elected them to the places which they held, sustained them in the course they had pursued, and backed them with an army of their very best and bravest: and the doctrines by which they were guided, they drew from Scripture, and were always ready to defend thereby. True, the body of the nation had enjoyed no opportunity of publicly

approving or disapproving of their recent action, but they claimed to hold their commission from it.

On the abolition of the old government there was little difference of opinion among them; there was more as to what should be the form of the new. An executive was to be created. What shall it be? A committee? A presiding officer? Or shall Parliament itself be the executive of its own decrees? Shall the nobility be admitted to represent themselves as a separate interest? Then the judiciary, which, under the rule of the late King and his predecessor, had been deliberately and persistently corrupted, had to be revised theoretically and practically, and set up anew. The dissensions of political parties had to be kept in check; the recently established church had to be sustained and its organization carried forward, and the fiercely conflicting sects in its bosom, reconciled or kept in order. Preparations had to be made to encounter war from the side of Ireland and of Scotland, as well as the restless machinations of royalists within their own country, and backed by the navies of Holland. Never did greater dangers threaten the existence of a government than those which were now arrayed against that remnant of the English House of Commons. A sense of guilt would have succumbed. They, fully convinced that their cause was right, braced themselves to defend it. And their confidence was well-founded. For theirs was not a backward movement to take up an obsolete or decaying practice; but forward in the line of Christian development. They might mistake as to means, their own feet might not reach the goal, but their aim was true, and the direction that from which success must ultimately come.

The above questions were answered by declaring the government of England to be a free commonwealth. Its administration was to be committed to an executive council without a king; Parliament to consist of the representatives of the people, without a House of Lords; and three keepers of the new great seal were appointed from whom the judges were to receive their commissions. The executive was to consist of forty or thirty-eight persons, and to hold the reins of sovereignty for one year. And instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which were abolished, one was drawn up called the Engagement,

which obligated to be true and faithful to the government, as thus constituted.

That new oath was conceived in a "spirit of liberality hitherto unknown to English statesmen, and presented no bar to the occupation of office by religionists of all complexions and parties. It provided simply for the civil obedience of the subject, offering no violence to conscience, imposing no religious test, presenting no temptation to hypocrisy."*

Presbytery was declared to be the national church government in the three kingdoms and the principality of Wales; while liberal toleration was extended to all orderly Protestant sects. Romanists suffered many hardships, being excluded from offices in the service or gift of the government, but were not prevented from conducting their worship.

To support the church thus established it was resolved that the tithes should be continued as before, until some other maintenance equally good could be provided. The sequestered Bishop's lands were committed to trustees to be applied to the increase of poor livings in the church, and a similar disposition was made of other ecclesiastical revenues formerly payable to the crown. Provision was thereby made for the payment also of schoolmasters and professors in the universities. Moderate Episcopalians submitted to the new establishment, and many of their ministers served in it, as Puritans had formerly submitted to Episcopacy. But those who refused the Engagement, were thereby excluded. And to that class belonged also a great many Presbyterians, who had the best reason to be friendly to the Commonwealth. But they regarded it as a usurpation, and thought that the Engagement was inconsistent with their natural allegiance to the royal family, and with the Solemn League and Covenant, and that to tolerate the sectaries was to open the door to schism and all iniquity. Independents took the Engagement readily, because under it they were not to be molested for their religion; "and so did the King's old cavaliers, very few of them," as Baxter says, "being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience."

War threatened the young republic from the side of Scot-

* Choules's note to Neal, part iv. chap. i.

land; it was already raging in Ireland. To the latter country Cromwell was sent, and left England in July, 1649. He returned in May of the next year, to undertake the campaign against the Scotch, who had proclaimed Charles Stuart their king, invited him to their country and taken up arms in his cause. Cromwell entered Scotland in the latter part of July, 1650. Then followed the battle of Dunbar, the taking of Edinburgh, the coronation of Charles as King of Scotland, his march into England, and defeat at Worcester, September 3, 1651, and his escape to the Continent. This finished the civil wars of the Commonwealth. For the remnants of resistance were thenceforward hopeless, and endured only a short time. England, Scotland, and Ireland were now united by the strong bands of military force, and for the first time completely covered by the authority of one ruling power, and governed from London.

Parliament now began to contemplate its own dissolution, which was appointed to take place on the fourth of November, 1654. The interval was to be employed in confirming the new institutions, and settling the qualifications of its successor. But many other matters, and especially the maritime war with the Dutch, imperatively demanded a large share of attention, and dissatisfaction arising both among the people and in the army, Parliament, long before the arrival of the day by itself appointed, was brought to a premature end. Cromwell, who, since the resignation of Fairfax, had been commander-in-chief of the army, was all this time, by force of his character and office, the principal man of the nation; and upon him, by a sort of intuitive consent, had all parties concentrated the responsibilities of government.

The Commonwealth was in a prosperous condition, and rising in European importance; but its domestic opponents were many. Taxes were heavy, public dissatisfaction great, and many were the appeals to the military officers to interfere. Members of Parliament had not escaped corruption from their extraordinary success. They were accused of applying to their own use an undue proportion of the revenue. And while appropriating to themselves the fruits of victory they proposed to disband, or transfer to the fleet, the soldiers who had won

them, without providing for the large arrears of pay which were then due. A petition was presented by the officers of the army for a reform of the law, for carrying forward the purification of the church, for removal of scandalous and incompetent persons from offices of state, and especially for a real representative Parliament. Month after month were these topics agitated without any conclusion being reached. A serious quarrel thereupon arose between the Parliament and the army, in the midst of which word was brought to Cromwell that the former were discussing a resolution to dissolve at an earlier date than had previously been determined, and so to prescribe the constitution of a new Parliament, as to retain themselves in it, and constitute themselves electors of it, thereby designing to perpetuate their existing policy. The Lord-General immediately took a file of infantry, and proceeding to the Parliament house, turned the members out of doors. That act, accomplished by a scene not less grotesque than it was momentous, although hardly to be defended even upon revolutionary principles, was highly popular in its time. The soldiers approved it. It was in defence of their cause. The royalists were glad of it. It was the overthrow of their old enemy. And Presbyterians did not regret the removal of rulers who had despised the Solemn League and Covenant.

Cromwell, with his council of officers, now took upon themselves to convoke a new Parliament. One hundred and forty persons were selected from the wisest and most consistent Christians of their respective districts, some of them men of historical eminence; but after a brief session, in which little was done, they resigned their powers to the hands of the Lord-General and dissolved. The country thus again left without a government, what was to be done? Four days afterwards, December 16, 1653, the officers of the army, the mayor and aldermen of London, and the commissioners of the Great Seal, caused to be read publicly an *instrument* which they had drawn up, creating Cromwell "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland," with a council which should not exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen, granting to them the rights of sovereignty, and the power to make laws during the intervals of Parliament, and stipulating that a

Parliament should be called every three years, the first to assemble on the third of the following September. On the same occasion, on which the "Instrument" was read, Cromwell was solemnly inducted into office. And this act of a few was, three years and a half later, confirmed and repeated in a manner still more impressive by the second Protectoral Parliament, as the representatives, and in the name of, the people of England.

In this new state of the revolution Presbyterianism continued to maintain its place as the established church, the laws in relation to it, as such, "were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated, or repealed," while the doctrine of toleration was more clearly defined and more fully stated. The following paragraphs are the 36th, 37th, and 38th articles of the "Instrument."

"That none shall be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

"That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as, under a profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness.

"That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute, or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

The exception made to the prejudice of Episcopalians was more in law than in practice, and more because they were royalists than for their religion. Although not enjoying legal toleration, their assemblies were connived at; and all their clergy who refrained from taking active part in royalist plots were indulged in the exercise of their ministry, and preached publicly in the churches, both in London and in the country. It is fully admitted by Bishop Kennet, (Neal, ii. 136,) "that

the Protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government." (Neal, ii. 158.) Mr. Baxter, a strong Presbyterian adversary of Cromwell, also testifies "that all men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under his government: that he removed the terrors and prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known that the Presbyterians did not approve of the usurpation, but when they saw that Cromwell's design was to do good in the main, and encourage religion, as far as his cause would admit, they acquiesced."

Various causes conspired to render it impossible, at that time, to grant free toleration to Romanists. For they were not only dissenters in religion, but enemies to the whole Protestant connection, the subjects of a foreign prince ready to accept every occasion of hostilities. Cromwell would suffer no man to be molested for his religious belief, as long as he contained himself within the proper sphere of religion. But he would not allow the clergy of any denomination to turn their meetings into means of organizing resistance to the national government: and wherever such a disposition showed itself it was immediately suppressed. Although an Independent, he sustained and defended the Presbyterian establishment.

Even before the dissolution of the little Parliament, he had been engaged in devising measures for giving more effect to the organization of the church; and for purifying it from incompetent or otherwise improper ministers. His first step towards that end was taken on the twentieth of March, 1654, in the appointment of a commission for the trial of public preachers. It consisted of nine laymen and twenty-nine clergymen, selected from the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, with special view to their prudence, sagacity, and sound Christian experience. By those Triers, as they were called, "any person pretending to hold a church living, or levy tithes, or clergy dues in England," was first to be tried and approved.

A second step in the process, taken in the following August,

consisted in appointing local commissioners of both clergy and laymen, from fifteen to thirty in each county of England, whose duty it was "to inquire into 'scandalous, ignorant, insufficient,' and otherwise deleterious ministers of the gospel," and to be a tribunal for judging and ejecting them. Persons thus ejected, if married, were to be allowed a small pension. In the selection of the triers Cromwell did not seem to care whether they were his political supporters or opponents, provided only they had the proper intellectual and spiritual qualifications. It was a singular plan, but wrought well, and received the approval of some good men who were no friends to its author. "Because this assembly of Triers," says Baxter, "is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries: the truth is, though some few over-rigid and over-busy Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured antinomianism, and anabaptism; yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to read a sermon on Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the ale-house, and harden them in sin: and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that were never acquainted with it; these they usually rejected, and in their stead admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were; so that though many of them were a little partial for the Independents, separatists, fifth monarchy men, and anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out again."

The Triers were concerned only with the established church, and the ministers whom they rejected were not thereby deprived

of religious liberty; they were only denied the privileges of the national ministry. The commission continued to sit at Whitehall until the year 1659, after which it was discontinued.

Still further to distribute the force of government over the country, and secure the regular working of minor appointments in both church and state, the Protector, in the year 1655, divided England into ten districts, placing in each, with the title of Major-General, a man most carefully chosen, of real wisdom, fearing God, and of unimpeachable integrity. These officers were invested with a universal superintendence, civil, military, and ecclesiastical. They were to take care that the taxes were collected, to inquire after the private assemblies of suspected persons, and such as frequented taverns and gaming houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and schoolmasters, and to aid the commission in ejecting them. And they were ordered to enlist a body of reserves, at half pay, who might be called together upon any sudden emergency. There was no appeal from the Major-General, except to the Protector himself. This also was an extraordinary device, and might have proved oppressively despotic, but that it was honestly meant for good, and conducted by wise and good men; and, like that of the Triers, wrought well. Of the Major-Generals, Cromwell said, in his speech to the Parliament of 1656, "They have been effectual for the preservation of peace," and in reference to the plan, "it hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men." But as the state of the country became more satisfactory, he reduced the power of the Major-Generals, and finally, when he thought them no longer needed, suppressed them.

In Scotland there was almost perfect harmony in sustaining the Presbyterian church, which by accepting the works of the Westminster Assembly in 1647, and adopting the Directory for the election of ministers, in 1649 completed its form and organization. The people were also well agreed on the subject of royalty, and upon the death of Charles I. proclaimed his son Charles their king. But what had one time had been their bond of union, now proved to be a cause of dissension. The

national covenant was turned into a religious test; and subscription made indispensable to the holding of any place in the service of the country. Covenanters moreover divided among themselves. When their young king arrived among them, one party insisted upon his subscribing immediately, in order to secure the political effect; another, perceiving the laxity of his character, urged that he ought not to subscribe until, after carefully reflecting, he might be able to do so religiously. Charles preferred to subscribe at once; and thereby convinced the more earnest thinkers of his insincerity. During the war, which ensued with Cromwell, Parliament passed certain resolutions repealing those acts which had confined all public offices to the hands of Covenanters. Against these resolutions the stricter party protested. And the quarrel between Resolutioners and Protesters marred the peace of the church and involved it in civil broils. The General Assembly, which met in July 1652, was so agitated by these causes that it broke up, and its acts were never recorded. Cromwell deemed it best that the scene should not be repeated; and when in July of the next year the ministers came together again, an officer of the army appeared among them and inquired by whose authority they met, that of Charles or of the Protector? The question was pertinent. Because the General Assembly of the church of Scotland meets by authority of the crown. As those delegates could show no such authority, they were escorted by a body of soldiers a mile out of town, and directed to return to their respective homes. General Assembly was suspended during the rest of the Protectorate. It was the only violence used by Cromwell towards the Church of Scotland. In nothing else did it suffer interruption. Synods and Presbyteries continued to meet as formerly; and although Resolutioners persisted in praying for the King, no force was applied to prevent them.

As in England, so in Scotland, means were taken by Cromwell to protect the interests of true religion. Mr. Patrick Gillespie and some others of the stricter party received a commission empowering them to settle the affairs of the church and secure its purity. The spiritual profit soon became obvious. A degree of civil peace prevailed, "beyond what had almost ever before been experienced." A quiet, but pervasive revival

of religion, filled up the rest of the Protectorate in Scotland. "I verily believe," says Kirkton, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration."

Soon after the death of the King, a commission was appointed to regulate the affairs of the church in South Wales, and another in North Wales. The spiritual destitution of the Principality was great. Constant and godly ministers were few and much persecuted. The greater number either did not live in their parishes, or were incompetent, scandalous, and negligent of their cures. Vigorous measures were taken by the commissioners to remove the evils. But so many persons were concerned in them, that they met with much resistance and misrepresentation. As it was difficult to find a sufficient number of pious and learned ministers able to preach in the Welsh language, itinerant preachers, six for each county, were appointed to supply the deficiency, until the number equal to the parishes could be filled up. In the poverty of many of the parishes, the commissioners encountered another embarrassment, which the brief duration of the Protectorate did not give them time to entirely overcome.

Ireland was geographically divided among the great religious parties, the Presbyterians being principally residents of Ulster, the Episcopalians of the eastern side of the island, and the Romanists of all the rest. Although the last were by far the most numerous, yet Episcopacy had from the Reformation been the established religion. It ceased to be such under the action of the Long Parliament in January, 1643. The Solemn League and Covenant extended also to Ireland, and was gladly accepted by the Presbyterians there. The terrors of the Popish rebellion had constrained Protestants of every name to make common cause. Wiser had it been for them had they done so more consistently. A fearful array of cruelties were accumulated in those years for the soldiers of Cromwell to avenge upon the Romanist Irish. Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike were almost entirely swept from the North, and greatly thinned in the East. Cromwell compelled the Catholics to submission, confined them to one part of the island, and filled the land taken from them with a more orderly and

industrious population. In the new prosperity which succeeded, the church participated. Settlers from Scotland replanted Presbytery in the north, and from England recruited Episcopacy and Independency on the east and south. The rule of the Protector extended toleration to all. Presbyterians being few could reap little advantage from the position of their church as the establishment of the consolidated Commonwealth. But under the Lieutenancy of Major-General Fleetwood, and still more of Henry Cromwell, the long-harassed country enjoyed an interval of wise and benign government, "when the churches had rest throughout all the land, and increased in number daily." It was then that Presbyterianism first assumed its proper form in the province of Ulster, and had great prosperity until the reign of oppression opened again with the restoration of the monarchy.

In New England, the colonists were allowed to establish congregationalism, as the government of their choice. A scheme was also projected for carrying the gospel to the North American Indians, which the death of the Protector prevented from going into operation.

It was the purpose of Cromwell to constitute the British church the centre of a confederation of all the Protestant churches of Europe. His plan, according to Bishop Burnet, was matured, and contemplated common defence against Rome, propagation of the gospel, and the employment of secretaries to hold "correspondence everywhere, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged." Though this was also defeated by his death, his administration put England into such a relation to the Protestant churches of the Continent as she did not again assume until the reign of William III. In this, as in many other respects, the Revolution was the true successor of the Commonwealth, less earnest and daring, but more cautious and expedient.

. In all previous English history religion and politics had been so intimately intermingled as to be practically inseparable. Cromwell was the first to set the example of discriminating truly between them. Attempts to compel all into one form of

profession and worship had resulted in dividing the church and creating deadly animosities. Under the free toleration of the Commonwealth all sects lived together peacefully. The lesson, poorly learned by the party which came next into power, was not forgotten by sounder thinkers; and when, upon the downfall of the Stuart kings, the government was remodeled, Cromwell's doctrine of toleration was incorporated into the constitution; and although the church was still connected with the state, the separation between religion and politics, as far as then practicable, was also revived.

The Commonwealth passed away, and its work for a whole generation seemed to be utterly undone; but its leading doctrines are those which are appointed not to die, its efforts were in the line of Christian progress, and even its errors have proved of most salutary warning to succeeding reformers. It was the generative epoch of that religious freedom which revived at the revolution, and operating to the present day in the British churches, has found a more congenial and fuller development on this side of the Atlantic.

ART. VI.—*Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository** for July 1863; Art. III. *Doctrines of the New-School Presbyterian Church.* By Rev. GEORGE DUFFIELD, D. D., Detroit, Michigan.

THE Plan of Union proposed by the Joint-Committee requires that the Confession of Faith be adopted in "its fair historical sense, as it is accepted by the two bodies." We know what its "fair historical sense" is, both in itself, and as it is accepted in the Old-school body. But its "historical sense" as accepted by the New-school body is equally to be legalized; and clearly to this extent, that no minister or office-bearer who holds it, in that sense, can be molested in, or refused admission to, the united body, without breach of covenant. It is therefore a chief test in regard to the merits of this proposed Plan of Union, if we can ascertain what the "fair historical sense" of these standards, as accepted by the New-school body, has been,

and is. On this subject we are able to refer to authority of the highest kind, which ought immediately to be laid before our church.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* has, for some years, been publishing a series of articles from men in the different Christian denominations, selected with special reference to their known qualifications for the work, giving an account of the doctrine and polity of the several churches to which they respectively belong. This was done in order to obtain a presentation of the faith and practice of these several communions, as understood and acknowledged by their own members. The Rev. George Duffield, D. D., of Detroit, Michigan, was procured to do this service for the New-school Presbyterian body. Probably, in view of his antecedents, and present position, his known ability, his participation in the controversies which led to the disruption, and his intimate acquaintance with the growth and spirit of this church of his love, no truer witness, or better expounder of its doctrine and spirit could be found. That he more or less misconceives, and so misrepresents or caricatures, Old-school principles, is no argument to the contrary. For this is the genius of New Divinity, inherent in the system. His article is nearly eighty pages long, thoroughly elaborated, and spares no pains to set forth the theology of our New-school brethren to the utmost advantage. It appeared in the No. for July, 1863, and had in view the movement, then initiated, looking towards reunion, and was shaped, as he assures us, with the "hope in doing so, not only to subserve the general cause and interest of theological science, but to promote the reciprocities and courtesies of Christian confidence and fraternal fellowship;" and that "it can be shown that there is in reality no radical difference between Old and New-school Presbyterians," thus furthering "a much desired reunion." What then has he to say of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical views of New-school Presbyterians in this attempted Irenicum?

I. OF THE ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF 1837.

These expurgated the Congregational element from our organization, of which Judge Gibson, in the final adjudication of the case, in the civil courts, said, that "the two were as immiscible as oil and water." Dr. Duffield says of these procedures, "They

were in violation of the Constitution, revolutionary in tendency and design, and, establishing a new basis, consummated a plan of secession for the Old-school, from those who maintained the union and government of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," etc., p. 567. This will do for a first step towards "promoting the reciprocities and courtesies of Christian confidence and fraternal fellowship." Are things ripe for organic reunion with those who, to pave the way for it, think, and feel, and speak thus?

II. IMPUTATION OF ADAM'S FIRST SIN TO HIS POSTERITY.

Says Dr. Duffield, "The disobedience of Adam was his crime, and rendered him obnoxious to death, its ordained punishment. According to the theological theory of the Old-school, that crime was imputed to his posterity, and being so imputed involved them in his guilt, and rendered them obnoxious to the same punishment, that is death. . . New-school Presbyterians dispense with this and every other theory by which to explain the moral relationship of Adam and his posterity. They receive it as a fact divinely revealed. Preferring the language of common sense to theological technicalities, they are contented to say that, as the result or in consequence of Adam's transgression, his posterity became mortal and morally corrupt." This is precisely what Pelagians say. Thus they utterly reject imputation, as mere groundless human "theory." They prefer what they call "the language of common sense" to the clear "historic sense" of our standards, and the equally clear teachings of Rom. v. 12—21.

The words "physical," "nature," "constitutional," figure so largely in Dr. Duffield's representations of Old-school theology respecting sin and grace, and serve so fully to mystify the whole subject, that it is difficult to present in full force his repudiation of Old Calvinism, without quoting passages in which these words occur. Nor will the emphasis of these appear, unless something is said to clear up the confusion which Taylorites and New Divinity men have, with considerable adroitness and success, contrived to throw about these terms. Dr. Duffield uses them just as Dr. N. W. Taylor was wont to use them. In repudiating hereditary sinfulness, inborn depravity, a principle of sin anterior to, and causative of, sinful acts,

as taught in our Confession, and held by Old-school Presbyterians, they stigmatize it as a doctrine of *physical* depravity, inherent in our *constitution, faculties, nature, as created by God*. And they denounce the correlate doctrine logically flowing from this, and taught in the Bible and our standards, viz., that regeneration is the removal of this corrupt principle, and the implantation of a new principle of life and holiness, as “physical” regeneration, a change in the constitutional faculties, &c.; also as being wrought by the exercise of God’s mere “physical” omnipotence. Of this evidence enough will appear as we proceed.

Now, for our present purpose, it is sufficient to observe, that the word “nature,” φύσις, and, perhaps, in a less degree, the word “constitution,” as related to these subjects, is used in a threefold sense. First, for human nature unfallen as it came from the hands of God in the creation of our first parents. Secondly, for that nature as fallen and morally corrupted in the fall of our first parents. Thirdly, for those essential faculties and properties which belong to man as such, whether fallen or unfallen, in the absence of which he is no longer man. Now when our Confession and Old-school divines speak of “corrupted nature,” or “principle,” and use other like phrases, they mean it not in the first or third, but the second of these meanings. And they hold that there is such a sinful vitiosity of nature derived from the fall of the first man to all descending from him by ordinary generation; which nothing but the Almighty power of God can remove in regeneration. Herein they follow the Scriptures, which declare that we are “by nature, φύσει, children of wrath;” meaning thereby not our original nature as made upright by God, nor yet the essence of human nature as it exists in man fallen and unfallen: but nature as corrupted by the fall, and dead in sin. Since the English word “physical” is a derivative from the Greek φύσις, so the older Calvinistic divines have applied it to our original moral depravity, or inborn sinful dispositions, to indicate that they are by nature, φύσει, and not merely acquired, nor mere acts. In like manner, they used the word with reference to regeneration, to signify that it is a change of this nature, φύσις, lying back of acts, whereby we are children of wrath;

and hence they sometimes even speak of a "physical" operation of the Holy Spirit in regeneration; meaning thereby that the change is no mere act of the sinner produced by moral persuasion through the presentation of the truth, even such objective presentation of it as may be made by the Holy Ghost; but a change of the moral nature, *φύσις*, or disposition of the soul, lying back of acts and causative of them. This is especially a frequent use of language with Owen, whom Dr. Duffield is fond of quoting. Since the word "physical" has come to be used chiefly in the sense of material or corporeal, Calvinistic divines have dropped its use to avoid ambiguity, and substituted such words as "direct" and "immediate."

New-school divines, however, have been constantly in the habit of objecting to the old Calvinistic view of original sin and regeneration as "physical," often in a way which shows that they understand it, or wish to understand it, in these connections to be synonymous with material or essential; that they mean to charge upon the Old-school the doctrines of depravity and regeneration of the soul's essence, and of an exercise of omnipotence in regeneration which changes that essence; indeed that the Old-school divines make sin a part of the very constitution, *i. e.*, of the original substance or essential nature of the soul as such. The following passage from Dr. Duffield is an illustration of this, while it sufficiently evinces his own and the New-school repudiation of the doctrine of original sin, as held among us and set forth in our standards.

"New-school Presbyterians thought that their Old-school brethren, in setting forth their views of original sin, regarded as the corruption of our moral nature, believed, and by their language and illustrations implied, that man's natural depravity, as a moral and accountable creature, is something, if not physical, so inwrought or involved in his constitutional nature as to be transmitted like *any other corporeal faculty or quality, lege procreationis*, by 'ordinary generation.' Although this was denied, yet their language and modes of illustration led unavoidably to the inference, that moral corruption was believed by them to be some psychical peculiarity, property, or cause—something *in the very constitution of the soul or mind*—determining by necessity of nature, to sin, and therefore

itself sinful. This view New-school Presbyterians could not reconcile with the fact, as affirmed by the Confession of Faith, that God is not the author of sin, nor with the nature of God's moral government, the freedom of the human will, and the accountability of the moral creature.

"The Old-school Presbyterians, on the other hand, charged their brethren who dissented from their theological ideas as to the nature of moral corruption, with denying that 'Adam's posterity inherit from him a depraved nature,' and also 'that there is any such thing as 'a corrupted nature,' distinct from voluntary acts. The ground of controversy here lies in a *terra incognita*. New-school Presbyterians care not to explore it.'" Pp. 587, 588.

"If Old-school Presbyterians do not believe that the agency of the Spirit in regeneration is physical, like that of his physical omnipotence in creation, they have failed to make themselves understood. We confess ourselves utterly unable to get any other idea from such language as this: 'the formal efficiency of the Spirit, indeed, in the putting forth the exceeding greatness of his power in our quickening, is no otherwise to be comprehended by us than any other creating act of Divine power.'* Dr. Rice, the exponent of Old-school views, insists upon there being 'a moral nature or disposition, distinct and anterior to its acts,' produced, of course, by a *new creation*, 'so that the regenerated man is, in his moral character, as really a new creature as he would be in his physical character, if the natural powers of his mind were radically changed.'" Pp. 605, 606.

Thus it is avowed that New-school Presbyterians regard our doctrine of native and hereditary sinfulness, as, "if not physical, inwrought or involved in his *constitutional* nature, transmitted like any *other corporeal faculty or quality*," so reducing it to the genus of "corporeal faculties or qualities," and making it a part of man's original and essential nature. They ignore, and "do not care to" know anything about depraved nature inherited from Adam, or distinct from voluntary acts. To say that this is *terra incognita* to them, is to say that they disbelieve it, and do not hold it. Moreover it shows that their meaning of the word "physical" when they

* Owen on the Spirit, book iii., chap. i. p. 225.

use it in such connections, and their interpretation of it as used by Owen and some old divines, is equivalent either to "corporeal," or else to something in the original constitution, and essential nature of man as created by God. And further, they clearly maintain that the removal of this innate sinful principle or disposition in regeneration by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, is a "physical" work of "physical omnipotence," in their sense of the word physical; and, in short, is what they wholly disown and repudiate. This will yet more fully appear. Whatever else may be true of this view, it is at war with old Calvinism, Old-school Presbyterian doctrine, and the Confession of Faith.

Let the reader bear in mind all this, whenever in our succeeding quotations from Dr. Duffield's article, they find opposition to the Old-school theology, or rather to the plain doctrines of our Confession, masking itself under such words and phrases as "physical," "constitution," "nature of man," etc. It is simply and purely the style of the Taylorism and New Divinity of thirty years ago at the time of the disruption.*

III. ORIGINAL SIN.

In addition to the passages adduced in the preceding preliminary explanation, Dr. Duffield quotes with approval the deliverance of the New-school Synod of Michigan, after much circumlocution, gathering up their meaning in the following summation of doctrine on this subject. "We mean, what our standards affirm, that in all we inherit from Adam there is no provision made for our holiness and salvation; but, on the contrary, it is morally certain we shall sin." P. 587. So much for the positive side of the "historic sense" of what, in the New-school view, "our standards affirm." They affirm all this and a great deal more. This of itself does not amount to the doctrine of original sin. It rises but little, if any, above Pelagianism.

Again negatively, Dr. Duffield tells us: "New-school Presbyterians concede that, both by omission and commission, it is natural to fallen man to sin. But when required by their Old-school Presbyterian brethren, as does Dr. Rice, to adopt his

* See this evinced in *Princeton Essays*, First Series, Articles XIII—XVI.

metaphysical theology and technicalities, and, with 'Dr. Owen and the old Calvinists, to speak of original or indwelling sin (moral corruption) as a *principle* or SOMETHING which has the *efficiency of cause*, and which exists in men *anterior to any acts performed by them*,' he demurs." "He prefers instead of the vague terms, 'principle' or 'SOMETHING,' (?) to designate supreme selfishness, distinguishable from instinctive self-love, as the primary originating cause or source of all developments of moral corruption. He can trace the voluntary acts and exercises, of which he predicates sin, to the demands and control, or impulse, of a generic, governing purpose." P. 590. "When Old-school theologians will show—what thus far they have failed to do—*how sin exists in a moral creature anterior to, and separate or distinguishable from, any or all volitions or voluntary exercises of intelligence and will, or actings of the passions and affections*, then may they, with greater show of theological acumen, as well as aid to Christian charity, accuse their New-school brethren with denying what, by such ill-defined and vague theological technicalities, they either do or design to teach about innate corruption, inherent depravity, a corrupted moral nature, a deep-rooted principle of depravity, and the like." P. 591. If this is not a denial of original sin as set forth in our Confession of Faith, and in all the great Christian symbols, Latin, Greek, Lutheran, Reformed, then it is hard to find words amounting to such a denial. It is confessedly counter to the "historic sense" in which the old Calvinists and Old-school Presbyterians have held it. It is purely and simply the theory of Dr. N. W. Taylor, or Taylorism, which resolves all original sin into a generic, governing purpose, formed at the beginning of moral agency. The italics and capitals in the above quotations are Dr. Duffield's.

IV. REGENERATION.

Dr. Duffield quotes the following from Dr. Owen, and appends the subjoined comment. "If," says he (Owen), "there be not an impotency in us by nature unto all acts of spiritual life, like that which is in a dead man unto the acts of life natural; if there be not an *alike* power of God required unto our deliverance from that condition, and the working in us a principle of spiritual obedience, as is required unto the raising

of him that is dead, they may as well say that the Scripture speaks not truly as that it speaks metaphorically. We see not how any other idea could have been intended by such language, than that the *same sort of physical omnipotence* which gives vitality to material organisms, is both real and necessary in imparting spiritual life to the sinner in regeneration. This is the theology of Old-school Presbyterians on the subject, *who talk of implanting and infusing into the soul a principle of spiritual life. But that the New-school Presbyterian accounts philosophic theory, and a very fallacious one also.*" P. 575. So we have supposed in regard to many of them, and that it is no calumny to say so. What if old Calvinists and Old-school Presbyterians do hold that regeneration is a new creation, or implantation of a principle of spiritual life, requiring an exercise of Divine omnipotence, even as any other creation? Is not this clearly and manifoldly taught in Scripture? Yea, that it involves "the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead?"

Again, says Dr. Duffield: "Dr. Owen says explicitly, 'There is a real *physical* work of the Spirit on the souls of men in their regeneration. There is not only a *moral*, but a *physical* immediate operation of the Spirit, by his power and grace, or his powerful grace, upon the minds or souls of men in their regeneration.'*" Accordingly he understood and used the phrases, 'new creature,' 'new creation,' 'created anew,' in their strict, literal sense, and not either metaphorically or analogically, to denote resemblance in a moral point of view. He attributed it to the same omnipotence which is exerted in every part of the material creation. Hence, to deny the reality and necessity of the intervention of this Divine omnipotence in regeneration, he accounted a fatal heresy. So, too, averred Old-school Presbyterians." P. 593.

Are there two kinds of Divine omnipotence? If not, then whatever is wrought by Divine power, in the realms of matter or spirit, nature or grace, must be wrought by the one Divine omnipotence which never differs from itself, although it may

* Owen on the Spirit, book iii. chap. v.

differ in its modes and results of operation, according to the subject upon which, and end for which it works. This, taken with what we shall soon quote from the next page, excludes omnipotence, as such, from the work of regeneration. But meanwhile it is proper to say that when, in the passage above cited, Owen asserts "not only a moral, but a physical immediate operation of the Spirit" in regeneration; by the former he means moral suasion through the objective presentation of gospel truths and motives by the Spirit; by the latter he means simply the implantation of a new principle of holiness, over and above all mere suatory influence, by the immediate exertion of almighty power. This appears abundantly in all the preceding part of the chapter from which Dr. Duffield quotes. Owen had been laying down this in such language as the following: "First, the work of the Spirit of God in the regeneration of sinners, or the quickening of them who are dead in trespasses and sins, or in their first saving conversion to God, doth not consist in *moral suasion* only." Again: "we say that the whole work, or the *whole of the work* of the Holy Ghost in our *conversion* doth not consist herein; but there is a real physical work whereby he infuseth a gracious principle of *spiritual life* into all that are effectually converted and really regenerated. . . . There is a real physical work of the Spirit on the soul of men in regeneration. That all he doth, consisteth not in this *moral suasion*, the ensuing reasons do efficiently evince. First, if the Holy Spirit worketh not otherwise on men in their regeneration or conversion, but by proposing unto them and urging upon them *reasons, arguments, and motives* to that purpose; then after his whole work, and notwithstanding it, the will of man remains absolutely indifferent . . . for the *whole* of this work consists in proposing objects unto the will. . . . Secondly, this *moral persuasion*, however advanced and improved, and supposed to be effectual, yet it confers no new *real supernatural strength* unto the soul. For whereas it worketh, yea, the Spirit or grace of God therein and thereby, by reasons, motives, arguments, and objective considerations, and no otherwise, it is able only to draw out the strength that we have," etc.

Our view of Dr. Owen's meaning, in the passages quoted and condemned by Dr. Duffield, is thus confirmed beyond a

peradventure by the whole context, which was evidently before him, and could not pardonably be misunderstood. And Dr. Duffield thus plainly evinces his aversion to the doctrine, that in regeneration, over and above all mere Divine moral suasion, "the Holy Ghost infuseth a gracious principle of spiritual life." And this all the more decisively in the following language, on page 594, next succeeding our last quotation from him.

"The life of the soul of the moral creature man, beginning in or with regeneration by the power of God, was referred [by Dr. Owen and others] to the implanting in the mind, heart, or soul a new principle, as the proximate and efficient cause of holy sensibilities and spiritual actions constituting the life of the new creature, of the sinner born again. This 'principle of holiness' created by the physical omnipotence of God, according to this theory of regeneration, when implanted in the mind and heart, formed the life of the soul, just as the soul itself was believed to be the life of the body. *New-school Presbyterians cannot understand this life-theory of regeneration*, as we take the liberty to call it, according as Old-school Presbyterians employ it for illustration, *in any other light than as intended to teach that the very same sort of physical omnipotence by which God raises a dead body to life, is exerted and requisite to infuse spiritual life into the dead sinner by the work of regeneration.*" Pp. 594, 595. What then? Is not this just what the Scriptures teach and our standards teach, unless another sense be twisted out of them by forced interpretations? We surely need no further evidence that, on the great subject of regeneration, Old and New-school doctrines are poles apart. The foregoing quotations from Owen will also shed light on Dr. Duffield's deliverances upon the next topic. It deserves notice too, in this connection, that, in concluding his remarks on this subject, Dr. Duffield refers in terms of commendation to Dr. Taylor's celebrated review of "Spring on the Means of Regeneration," and without any word of dissent or qualification. This, more than any other single production, brings out the grand peculiarities of the system known as Taylorism, which deviates from old Calvinism in precisely the same direction as Pelagius diverged from Augustin. Beyond any other publication of its author or his coadjutors, it served to arouse and

organize that opposition to the system among Congregationalists and Presbyterians, which gave birth to East Windsor (now Hartford) Theological Seminary, and culminated in the disruption of the Presbyterian church.

V. THE NATURE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT'S AGENCY.

In regard to this there are at bottom but two views. These are negations of each other. The Calvinistic and scriptural view is, that in regeneration a change is wrought in the soul by the direct and immediate agency of the Spirit, back of and beyond any mere acts of the sinner, by no *mere* agency of truth and motive—a change which certainly and infallibly causes a willing and hearty obedience of faith to all scriptural truth and motive. This change therefore may be wrought in infants, sanctified from the womb, leading them freely to embrace Christ, when their reason is sufficiently developed to be capable of knowing him. In an adult this change of state *may be* wrought, by Him who worketh where, when, and how he will, in the oblivious prostration of extreme sickness, as well as in the fullest conscious activity; so that, while life lasts, there is no exigency in which we may not properly pray for the interposition of that almighty grace in behalf of perishing sinners, which is able, even out of the stones, to raise up children unto Abraham. This, however, is not to the exclusion of a suasive influence through the truth in the case of adults not bereft of reason and capable of understanding such truth. Such agency also is employed by the Holy Ghost, in the view of old Calvinists; so that in this sense he begets and sanctifies by the truth. This sufficiently appears in the extracts already made from Owen, in this respect *instar omnium*. But what is also maintained is, that, over and above and beyond all this, all influence of mere truth and moral suasion, divine or human, there is a renovation of the soul, by the direct, immediate, irresistible agency of the Spirit of God, making it “a new creature,” without which it will not and cannot, with which it will certainly, freely, and joyfully yield to such divine truth and persuasion. Such agency of the Spirit, Pelagians and others maintain to be inconsistent with moral agency in the subject of it. Dr. Owen and old Calvinists maintain that it not only consists with moral agency, but frees moral agents from their bondage to sin. Says

Owen in the chapter so much quoted by Dr. Duffield, "The power which the Holy Ghost puts forth in our regeneration, is such in its acting or exercise, as our minds, wills, and affections are suited to be wrought upon, and to be affected by it, according to their natures and natural operations. . . . He doth not act in them any otherwise than they themselves are meet to be moved, and move, to be acted and act according to their own nature, power, and ability. . . He offers no violence or compulsion to the will."

So, in language still more explicit and felicitous, our *Confession of Faith*, chap. x. 1, 2, represents the Spirit in Effectual Calling, as "enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God; taking away their heart of stone and giving unto them a heart of flesh; renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining them to that which is good; and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ; yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace. This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man; *who is altogether passive therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.*"

The other view denies any agency of the Spirit otherwise than in the presentation of truth and motive with a suasive power beyond that of man, even as God is mightier than man. But however powerful, it is still in the way of moral suasion, and only by the vivid and powerful presentation of the truth, which it is the prerogative of the sinner's will to yield to or resist, and which many do effectually resist.

The only possible medium between these two views is the synergistic theory, according to which man coöperates with God in regeneration. This is in reality only a form of the moral suasion theory, such coöperation of the sinner being wholly inconceivable and irrelative on any other hypothesis. Now, of these views, it has already been made evident enough that Dr. Duffield and the New-school Presbyterians represented by him, reject the first. But if there be any doubt, the following extracts will dispel it.

"They [the more astute Old-school Presbyterians] talk of a

'direct,' 'immediate' agency of the Spirit in the work of regeneration . . . saying, 'we are far, however, from denying that in regeneration the Holy Spirit operates *in connection with the truth*.'* How in connection? Whether by mere juxtaposition, or as 'over, above, and beyond the truth'—favourite phrases with some—or, plainly and frankly, by means of the truth? To answer this question would not be so embarrassing as it is to the Old-school Presbyterian, if he did not believe the agency of the Spirit to be other than *through*, i. e., *by means* of the truth." Pp. 600, 601. He then proceeds to contrast New-school Presbyterians with them in this respect. The embarrassment here attributed to Old-school Presbyterians is the merest fiction of our New-school brethren. It exists only in their own imaginations. The former have no difficulty in recognizing an influence of the Spirit with and through the truth, which must yet be inefficacious upon a soul not quickened and renewed, and made willing in the day of God's power, by a divine inworking "over, and above, and beyond" the truth, as already explained—such as the above exhibition of New-school Presbyterian theology disowns.

But again, says Dr. Duffield, "The agency of the Spirit is not physical, not literally creative, but in perfect consistency with man's free moral agency, as a rational, accountable creature, held rightfully under obligations of obedience to the law of God. It is such as in its nature may be and often is resisted." This shows, 1. That in the writer's view a literally creative is the same as a "physical" work of God in the soul, in his meaning of that word, and therefore to be denied. 2. That, in his view, such a creative work is inconsistent with moral agency and obligations of obedience to God's law, and therefore to be denied. 3. That in his view the agency of the Spirit in regeneration is such as may be and often is effectually resisted. Hence, 4. a logical result of this is, that regeneration must really be the work of that human will whose prerogative it is to render unavailing or efficacious the whole agency of the Holy Spirit in the case. This harmonizes with the theory that regeneration is the act of the sinner's will forming a new governing purpose, the cardinal doctrine in Dr. Taylor's

* Dr. Rice.

review of "Spring on the Means of Regeneration," the article mentioned with approval by Dr. Duffield.

Moreover, Dr. Duffield condemns the sinner's looking "for an agency of the Spirit to save him, lying back of and beyond the sphere of his own conscious exercise of faith in Christ," as dangerous. P. 603. As we have already seen, he objects, and represents New-school Presbyterians as objecting to the statements of Dr. Rice, that there is, in regeneration, "a moral nature or disposition, distinct and anterior to its acts," produced of course by a new creation, "so that the regenerated man is in his moral character, as really a new creature as he would be in his physical character, if the natural powers of his mind were radically changed," as implying that "the agency of the Spirit in regeneration is physical, like that of his physical omnipotence in creation." P. 605. It is thus clearly proved that Dr. Duffield, for himself and New-school Presbyterians, in manifold ways repudiates the first of the forementioned views of the manner of the Spirit's agency held by the old Calvinists and asserted in our Confession. What remains to them but the second, towards which, in the passages already quoted, so strong a leaning has appeared in various expressions and implications? But does he make any direct statement or avowal, as to whether he regards the influence of the Spirit suasive only, consisting in a Divine vividness and efficiency in the presentation of truth?

Says Dr. Duffield: "The New-school Presbyterian believes that the moral suasion of the Spirit of God—although the phrase is seldom used by him—which, it cannot be denied, he has exerted by the truths revealed in the Bible, and enforced by exhortations, remonstrances, appeals, motives, and considerations of varied character therein contained, is just as much more mighty, as *God employs them* in applying them to men's minds, hearts, and consciences, and gives them force and efficiency, than anything man can do by *his* moral suasion, as the omnipotence of God exceeds the power of man. In so doing he is far from admitting, and utterly denies, what is charged upon him by Old-school Presbyterians, that the Spirit's agency, in the regeneration or conversion of the sinner, is merely *objective*, consisting only in the presentation of truth

before the mind—first, by originally inspiring the Scriptures, and second, by the preaching of the gospel.” P. 606.

For the due interpretation of this, let it be considered: 1. How utterly the direct and immediate agency of the Spirit on the soul in regeneration, together with the infusion of any new principle or state back of the sinner’s acts, has been repudiated in previous extracts, as being something “physical,” or the product of “physical omnipotence.” 2. That the only form of the Spirit’s agency positively asserted and defined, is the “moral suasion of the Spirit of God.” 3. That in repelling, as unjust, the charge that they hold the “Spirit’s agency” to “consist only in the presentation of truth before the mind,” he explicates this statement by what follows as meaning “a presentation of truth before the mind, *first, by originally inspiring the Scriptures, and second, by the preaching of the gospel.*” This caveat, therefore, is perfectly consistent with holding that the whole agency of the Spirit in regeneration is that of Divine moral suasion, the only doctrine consistent with his other utterances on this subject.

VI. ATONEMENT AND JUSTIFICATION.

Says Dr. Duffield: “The Old-school Presbyterian insists upon using the *ipsissima verba* of the Confession and Catechisms, when they speak of the righteousness of Christ being ‘imputed by faith.’ The New-school Presbyterian is not tenacious about this technical term of theology, but prefers to express the idea intended to be conveyed by it in the plain language of common sense.” P. 617. “They prefer to regard and speak of the atonement of Christ, his obedience and death, by which he satisfied the justice of God for our sins, as the great expedient and governmental procedure adopted by the great God of heaven and earth in his character of chief executive, the governor of the universe, in order to magnify his law and make it honourable, rather than as a juridical plea to obtain a sentence in court for discharging an accused party on trial.” P. 619. “The questions, how Christ’s sufferings and *death* atone for sin, and how his obedience avails unto justification through faith, as they do—the philosophy of the way of salvation—receive from them different answers and explanations, according to their views of the nature of justice, and their theories of government. . . . They are not essential to Christianity.” P. 621.

Suppose one should hold that they avail for this purpose, simply as instructive, symbolical, or in the way of martyrdom. What then? Again, says Dr. Duffield: "As in human governments punishment is sometimes commuted, as banishment or solitary confinement for death, or release from imprisonment by the payment of a pecuniary fine, so in the government of God, his justice, it is contended, admits of commutation, and is satisfied as fully if the penalty be inflicted on a surety or substitute for the transgressor as upon the transgressor himself. The sufferings and death of Christ are accounted, according to this view of justice, by Old-school Presbyterians, to be the penalty of the law for sin, inflicted on him as having stood 'in the room and stead' of his elect. . . . The Old-school Presbyterian's idea of the substitution of Christ is, that his person is commuted for the persons of the elect, and therefore his sufferings and death were the very same punishment in penalty, in law, which might have been exacted personally from them in their eternal sufferings and death. To deny this, they account a denial of the vicariousness of Christ's sufferings and death, and of their real expiatory value."

"The New-school Presbyterian does not so understand it. It is contrary to the very nature of distributive justice—which has reference to personal character and conduct—to punish innocence and protect crime. No legal fiction can ever make it possible to transfer the personal properties of guilty sinners to the innocent Son of God, so that he should assume their character and become guilty and merit their punishment. The substitution of Christ and his vicarious sufferings and death he does not believe to have been a procedure either of commutative or distributive justice. He suffered and died, 'the just for the unjust,' not according to law. . . . Hence there arises a difference between Old and New-school Presbyterians as to the applicability and extent of the atonement; the former limiting it to the persons of the elect, as the ransom paid specifically for each one, and designed for them only." Pp. 623, 624. He confesses on the next page, however, that the Old-school theologians "affirmed the infinite sufficiency of the atonement of Christ, in itself, for the whole world, if God should see fit to apply it." Again, "New-school Presbyterians believe that the

atonement of Christ may be much more satisfactorily explained by regarding it in the light of that sort of justice appropriate to, and required in, a public governor. This is called public justice, having relation to the public interests, the general good. . . . All sanitary regulations and abatement of nuisances and measures for general improvement must be traced for their sanction, to the obligations of public justice. Its exercise has no direct reference to law, and its obligations are those of high, ennobling morality, enforced by the demands of benevolence, and the dictates of virtue." P. 626. This is clearly the governmental theory of atonement. It denies that Christ's sufferings are properly penal and *in this sense* vicarious. It makes them an expedient of mere sovereign benevolence, like the abatement of a nuisance, or tearing down private buildings to stop a fire. They have no direct relation to law or distributive justice, *i. e.*, justice proper. They are designed indefinitely for all or any. Not only so, but Dr. Duffield falsely represents the Old-school view as making its adherents, "embarrassed in preaching the free and universal offers of salvation by God to sinners of mankind without exception." Just as much as, and no more than, the doctrine of election. Are our New-school brethren "embarrassed" in making a universal offer by this? Or do they hold it in some qualified sense only? Let us see.

VII. PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

Says Dr. Duffield: The New-school Presbyterian "prefers neither to assert nor deny," "that as friction is incident to matter, so is sin to a moral system, and that therefore while God would not absolutely prevent it altogether, he seeks, like a skilful machinist, to limit and restrain it, and overrule it for the greatest good. . . . If the Old-school Presbyterian affirms that God's foreknowledge is founded on his purpose, the New-school Presbyterian replies that the absolutely certain futuration of any event is not essential to its being apprehended by Omniscience." P. 631. Surely this is equivalent to the famous dictum of Dr. Taylor, that "no one can prove that God could prevent all sin in a moral system." It implies also that events can be known from eternity, as about to come to pass in the future, of which in eternity there was no certainty of their coming to pass. That can be known then as certain which is

not certain. For how could events in time be made certain in the eternity past, otherwise than by their futuration through the purpose of God that they should come to pass?

In regard to election he says: "Believing that God foreknew all of the human race who, in the progressive development of his plan of redemption through Christ, could be led to faith and repentance by the Holy Spirit, the New-school Presbyterian avers that he affirms nothing at variance with the sacred Scriptures and the standards of his church, when he says, that the Divine decree of election embraces all whom God foresaw that he could, by the blood and Spirit of Christ, in the providential development of his plan, bring to faith and repentance. The Apostle Peter affirms believers to be 'elect according to the foreknowledge of the Father.' Elect, says the New-school Presbyterian, expanding this thought, not because God foreknew that this one and the other left to themselves would believe; but because, according to the mystery of the Divine Omniscience, he foreknew whom he could, by the truth and Spirit of Christ, bring to faith and repentance." Pp. 632, 633.

The foregoing account of the New-school doctrine of election is simply the Taylorite doctrine on that subject. Divested of circumlocution, it amounts simply to this: God elects to salvation those whom he foresees, by the utmost power of his Spirit, word, and other agencies, he shall be able to induce to believe and obey. If this is anything higher than the Arminian doctrine of election upon foreseen faith and good works, we do not see it. It must be a distinction without a difference. His representations of the Old-school view involves the usual misconceptions of Arminians and Pelagians. He says, "Old-school Presbyterians are apt to adopt a more summary process by which to explain the mystery of election, affirming the choice of God to be wholly arbitrary, a simple absolute exercise of sovereign will, without any reason whatever except its designed arbitrariness." Because they deny that it is founded on faith, holiness, good works, or any other condition foreseen in the creature, does it therefore follow that it is without any reason whatever in God's all-wise counsels? Old-school Presbyterians, like the Scriptures and our Confession, pronounce election sovereign relatively to its objects. But when have they ever

pronounced it without reasons within the Divine mind, or solely "for the sake of its designed arbitrariness"?

Dr. Duffield claims that Dr. John Witherspoon has done more than any other man, "in giving form and character, not to say originating, New-school views of truth." The stupendous error of this statement was fully exposed in this journal, Oct. 1863, Art. III.

Such is the testimony given by one of the most competent and trusted leaders of the New-school church, as to the doctrines characteristic of that body. It was given with the utmost care, and under circumstances of the highest responsibility. It speaks for itself, and needs little comment. It shows most fully the "fair historic sense" of our standards as understood by the New-school body, and that in fundamental doctrine it is in diametric opposition to their "fair historic sense" among ourselves and in Christendom. We rejoice to know that the New-school church contains many honoured exceptions, whose theology differs slightly, if at all, from our own. We should most cordially welcome all such to our communion, by that regular door which is open to all who agree with us. But Dr. Duffield has put it beyond all doubt, that the doctrinal scheme known as "New Divinity," which was the main cause of the disruption of our church, and the protection of which was a chief end of the New-school secession, prevails, though we trust it does not predominate, in that body now. At all events he shows one "historical sense" of our standards which the basis of union now proposed requires us to tolerate without let or hindrance other than by free discussion.

Nor does the Doctrinal Protest of the New-school in the Assembly of 1837, readopted by the Auburn Convention, and reproduced by Dr. Duffield with approval in his Article, prove anything to the contrary. For first, it is drawn with a sort of controversial skill and diplomatic adroitness which evade many of the chief issues without appearing to do so. And secondly, the question is not merely what they hold, but what they require as a condition of ministerial and official standing. It proves nothing therefore either way.

And now the question arises, what means the loud and bitter clamor uttered and echoed by leading New-school ministers and

journals, and to some extent even reëchoed among ourselves, against those as calumniators of their New-school brethren, who have offered as a reason against the projected scheme of reunion, that the foregoing scheme of doctrine has place among them, and must be tolerated in the united body, if union on the proposed basis is consummated? Who are the calumniators, and who is calumniated in this matter?

The question before us is a very simple one. Shall we give the foregoing theology sketched by Dr. Duffield equal liberty, privilege, and authority in our church with that of our Catechisms and Confessions? Shall we fill our pulpits and church courts with its proclaimers and defenders? Shall we subject our theological seminaries to their control, and admit them to our vacant theological chairs? Shall we submit the books of our Publication Board to such an *Index Expurgatorius* as this theology would require? Shall we bring back the intolerable strifes which preceded and caused the disruption? Shall we, in short, surrender unconditionally? For ourselves we say No, and in this we believe we speak the deliberate mind of our church.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Law of Creeds in Scotland. A Treatise on the Legal Relation of Churches in Scotland established and not established, to their Doctrinal Confessions. By Alexander Taylor Innes, M. A., Solicitor before the Supreme Court of Scotland, and Member of the Faculty of Procurators of Glasgow. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1867. 8vo. Pp. 493.

This is an able, elaborate, timely, and valuable work. It consists of two parts. The first is devoted to an historical exhibition of the relation of the law to the Creed of the Established Church in Scotland; and the second to the bearing of the legislative power on the Non-established Churches with their creeds. To each chapter is added "An Appendix—of Statutes, Acts of Assembly, Articles of Faith, Legal Decisions, Judges' Speeches, and illustrative documents generally," together with an Index of Subjects, of Statutes, and of Cases.

All questions relating to the relation between the Church and State, the power of ecclesiastical courts, the tenure of religious trusts, &c., come up for discussion and historical illustration. The volume is a storehouse of facts and legal opinions. It thus has a special interest for all Presbyterians, and indeed for all religious bodies in this country as well as in Scotland: the present condition of our ecclesiastical affairs, which promises to bring up the principles of religious trusts, and of church property generally, makes such a work specially important.

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ; with an Examination of the Speculations of Strauss in his New Life of Jesus; and an Introductory View of the present position of Theological Inquiry in reference to the existence of God and the miraculous evidence of Christianity. By the late Robert Macpherson, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Aberdeen. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1867. 8vo.

The latter portion of the book was prepared for publication a few days only before the author's death. This volume is his last contribution to the cause of truth and sound doctrine. It begins with a lecture on the Spirit of Theological Inquiry. This is followed by discussions on the Existence of God, on Atheism, on the Evidence of Divine Revelation, on Miracles. These are introductory to the examination of the evidence of the resurrection of Christ and a refutation of the objections which have been urged against this central fact of the Christian faith. This brief statement of the contents and design of the work of Dr. Macpherson will satisfy the reader of its importance, and of its adaptation to the necessities of theological students of the present day.

The College, The Market, and The Court: or, Woman's relations to Education, Labour, and Law. By Caroline H. Dall, author of "Historical Sketches," "Sunshine," "The Life of Dr. Zakrzewska," &c. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1867. Pp. 498.

The design of this work is to prove the right of women to all the advantages enjoyed by men for the attainment of knowledge and the cultivation of the mind, and the consequent right to employ their acquirements and talents in all the departments of life, and to enjoy all the social and political privileges accorded to persons of the other sex. The book is written in a clear and pleasant style, and is replete with illustrations and historical notices. It is to most persons a matter of regret to see ladies of so much ability as the writer of this volume, employing their time and talents in attempting the impossible. The laws of nature cannot be altered. God has adapted all creatures to their respective spheres. All attempts to fit them

for a different sphere than the one assigned, not only inevitably fail, but ruin the subjects on which the experiment is tried. It would be a cruel folly to attempt to make a gazelle do the work of a dray-horse. If the experience of six thousand years proves anything, it proves that God has given to women a mental, physical, and emotional constitution, which fits them for a sphere, it may be a higher and a happier one, but nevertheless a different one from that in which men were designed to move. If this be so, then the laws of nature, as ordained by God, must be altered before women can be made to do the work of men, without the loss of all their attractiveness as women, and endless social confusion.

The Story of Doom and other Poems. By Jean Ingelow. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1867. Pp. 290.

"Except Mrs. Browning, Jean Ingelow is first among women whom the world calls poets." This judgment of the *Independent* is substantially ratified by the English press.

Questions on Bible Doctrine, for the Closet, the Family, and Bible Classes. By Rev. James B. Ramsey, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Lynchburgh, Virginia. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication. 1867. 16mo., pp. 210.

The plan and execution of this little volume are alike excellent. On all the leading doctrines of the Scripture pertinent questions are asked and references given to passages of the Bible, whence the answer may be inferred. A family or class carried through this book, committing the proof passages, would be well and intelligently instructed in the whole system of evangelical doctrine.

The Journal of Speculative Philosophy. Vol. I. No. I. St. Louis: E. P. Gray. New York: John Wiley & Sons. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Judging from the first number of this Journal, which bears evidence of considerable speculative acumen, and knowledge of philosophy, it is to be an organ of German Transcendentalism, of the Hegelian type. We of course can neither sanction its principles, nor wish it success.

God's Word Written: The Doctrine of the Inspiration of the Holy Scripture Explained and Enforced. By the Rev. Edward Garbett, M. A., author of "Religion in Daily Life," Incumbent of Christ Church, Surbiton: Boyle Lecturer for 1861, 1862, and 1863; Select Preacher to the University of Oxford in 1862 and 1863. American Tract Society, New York. W. W. Smith, Princeton.

A clear and conclusive argument for the plenary, verbal inspiration of the word of God.

Christocracy: or, Essays on the Coming and Kingdom of Christ. With answers to the principal objections of Post-millenarians. By John T. Demarest, and William R. Gordon, ministers of the gospel in the Reformed Dutch Church. New York: A. Lloyd, No. 115 Nassau Street. 1867.

This volume comprises a series of articles on Eschatology, published a few years ago by Drs. Demarest and Gordon in "The Christian Intelligencer." The articles have been somewhat enlarged and modified, and as now issued each is accompanied with a reply to alleged objections. The different points involved in the Millenarian controversy are discussed with considerable ability and scholarship. The writers are honest, earnest, and thoroughly familiar with both the scriptural and historical argument in favour of Pre-millenianism. Their familiarity with the writings of Mr. D. N. Lord—whom they hold in high esteem—occasionally betrays them into an imitation of his style of dealing with an opponent. They "cannot conceal their fears" that Dr. McClellan "was not exactly honest." They are "amazed" that Dr. Fairbairn should "support an opinion absolutely at variance with common sense." McCullagh's Exposition of Isaiah lxx. 17, is "ridiculous." They raise the question whether Drs. Hatfield and Shedd "can be so self-conceited as to think, &c."

Should some one who has the leisure and the ability for the work prepare and publish a satisfactory reply to the numerous volumes that within the last few years have been issued from the press in defence of the theory of the Pre-millennial Advent, he would render the church an important and much needed service.

The Theology of the Greek Poets. By W. S. Tyler, Williston Professor of Greek in Amherst College. Pp. 365. Boston: Draper & Halliday. 1867.

This valuable volume is made up of six essays, published at different times in various theological reviews. The title of the book is fairly descriptive of the subjects of the last four essays, two of which, on "The Homeric doctrine of the gods," and "The Homeric doctrine of Sin," were published in the *American Theological Review*, and the other two on "The Theology of Æschylus," and "The Theology of Sophocles," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. To these are prefixed an essay entitled, "The Head of the Church head over all things," which appeared in 1838 in the *Biblical Repository*; and one on "The Homeric Question," taken from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

The collection is an interesting and valuable contribution to Natural Theology. The opening essay, written nearly twenty years before the others, will have the widest circle of readers,

and will be pronounced an unusually fresh, vigorous, compact, and comprehensive discussion of the general value of the argument from analogy, with very rich and apposite illustrations. The argument on the Homeric question is a strong defence of the authenticity and substantial integrity of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We have supposed that in England and in this country there was all but universal assent to the correctness of this award. Mr. Grote has stood almost alone as a dissentient. We observe, however, that Mr. Parry, the editor of Homer in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, takes strong ground, in the preface to a new school edition which has just appeared, against the high antiquity of our "Homer." On philological and archæological grounds he insists that the present *Iliad* and *Odyssey* cannot be older than the time of Herodotus.

"Grammatici certant et adhuc sub judice lis est."

The other articles in our volume present the results of prolonged and thorough studies, both in the original authors, and in all the illustrative works in which Germany and England have been so productive. It is certainly an important service to Natural Theology to exhibit so fully and minutely the doctrine of the three most truly representative and influential of the Greek poets on the great question of religion. We have no space to exhibit results. The author reveals himself everywhere as an experienced and accomplished teacher, as well as a thorough scholar. While accumulating he has well trained himself to communicate.

The English of Shakespeare; illustrated in a Philological Commentary on his *Julius Cæsar*. By George L. Craik, Queen's College, Belfast. Edited from the third revised London edition, by W. J. Rolfe. 12mo. Pp. 386. Boston: Crosby & Ainsworth. 1867.

We welcome all such works as this, whether reprinted or original, as important contributions both to literature and philology. For this volume we know Shakespeare better, and also our mother tongue. Prof. Craik's works have been favourably known in previous reprints, and this volume will add to his reputation. The American editor has made considerable and important additions to the illustrative material of the work. The book will make its way into many homes where Shakespeare is loved, and into many of our literary institutions where English is really studied.

My Little Library. Sixty-four Stories, bound in sixteen volumes, each thirty-two pages. Price \$1.50. American Tract Society, New York. W. W. Smith, Princeton.

The Lord's Supper. A Manual, or a Scriptural and Devotional Guide to the Table of the Lord. By the Rev. David Smith, Biggar, Scotland, author of "Memoir of John Brown," and "The Devotional Psalter." American Tract Society, New York. W. W. Smith, Princeton.

A sound and instructive manual on the subject—well-fitted to assist pious souls in a right participation of the Holy Feast; also to "fence" out the careless and presumptuous. But we question whether the work is equally well-suited for doubting and timid Christians.

Coming Wonders expected between 1867 and 1875. Explaining the future Literal Fulfilment of the Seals, Trumpets, Vials, and other Prophecies of Revelation and Daniel, within the Final Seven Years; commencing with a Napoleonic-Judaic Septennial Covenant for the National Restoration of the Jews; subsequent extensive Revivals of Religion: the First-fruits Ascension of 144,000 translated Christians; the Latter-day Wars, Famines, Pestilences, and Earthquakes; Fiery Ordeal of Britain and America; the Great Tribulation and Antichristian Persecution for three and a half years—the Slaughter of the Witnesses—the Second Ascension of Innumerable Christians—the Closing Conflict at Armageddon—the Personal Reign of Christ on Earth for a thousand years. With quotations from the treatises of Archbishop Cyprian, George Duke of Manchester, Lord Congleton, Honourable Gerard Noel, Revs. Dr. Alexander McLeod, Dr. Hales, Dr. Gill, Dr. Grabe, Dr. Roos, Dr. Seiss, and Revs. Thomas Scott, Hollis Read, E. Nangle, R. Skeen, J. G. Gregory, R. A. Purdon, R. Govett, R. Polwhele, Tilson Marsh, C. J. Goodhart, J. G. Zippel, B. W. Newton, C. Beale, D. N. Lord, Colonel Rowlandson, Major Trevilian, Major Bolton, &c. With eighteen full-page illustrations. First American Edition. By the Rev. M. Baxter, author of "The Coming Battle," and "Louis Napoleon." Philadelphia: James S. Claxton, successor to Wm. S. & Alfred Martien, 1214 Chestnut street. 1867.

We presume our readers need no more information about this work than this ponderous title-page affords.

Helena's Household. A Tale of Rome in the First Century. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 8vo. Pp. 422.

The Word: The House of Israel. Robert Carter & Brothers, New York. 12mo. Pp. 504.

A Sequel to Ministering Children. By Maria Louisa Charlesworth. 12mo. Pp. 428.

These books designed for the young are all valuable in matter, and attractive in style and appearance. The name of the publisher which is common to them all, is a sufficient guarantee of the solid value of any work to which it is attached. In the case of the third book, the name of the author, and the eminent success of the previous work to which this comes as a sequel, is an additional recommendation of the highest kind.



